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NINEVEH IN THE DAYS OF ASSYRIA'S ASCENDENCY OVER THE NATIONS OF THE NEAR EAST

A restoration of the Nimroud palaces of Nineveh, prepared under the direction of Sir A. H. Layard for his "Monuments of Nineveh"

The Book of History

A History of all Nations

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Volume IV

THE MIDDLE EAST

India after the Mutiny
Ceylon . Burma . Siam, etc.
Central Asia
Turkestan . Tibet . Afghanistan

THE NEAR EAST

Babylonia . Assyria . Western Asia
Syria . The Hittites . Phoenicia

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AFTER THE MUTINY

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

BY the end of October, 1858, military operations had almost ceased; peace and order were fast taking the place of confusion and violence, and the transfer of government from the Company to the Crown, with Lord Canning as first Viceroy, had been completed. Anarchy was, of course, still rife in outlying districts; marauders were here and there prowling about at large; fugitive bodies of mutineers showed more or less cohesion. Public business throughout the North-west Provinces and Oudh, with some parts of Bengal and the Punjab, had been so completely disorganised that many months would have to pass before the civil power could assert itself to the full. But the great cities of Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, Allahabad, were held in force; the populace knew that rebellion had missed its mark; while the native chiefs, almost without exception, had been splendidly loyal. Lord Canning was, therefore, able to gather up the tangled threads of government and to ponder constructive measures that in no very long time were to tranquillise the country and give uniformity of rule throughout its vast area.

The Peace that Followed the Mutiny

Among his earliest acts was the issue of a proclamation drawn up by the Ministry in England, and revised by Her Majesty, whereby an amnesty was granted "to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. . . . To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in the Revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed. . . . To all others in Arms against the Government, We hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all Offences against Ourselves, Our Crown and Dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. . . ." Impartial protection of the law, freedom from interference with religious belief, admission to all offices for which qualification might be proved, protection of the rights of the native princes, and other boons to the people at large, were graciously authorised.

Pardon for the Rebels

Among those to whom leniency was to be extended were the turbulent landowners, or talukdars, of Oudh. On the final capture of Lucknow, the proclamation by the Viceroy, previously mentioned, had in its first draft confiscated their estates, though, upon Outram's remonstrance, a clause had been inserted which gave hopes that something less than the full pound of flesh would be exacted, if only complete submission were promptly rendered. On a visit to Lucknow, Lord Canning assembled the chief of these barons, as they have been styled, and, accepting their profession of repentance, restored to them the possession of their forfeited fiefs, with a permanent and hereditary proprietary title—an act of grace which has since that time borne fruit in their active loyalty and the orderly control of their vassals; while it at once gave rest to the most dangerously disaffected portion of the country, and was welcome evidence to the remainder that vindictive retribution does not always fall upon the conquered. But while Lord Canning's worst anxieties were now at an end, and the calm courage with which he confronted all difficulties had its reward in the assurance of a security far greater than had prevailed before the rebellion, the task before him was one of vast magnitude. Among the demands made by the new order of things,

Leniency that Bred Loyalty

two stood out as primarily importunate. These were the re-establishment of financial equilibrium and the reorganisation of the Army, native and European.

Changes in the system of public accounts render comparisons between the expenditure of India at one period and another a task of no little difficulty. But the final report of the Royal Commission on the administration of the expenditure of India, published in 1900, throws a clear light upon the financial position with which Canning had to deal. The year 1860–61 saw the ebb mark of the tide of Indian finance. A chronic deficit, continued almost without intermission for a period of twenty years, had already added 250,000,000 dollars to its national debt. The outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 entailed a loss of revenue which averaged $60,000,000 for that and the succeeding two years. All the efforts of the Government, aided by the imposition of taxes which convulsed society, availed only to reduce the annual deficit by $30,000,000 There was no course open to Canning and his financial advisers—Wilson, who died in August, 1860, and Laing, who succeeded him—save to supplement additional taxation by a severe reduction of expenditure. The military, naval, and civil outlay of 1860–61 had been cut down to $147,500,000, and now, with a bold hand, it was reduced by nearly twenty million dollars.

Need for Financial Economy

The returning prosperity of the country gave buoyancy to the public receipts, and in 1861–62 the tide had turned. Equilibrium was practically restored, and the Government escaped the necessity of levying the unpopular licence tax. From that time forward, further relief was afforded in the gradual reduction of the income tax, and of the additional duty on cotton-twist and yarn, and the reform of the salt duties. The stamp duties and the excise on spirits and opium continued at their enhanced rates to sustain the burden of administration; and by the exercise of a prudent policy in all departments, Canning added to his success, in restoring peace and order, the further merit of placing the national finance upon a safe and enduring basis. The land revenue in 1862 yielded $12,500,000 more than before the Mutiny, and when in that year Lord Canning laid down office, all doubt as to ultimate financial prosperity had passed away.

Measures of Financial Reform

While treating of the measures taken during this viceroy's time for the reorganisation of the army, it will be convenient to extend the inquiry so as to carry the account of the more important changes in its constitution up to the present day.

When the Mutiny broke out the ratio of the British forces to the native armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, together with the local levies and contingents, was about one to eight, or 39,000 to 311,038. Independent of financial considerations such a disproportion was one that events so soon to follow showed to be dangerous to the last degree. But not only had it to be determined what a safe ratio would be; the very form of the British armament must first be settled. This had hitherto consisted partly of Europeans enlisted in England for the Company's service, and partly of royal regiments of cavalry and infantry sent out to India, but liable to be withdrawn for service elsewhere on the outbreak of war. It was now debated whether under the Crown a local European army should be placed at the exclusive disposal of the Government of India, or whether the forces deemed necessary should be part and parcel of the Queen's army. After much discussion it was decided that the Company's European forces should be transferred to the Crown and be supplemented by royal regiments. Further, a Commission appointed to advise on these changes laid it down that the British forces should be 80,000 strong, and that the native troops should not exceed them by more than two to one in the Bengal army and three to one in those of Madras and Bombay. In Bengal the native army had to be re-formed almost *de novo*. Eighty-six entire regiments had mutinied, and only a few had remained loyal, or, at all events, inactive. These last were not disbanded; but in the main the new force consisted of Sikh, Gurkha, Pathan, and Rajput levies. The Madras and Bombay armies, the Haidarabad contingent, and the Punjab Frontier Force, had taken no part in the rebellion. These, therefore, were left intact, though to them also were applied the principles of reorganisation now found necessary. When, in 1864, that reorganisation was complete, the three armies in India had an aggregate

Remaking of the Indian Army







SOLDIERS OF NATIVE REGIMENTS IN INDIA

The first group is a number of the 18th Bengal Lancers; the middle picture shows a parade of Sikhs, that warlike tribe whose rise began as a religious sect and who soon developed into active militants and threatened British supremacy; the third group are Gurkhas, the northern hill tribesmen, who exhibit as much courage and steadiness as the best white regiments within the bounds of our empire.

Photos Gregory & Co., London

strength of 205,000 men, of whom 65,000 were British soldiers. The artillery, except a few mountain batteries, were wholly British.

Between 1860 and 1878 there were no field operations on a large scale. But the Afghan war of 1878–80 brought to light many important defects; and a Commission was appointed by Lord Lytton not only to devise means for the reduction of army expenditure, but to test how far the existing system had been found adapted to the requirements of troops on active service. The immediate outcome of the inquiry was the reduction of four regiments of native cavalry and eighteen of native infantry; though, as the strength of each regiment was raised from 499 to 550 of all ranks in the cavalry, and from 712 to 832 in the infantry, the total strength remained much what it was before. There was also a reduction of eleven batteries of British artillery. In 1885 threatenings of war with Russia led to considerable additions throughout the army. In the British forces the increase amounted to 10,600 men; in the native armies to 20,000. The grand total then reached 226,694 men of all ranks, the British numbering 73,602. In 1886 the battalions of the native armies were linked together; in 1888 regimental centres were fixed upon for these groups, and at the same period a reserve was formed for the native army in general. During the next five years various changes and improvements took place. The Imperial Service troops, voluntarily supplied by some of the leading native states, came into being; military works, hitherto carried out by the Civil Department, were transferred to a Military Service Department; amalgamation of the Presidency Commissariats was taken in hand; the Punjab Frontier Force passed from the control of the Punjab Government to that of the Commander-in-Chief; in lieu of three staff corps one was organised for the whole of India; in the Bombay army a large infusion of better material replaced men of inferior physique; the native army was supplied with the Martini-Henry rifle; the sixteen Hindustani regiments of the Bengal army became "class" regiments, composed severally of Brahmans, Rajputs, Mohammedans, Jats, and Gurkhas; the Intelligence Branch of the Quartermaster-General's Department was reorganised and strengthened.

Defects in the Army System

Progress of Army Reform

With the year 1895 we come to a measure of importance affecting the whole of India, the abolition of the separate Presidency armies. By this arrangement India was now divided into four territorial commands, named after the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, each command being vested in a lieutenant-general. The whole army thus came under the direct control of the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief, whereas formerly the armies of Bombay and Madras were under local commanders-in-chief controlled by the Presidential Governments. Later on certain local corps, hitherto under the Foreign Department, were also brought under the Commander-in-Chief and allotted to the divisional commands according to their geographical situation.

Upon this general reconstitution of the army there followed, between 1895 and 1903, many changes in the composition of commands and regiments. The mountain batteries were strengthened; the Haidarabad contingent disappeared; the Presidency medical services were amalgamated under a Director-General; military factories came under the administration of the Director-General of Ordnance. The years 1899–1901 witnessed special activity in remodelling and improving armament, mobilisation, equipment, and defences, while many measures then resolved upon were carried out in 1902 and 1903. Thus, in 1900, the reorganisation of the transport system was finally authorised; in 1900–1 the native army received the ·303 magazine rifle, while the rearmament of the regular army was completed in 1902–3. Between the years 1900 and 1904 about 400 British officers were added to the native army; the field artillery and the commissariat service received special attention; transport organisation was more fully developed; and a thorough investigation dealt with sanitary arrangements, the system of clothing, opportunities for recreation, and numerous other details.

Series of Regimental Changes

The total number of regular troops in the five commands, including Burma, is roughly 250,000, of which 75,000 are British and 175,000 native soldiers. The reserve of the native army numbered about

25,000, and the auxiliary forces about an additional 76,000 men. By a new scheme of military organisation, there are now three complete army corps and ten divisional commands, which have taken the place of the former four territorial commands.

The present administration of the army may be described in a few words. While, subject to the control of the Crown, the supreme authority is vested in the Governor-General in Council. One of the members of Council, commonly called the "Military Member," formerly dealt with administration and finance. Since March, 1906, this arrangement has been recast, and military affairs are now in the hands of two departments—the Army Department and the Department of Military Supply. This latter department, which is in charge of an ordinary member of Council, has the management of all matters connected with important Army contracts, and the supply and registration of transport animals; it also controls the working of the departments of Ordnance, Remounts, Military Works, Army Clothing, and the Royal Marine, as well as the military work of the Indian Medical Service; while military accounts have become a branch of the Finance Department. The Army Department is under the immediate charge of the Commander-in-Chief, subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council, and while his powers have been largely extended, he has been relieved from a good deal of petty business. Immediately subordinate to him are the Chief of the Staff, the Quartermaster-General, the Adjutant-General, the Principal Medical Officer of His Majesty's Forces, and the Military Secretary.

Present Military System

From this account of Army reorganisation inaugurated by Canning and completed by his successors, we may now return to the other acts of his administration. The loyalty during the Mutiny of nearly all the great native princes has already been noted. Conspicuous among these were the Cis-Sutlej chiefs, Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, and Kapurthala; the Rajas of Jaipur, Udaipur, and Kerauli; Sindhia and the Nizam; the Begam of Bhopal, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Kashmir, and many smaller magnates. Gratitude dictated that none of these should go unrewarded, and Lord Canning determined that no stint should be shown in the bestowal of such acknowledgments as would best be prized. Titles of honour, remission of debts, enlargement of territory, guarantees of succession, large money grants, *sanads* of adoption, reductions of annual tribute, an increase in the number of guns of salute, jewelled swords, and various privileges, were showered with lavish hand on all who had deserved well of the British Government; and nobly since that time has such munificence been repaid. The immediate anxieties of the Mutiny being now over, Canning was free to devise measures of internal improvement. Early among these was the passing, in 1859, of the Bengal Rent Act. By the Permanent Settlement of 1793, while the Government surrendered to the zemindars its right to take the produce of the soil, it had been endeavoured to secure the ryots in their ancestral holdings. This endeavour had met with but small measure of success. The promised leases at customary rates had been withheld, rents were constantly raised, illegal cesses were levied, and by 1859 the ryots could hardly keep body and soul together. Act X. of that year, though often evaded, and though it did nothing for tenants-at-will, proved a considerable boon to the agriculturist by recognising occupancy rights and fixity of tenure, and its deficiencies have to some extent been made good by later enactments.

Loyalty and its Rewards

In 1860, the Viceroy's Executive Council was strengthened by admission of its legal member to the full status of an ordinary member of Council, while the Legislative Council was remodelled, and certain native members added to it. Similar councils on a smaller scale were established in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. In the same year came the amalgamation of the supreme and Sadr courts, whereby each presidency had its high court; and before Canning left the country the penal code drafted by Macaulay and completed by Sir B. Peacocke, became law throughout India. Consolidation of British territory had been so prominent a part of Dalhousie's policy that little in this direction remained for his successor. But in 1860 the three provinces of British Burma were combined under a Chief Commissioner, and the Central Provinces formed by the union of Nagpur with the Sagar and Narbada districts were raised to the same status.

Legislative and Legal Reforms

Between 1859 and 1862 much was accomplished in the way of material progress. Of 1,300 miles of railway open at the latter date, more than half had been laid out during the preceding two years, while 3,000 more miles were in course of making; the Grand Trunk Road extended from Calcutta to Peshawar, a distance of 1,500 miles; new branches of the Ganges Canal had been thrown out and the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals were already at work; the cultivation of tea, coffee, and cinchona received encouragement; the foundations were laid of a Forest Department; and partly as a consequence of all this enterprise trade was now reviving.

Civil and Industrial Progress

The creation, in 1857, of universities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay stimulated education, the number of schools of all classes rose rapidly, a medical college was opened at Lahore, English newspapers conducted by natives appeared in considerable numbers, and a new literature in Hindi and Urdu was springing up.

In the midst of his beneficent projects Canning had, in 1861, to face a famine which, in spite of all efforts, carried off nearly half a million of the poorer classes in the northern provinces, and brought severe distress upon many millions more. This was followed by the scourge of cholera and by torrential rains, which flooded vast tracts of country, sweeping away roads, bridges, and crops.

Lord Canning had hardly completed his last tour in India when a terrible blow befell him in the death of his gifted wife. A few months later he laid down the office which for six years he had held with such serene courage amid unexampled difficulties, and returned to England. But the strain, mental and physical, had been enough to sap a more vigorous constitution, and on the 17th of the following January, he, like Dalhousie, passed away in the prime of life. His successor, Lord Elgin, landed in March, 1862, and the first year of his Viceroyalty was passed at Calcutta, where he made himself acquainted with the machinery and problems of Indian government. Closely following his predecessor's policy, he aimed at the peaceful development of industry, avoiding the introduction of novel and vexatious taxation, setting his face against interference with native chiefs, doing his best to keep down military expenditure, and steering clear of frontier complications. Of these last there was some danger, arising from the proceedings of Dost Mohammed, who was bent on an expedition to curb the refractory governor of Herat, Sultan Jan. Though urged to counsel the Amir against this undertaking, lest Persia should side with the Governor and Russia should back up Persia, Elgin refused in any way to embroil himself in the quarrel, and even withdrew his Vakil from Kabul in order to avoid all appearance of countenancing the Amir's designs. The death of the Dost in the following summer eventually placed Sher Ali on the throne, but in the struggle for its possession which ensued between the two brothers, the Viceroy contented himself with congratulations to the successful claimant at whose court the British Vakil was to assume his place.

Canning's Policy Continued

In February, 1863, Lord Elgin made a tour through Northern India, settling down at Simla for the hot season. At Benares he held his first durbar, and at the opening of a new section of the East Indian Railway looked forward to the day when private enterprise should supplement, if it did not take the place of, official activity in the extension of lines throughout the country. At Cawnpore, he was present at the consecration by the Bishop of Calcutta of the spot that marked the graves of those whom Nana Sahib's treachery had done to death. This was followed by a grand durbar at Agra to which there thronged the chiefs of Rajputana and Central India. Addressing them in a dignified speech the Viceroy declared the principles by which the Government of India was actuated, and the measures by which it was in their power to second its endeavours to secure peace and general prosperity. Passing on to Ambela, he received a large gathering of the Sikh princes, whose behaviour during the Mutiny he warmly eulogised, at the same time offering wise counsels for their future guidance. Till the end of September Lord Elgin remained at Simla further familiarising himself with the task that seemed to lie before him in the coming years. He then set out to visit the Kangra Valley and its neighbourhood. The journey across the hills west of Simla in the keen mountain air severely taxed his powers. At one point he had

A Viceroy Who Died in Harness

to cross the Chandra on a frail bridge of twigs which swayed from side to side at every step, and this effort perilously tried his heart, already, apparently, in an unhealthy condition. When, after some days of further travel, he reached Dharmsala, it was only to find a grave there.

One military undertaking had alone disturbed the quiet of his two years' rule. To the north of Peshawar a colony of Wahabi fanatics had their abode at a place called Sitana. Here preparations had been made for a raid upon British territory, and in time these became of so threatening a character that the Viceroy was strongly urged by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to fit out a punitive expedition. To this he at last reluctantly assented, and in October, 1863, a force of 6,000 men moved out from Peshawar towards the Ambela Pass. Here, however, it was found that the Buner tribe had joined the Wahabis, and these, with the men of Swat, made further progress impossible for the time. From day to day further clans swelled the enemy's numbers, and Neville Chamberlain was hard set to repulse their combined attacks. After Lord Elgin's death the Council at Calcutta had ordered the withdrawal of Chamberlain's force so soon as this could be prudently done. Sir W. Denison, however, who had come up from Madras to take up temporary charge of the duties of Governor-General, promptly cancelled this order and directed the despatch of reinforcements. Thus strengthened, Garvock, now in command in place of Chamberlain disabled by a wound, drove the enemy out of Ambela. The Buners came to terms and, acting as guides to a British detachment, assisted in destroying the headquarters of the fanatics at Malka. This brought the campaign to an end.

Successful Punitive Expedition

When the news of Lord Elgin's death reached England it was universally felt that no one could so fitly fill the post of Viceroy as Sir John Lawrence, then a member of the Secretary of State's Indian Council. With his usual readiness Sir John sailed by the next mail steamer and arrived in Calcutta on January 12, 1864. His biographer, Mr. Bosworth Smith, has said that "a succinct history of India during the viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence would require at least a volume to itself." Within our narrow limits it will not be possible to give more than an outline of the various problems of government with which he was called upon to deal.

No one knew better than Lawrence what were the pressing needs of internal administration. Although his predecessors had restored the financial equilibrium, it was only by starving the spending departments and by recourse to taxes which strained the loyalty of the people. Lawrence did all that was possible to relieve the tax-payer from these burdens. In 1862 the additional duty of 50 per cent. on cotton piece-goods was repealed, and in 1864 the remaining enhanced duties of customs were reduced from 10 to 7½ per cent., a further reduction being carried out in 1867. The unpopular income-tax, imposed in 1860, had been taken off incomes under $250 a year, and Lawrence proposed to replace it altogether by duties on exports, but public opinion would not permit this change. The salt duty and increased stamp dues he was constrained to leave alone; but much was done by wise administration to increase the revenues and provide funds for education and public works. In particular, a new policy of far-reaching consequence, first suggested by Dalhousie, was adopted in 1867–68. The public debt was divided into productive and unproductive, the expenditure upon irrigation and railways being charged to a capital account under its proper head. By stern adherence to a policy of non-intervention across the borders, military expenditure was kept low; and fortunately the fall in the gold value of the rupee, which, after 1875, dislocated the finances, had not yet occurred to increase the home charges.

Lightening the Burden of the Poor

Of public works involving enormous outlay, the more important may here be mentioned. Sanitation, especially in military cantonments, had hitherto been left almost to itself, with a consequently heavy mortality. Lawrence saw that further neglect was unbearable. A Commission resulted in the establishment of a Sanitary Department in each Presidency, and later of sanitary committees in every cantonment. Secondary, if secondary, to sanitation was the building of suitable barracks and hospitals. Here the expenditure from first to last amounted to more than $50,000,000. A large extension of railway lines had become

Attention to Sanitary Requirements

imperative for both strategic and commercial purposes. Adequate schemes were framed to meet this demand, and no less than $130,000,000 were expended in this direction during Lawrence's time. Canals, whether as a means of watering the cultivator's fields or of carrying traffic, admitted of no delay. Agreeing with Lawrence that their cost should be defrayed by loans, Lord Cranbourne sent out Colonel Strachey as Superintendent of Irrigation, authorising their construction wherever urgent need called for them.

Canal and Irrigation Schemes

If anything had been wanted to emphasise the importance of easy communication by land and water, the two famines with which Sir John had to grapple were more than sufficient. A shortage of the monsoon in 1865, followed in the next year by terrible inundations, plunged Orissa into the direst distress. Had not the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal shut his eyes to what was going on around him, the disaster might have been greatly modified. When at length the real state of things came to the Viceroy's knowledge, vigorous measures of every kind were taken. Relief works did something to check the mortality, and large sums of money were advanced by the Government of India. But it was food, not money that was wanted, for money had no purchasing power where no crops existed.

Importation by steamships was then attempted. This expedient came too late. The monsoon had now burst on the coast, and it was with the greatest difficulty that even a small portion of the freights could be landed. When the famine ceased, it was calculated that the deaths amounted to nearly a million. Two years later, the failure of the rains in the North-western Provinces preluded a similar calamity. The lesson learnt in Orissa was not neglected. Relief works, distribution of alms and food, remissions of land revenue, and advances made for the purchase of seed corn modified the evil; while the Ganges and Jumna Canals watered the thirsty soil and abundant harvests in Oudh helped to keep life in the millions of the neighbouring provinces. Yet, in spite of every effort, some 60,000 souls are said to have perished. Nor was it only in British India that the stress was felt. Rajputana, Indur, Gwalior, Marwar, Malwa, Bikanir and Gujerat suffered equally. To their honour, the native chiefs followed the example of the Indian Government, and were aided by it in their endeavour to ward off starvation. But starvation was followed by disease, and in some parts of these provinces scarcity continued to prevail for nearly two years. The tale of deaths exacted it is impossible to compute.

Period of Great Famines

From this story of woe it is pleasant to turn to Lawrence's determination to win the confidence of the native states by explaining the desires of the British Government, and by allaying the fears to which not even the Sanads of adoption granted by Canning had put an end. For this purpose he not only abstained from interference with their internal government, but by personal intercourse sought to draw closer the ties by which they were bound to the supreme Power. To a durbar held at Lahore in 1864 he welcomed some 600 of the nobility of the Punjab, prominent among whom were the Phulkian princes, whose aid in the Mutiny stood us in such stead. Addressing the assemblage in Hindustani, and in terms which, avoiding self-exaltation, won the ready attention of his hearers, the Viceroy adverted to the warm interest taken by the Queen in all her Indian subjects, enumerated some of the blessings that British rule had given the country, eulogised the conspicuous loyalty shown in the troublous days so lately passed, and urged upon the chiefs the advantages to be gained by the spread of English education. The public ceremonial was supplemented by private visits to and from the Viceroy. In these Sir John discussed the condition of the several states, and mingled with approval for the past advice and encouragement for the future. Coming from a man whose sincerity of purpose was so fully recognised, such words were not allowed to fall to the ground. At the second of these impressive scenes he, in 1866, received at Agra the principal chiefs of Rajputana and Central India. To these also Lawrence delivered a weighty speech in Hindustani, dwelling upon the principles by which he hoped they would be guided in dealing with their subjects, and pointing out that those who did most in developing the resources of their dominions would find most favour in the

Native Co-operation Secured



DURBAR OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE AND 604 NATIVE PRINCES AT LAHORE, OCTOBER 18, 1864



SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S GRAND DURBAR HELD AT LUCKNOW, NOVEMBER 9—17, 1867

eyes of a Government that valued such endeavours above long descent and extensive sway. Once more, in 1867, a similar pageant was enacted at Lucknow, where Lawrence received the talukdars of Oudh, who assembled in all their splendour of retinue to greet for the last time the man to whom their country owed so much. But if Lawrence was eager to engage the goodwill of the native nobility by such policy as would best commend itself to them, he did not hesitate to punish tyranny and bad faith. One flagrant outrage, committed by the Nawab of Tonk, came to his notice in 1867. This chief had been at enmity with one of the tributaries, the Thakur of Lawa. Under the pretence of reconciliation the Nawab summoned the Thakur to receive a *khilat*. The latter, attended by his uncle and a small retinue, duly presented himself at court. By-and-by the Thakur's uncle, Rewat Sing, with his son and fourteen adherents, were invited to the house of the Nawab's Minister, and there treacherously murdered, one man alone escaping, and the Thakur himself being held a prisoner. Subsequent inquiry proved beyond doubt that this atrocity had been contrived by the Nawab. He was therefore deposed in favour of his eldest son, his Minister being imprisoned at Chunar. The avarice and oppression of another chief, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, provoked an appeal by his subjects to the Viceroy. A severe reprimand warned him that deposition would follow unless he mended his ways.

Native Treachery Punished

Though Lawrence's face was firmly set against annexation, there was one act of the authorities in England to which, while yielding loyal obedience, he was unable to reconcile himself. This was the restitution of Mysore to native rule. For the third of a century this kingdom had been administered by British officials. On the death, in 1868, of the titular Maharaja, it was decided to proclaim his infant son as successor, and to hand over the government of the country to him if at the age of eighteen he should show himself qualified for its duties.

Mysore Restored to Native Rule

Legislation in Lawrence's time bore a fruitful crop of Acts; and two of these, dealing with tenant right, specially belonged to his initiation. When, after the Mutiny, Canning reinstated the talukdars of Oudh in their possessions and gave them a heritable title, the grants were declared "subject to any measure which the Government may think proper to take for the purpose of protecting the inferior zemindars and village occupants from extortion, and of upholding their rights in the soil."

Since that time the talukdars, in fancied security from interference, had failed to heed this proviso. The cry of the oppressed went to Lawrence's heart. Determining upon a complete investigation of the matter, he entered into correspondence with the Chief Commissioner, Sir C. Wingfield, whose championship of the talukdars had already been the subject of remonstrances from Lord Elgin. Wingfield's opposition to interference on behalf of the sufferers was supported by an outcry in the Press; friends of the talukdars in their own province in Bengal, and even in England, swelled the clamour; certain members of the Supreme Council were on the same side, and others of the Secretary of State's Council recorded minutes of dissent from the Viceroy's proposals. Lawrence, however, stood firm, and sending Mr. Davies as special commissioner to Oudh, empowered him to direct the proceedings of the settlement officers and to decide all questions of tenant right. A report furnished by Davies showed that while proprietary rights had practically disappeared during the long supremacy of the talukdars, tenancy rights still survived. These it was resolved to maintain, and in 1868 the Oudh Tenancy Bill became law. By it, while the landlords were confirmed in all the rights granted in 1859, the occupancy rights of the cultivators received definition, rents could be enhanced only under certain restrictions, and compensation for improvement of holdings was decreed to tenants who might be evicted after occupancy for a fixed term of years.

Problems of Land Tenure

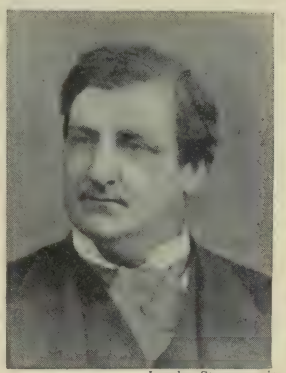
A similar fight had to be waged in the Punjab. When, early in Lawrence's time, the period for reviewing the settlements came round, many of the zemindars who, on the annexation of the province, had neglected to register their names as superior landlords, now claimed to do so. Had this been allowed, the result would have been to degrade to the status of tenants-at-will no less than 46,000 out of 60,000 heads of families in one district

alone, who had become entitled to their tenancies at beneficial rates. In the Viceroy's eyes such a proceeding would have been monstrous. Accordingly, in 1868, he introduced and carried through the Legislative Council a Bill whereby much the same safeguards as in Oudh protected the occupancy tenants in the Punjab.

If no great wars occurred between 1864 and 1869, several small military expeditions had to be undertaken. The most important of these was against Bhutan. On the Bengal frontier were certain lands, known as the Assam Duars, and comprising 1,600 square miles, which the Indian Government rented from the Bhutanese. As a punishment for repeated raids and outrages, Lord Canning withheld payment of the rents due on these lands. Fresh outrages were the result, and in 1863 Lord Elgin was persuaded to send a mission under Mr. Ashley Eden to the Deb Raja, nominal ruler of Bhutan. The members of it met with the grossest contumely, and Eden, under threat of imprisonment, was compelled to sign a treaty ceding the Assam Duars. On his return this treaty was, of course, repudiated by the Indian Government, an ultimatum being sent to the Deb Raja threatening war unless full reparation was made within three months. The term of grace having expired, four columns entered the Bengal Duars, and the forts commanding the passes into Bhutan were captured. The easternmost of these, Diwangiri, was held by Colonel Campbell with 500 men, who, a few months later, taken by surprise, had to abandon their position and retreat. Fresh troops being hurried up, Diwangiri was retaken, and the enemy sued for peace. This was granted them upon terms that were generally considered unnecessarily lenient. Among other expeditions may be mentioned that against the Bhils in the centre of India, and another on the north-west frontier against the Hasanzai Pathans in the neighbourhood of the Black Mountain, who had swept down upon Oghi, a frontier station of the Punjab police. Two strong columns moved up to Abbotabad, and thence on to Oghi. The main position on the Black Mountain was captured with little loss, and, the headmen tendering their submission, hostages were taken from them for the fulfilment of the terms imposed. The Government of India was also called upon to take part in a war which did not concern it—namely, that against Theodore, King of Abyssinia. Sir R. Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, commanded this expedition, with the result so well known and so creditable to his skill and energy. What was less creditable was the decision of the Government in England that the expenses of the campaign were to be borne by India.

A Little War with Bhutan

Indian Operations in Africa



London Stereoscopic

EARL OF MAYO

The sixth Earl of Mayo was Viceroy of India from 1868 till his assassination at Port Blair in 1872.

Anything like a detailed account of the encouragement given by Lawrence to education is impossible here. It must suffice to say that from the universities downwards to the primary schools, public instruction received a strong impetus, and in the last year of his rule about three and three-quarter million dollars were allotted to the support of Government and aided institutions.

While Lawrence's domestic administration met generally with public approval, his foreign policy gave rise to vigorous opposition. The keynote of it was "masterly inactivity," the avoidance of all interference in Afghan affairs. This attitude was justified by its results, but it led to awkward situations while the numerous sons of Dost Mohammed, who died in 1863, were fighting for the throne. At first Sher Ali Khan, the eldest son, was recognised by the Viceroy as Amir of Aghanistan; but when, in 1867, after a long struggle, Mohammed Afzal Khan made himself master of Kabul and Kandahar, he in his turn was accepted as *de facto* ruler. On his death shortly afterwards, similar recognition was accorded to his brother, Azim Khan. Later on again, Sher Ali, with the aid of his son, Yakub Khan, recovered possession of Kandahar, and entered Kabul in triumph in September, 1868.

Lawrence had not been indifferent to the distractions that had weakened a country which he desired to be both strong

and friendly. He therefore so far modified his attitude of neutrality as to give Sher Ali six lakhs of rupees and 6,000 stands of arms. He also encouraged the Amir's proposal to pay him a visit in India, but the rebellion of Abdurrahman in Turkestan caused this to be postponed until Lord Mayo's arrival in the following year.

Lawrence's Legacy of Peace

When, in January, 1869, Lawrence laid down his high office, he could say with a clear conscience that he had "handed over the Government to his successor efficient in all departments, with no arrears, and with all open questions in a fair way towards settlement." His services were rewarded by elevation to the peerage, with a pension of $10,000 a year for his own life and that of his immediate heir.

Lord Mayo, who was chosen by Mr. Disraeli to succeed Sir John Lawrence, took charge of his post on January 12, 1869. India was at peace throughout, and his predecessor had, to a very large extent, obliterated the traces of the Mutiny. There was, however, much scope for the energies of even so untiring a worker as Lord Mayo. Above every other question towered that of finance, and his inheritance in that direction was a deficit of 16,250,000 dollars.

To establish an equilibrium was the fixed resolve of the new Viceroy, whatever the cost might be. In his budget for the year, Sir R. Temple had calculated on being able to pay his way without loans. But estimates are one thing and actuals another, as had been revealed in the previous year when, in place of $10,000,000 to his credit, Mr. Massey had to face the same amount on the wrong side of the ledger. So when Temple's budget, framed upon the actual figures for nine months out of the twelve came to be checked by the full and final accounts of the past year, it presently appeared that a deficit more than double that for which provision had been made awaited the Government. The immediate difficulty was tided over by two expedients. Retrenching the projected outlay on public works, education, and other services, Lord Mayo obtained $5,750,000. Another $2,500,000 accrued from doubling the income tax for the last six months of the current year, and by raising the salt duties in Madras and Bombay. It was therefore possible to declare a small surplus.

Important Fiscal Problems

But Mayo was bent upon reforms which, in ordinary circumstances, should render deficits impossible. An enhanced income tax could not be persisted in; nor could he safely have recourse again to sudden curtailments of outlay. His first measure was to reorganise the mechanism of the Financial Department, so that it should no longer be at the mercy of imperfect and unpunctual estimates submitted by the local governments. A much more important one dealt with the funds for provincial expenditure. Hitherto, the Government of India had doled out money to meet the wants of local governments, which, although they collected the greater part of the revenue, had no responsibility for financial administration. In 1870, Lord Mayo gave to each of the larger provinces a fixed grant out of the revenues collected by it. From this the charges for services affecting the province were paid, any deficit being met by revenue raised locally.

Reorganisation was also possible in the Public Works Department, in railways, and in the Army. In the first of these, Lord Mayo adopted his predecessor's proposal that new lines of railway should be undertaken by the State, the cost being defrayed by loan. It was also decided that the public works debt should be separated from the ordinary debt, and capital expenditure on productive works treated as borrowed by the Public Works Department. Military charges were reduced by $2,500,000, many needless posts in the Army Department and the Staff being abolished. The net result of these measures was, for the three years between 1870 and 1873, a total surplus close upon 30,000,000 dollars.

Mayo's Financial Policy

In his foreign policy Lord Mayo addressed himself to those problems which had engrossed so much of Sir John Lawrence's attention during the later years of his Viceroyalty. Shortly before the latter's retirement, Sher Ali had made up his mind that a visit to India would help to consolidate his rule. As already stated, internal disturbances delayed the execution of this project; but in March, 1869, he was received by Lord Mayo at Ambala in the Punjab. In addition to the general idea of securing the Viceroy's goodwill, the Amir set his heart upon certain definite objects. These were a formal treaty with the British Power, a fixed annual subsidy, assistance in arms or men whenever he



WILD AFRIDIS AND KHAIBARIES AT PESHAWAR DURING LORD MAYO'S VISIT IN MAY, 1870
Lord Mayo, during his viceroyalty, from 1869 to 1872, visited outlying parts of the territory under his charge, including Peshawar, which is illustrated above, and Burma, on his return from which he met his death by assassination at Port Blair.

might think it necessary, the promise of support to himself and his descendants in all emergencies and against all rivals ; and lastly, an acknowledgment of his younger son as heir to the throne in exclusion of Yakub Khan, his eldest son, to whom he owed his restoration at Kabul. The last of these proposals was, of course, untenable, and the Amir was made to understand that it was contrary to our standing policy to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. For the rest, Lord Mayo could do no more than promise the moral support, with occasional supplies of money and material, already guaranteed by his predecessor. To oral assurances of interest in the welfare of Afghanistan, and of readiness to enter into correspondence with the Amir on all matters about which advice might be useful, Lord Mayo, two days after the conference, added a letter, intimating that the Viceroy's Government would view with the utmost displeasure any attempt on the part of the Amir's rivals to create disturbances at Kabul, and would endeavour from time to time, as circumstances might require, to strengthen his position and enable him to exercise his rightful rule with equity and justice. Sher Ali could not but be a good deal disappointed at failing to obtain explicit promises on the points so near his heart. Nevertheless, the visit was not without the effect of confirming the friendly feeling on both sides, and impressing the Amir with the power and resources of the Government of India. As a corollary to the policy which it had been determined to maintain in regard to the frontier nations, including Afghanistan, Lord Mayo was no less desirous than Lawrence to come to an understanding with Russia. The Government in England were of like mind, and interviews between Prince Gortchakoff and Lord Granville helped to smooth the way to an accord. A joint Commission for defining Afghan and Russian territories was not appointed until 1884 ; but the first steps towards it were made by a formal statement regarding Afghanistan which was given to Russia, and is known as the Clarendon-Gortchakoff agreement of 1872–73. Progress was also made in settling the boundaries of Persia. For

Visit of the Amir

The Path to Anglo-Russian Agreement

some years the Shah had been encroaching upon Southern Baluchistan, or Kelat, the Khan of which country was under British protection. Pressed by Lord Mayo, the Shah agreed to arbitration, and Colonel Goldsmid was deputed by the Government of India to inquire into the respective rights of the disputants. The result was a convention satisfactory to both parties. At the same time, Lord Mayo took the opportunity of trying to compose the quarrels betweeen the Khan and his unruly Sirdars, and by the adroit management of Sir W. Merewether, the Commissioner in Sindh, this end was attained. About one other question of boundary, that of Sistan on both sides of the Helmund, Sher Ali and the Shah of Persia were still at variance. On its settlement Colonel Goldsmid was engaged when summoned to the more urgent business regarding Kelat. This done, he completed his earlier task by an award which stood good for thirty years when, the river altering its course, a revision became necessary.

Arbitration on Persian Questions

With the frontier tribes on the north-west no collision occurred during Lord Mayo's time, their inclination to raids being checked by the vigilant outlook kept by a strong police force. But in the country between Assam and Burma an inroad of Lushais had to be chastised by moving up two columns under General Bouchier and Brownlow in November, 1871. The advance was a toilsome one through swamps and jungle. Opposition, however, was quickly overcome, the headmen of the tribes yielded at discretion, and hostages being taken for future good behaviour, the campaign came to an end in February, 1872.

With the native states in India Lord Mayo's relations were very similar to those of his predecessor. Avoidance of annexation, punishment of the individual offender and not of the state, the lightest possible control where things were going well, with the education of native minors by British officers, were the cardinal points of his policy. He was, however, obliged to take notice of an act of discourtesy on the part of the Maharaja of Jodhpur, who objected to the seat assigned to him in durbar, and to punish more severely the Maharao Raja of Alwar, whose extravagance and misgovernment led, in 1870, to his supersession by a council of its nobles under the presidency of a British officer. For the training of the sons of chiefs two colleges, somewhat after the pattern of Eton, were founded, the one at Ajmir, the other in Kathiawar. Both have flourished, and their outcome testifies to their founder's wisdom.

Relations with Native States

Turning to legislation, we find a large number of valuable enactments. Among these were the Evidence Act, the Contract Act, an Act embodying various amendments in the Criminal Code, an Act for legalising marriages of a certain class, an Act aiming at the prevention of murder of girl-children, the Punjab Revenue Act, an Act dealing with encumbered estates in Oudh, and many others of greater or less importance.

In the matter of education, Lord Mayo's endeavours were chiefly confined to the extension of primary schools and to encouraging Mussulmans to take advantage of opportunities hitherto neglected by them. The improvement of agriculture was a matter upon which he set much store. For this purpose he planned a separate department, with a director-general at its head. But financial difficulties stood in the way, and when the new department sanctioned by the Secretary of State came into being it was made to embrace also revenue and commerce. So multifarious were the branches of each that agriculture profited but little, and after an existence of ten years the whole scheme was dropped.

Education and Agriculture

At the close of his third year Lord Mayo paid a visit to Burma, and on his voyage back to Calcutta called in at Port Blair to inspect the convict settlement there. When the day's work was done, he insisted on climbing Mount Harriet, which he thought might be made to serve as a health resort for sick prisoners. Before the descent was made darkness had come on, and just as he was about to embark upon the launch that should convey him to the steamer in the offing a fanatical Mussulman, who had been released on a ticket-of-leave, eluded the guards, leapt upon the Viceroy's back, and with a sharp knife dealt him two fatal blows between the shoulders. Death followed a few minutes later. The body was taken on board the Glasgow for Calcutta, and ultimately to Ireland, where it found its last resting-place in a

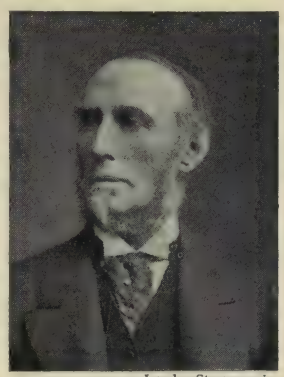
village churchyard in County Mayo. The assassin was, of course, hanged.

Pending the arrival of Lord Northbrook as Viceroy, the Governor of Madras, Lord Napier of Ettrick, proceeded to Calcutta to assume the office of Governor-General. The only matter of importance that came before him was the publication in March of the budget for the coming year. Lord Mayo had hoped to see the discontinuance of the income tax, and Lord Napier's views were in the same direction. But Temple was in favour of its renewal, and the acting Governor-General felt that he ought not to impose his wish upon a colleague whose province was finance. The tax was, therefore, reimposed for a year at the current rate of one per cent. The following year saw its abolition; nor was it again put into force during Lord Northbrook's viceroyalty. For in spite of the Bengal famine, for which some 20,000,000 dollars had to be provided in 1873–4, the deficit was a small one. In the following year this was converted into a surplus which in 1875–76 reached a handsome figure.

The famine referred to was the one serious difficulty that crossed Lord Northbrook's path. In 1873 the rainfall was so deficient in Bengal and Bihar that autumn sowings were impossible. Sir G. Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces, warned the Viceroy of the impending calamity, and the latter at once came down from Simla to concert measures for meeting it. With the help of the Lieutenant-Governor and Sir R. Temple an elaborate but somewhat extravagant scheme of famine relief was worked out in the minutest detail. Fortunately the rice crop of 1873 in Burma proved to be an unusually heavy one, and thence 300,000 tons were purchased, smaller supplies from various other localities bringing up the total to nearly 480,000 tons. The stores from Burma were shipped to Calcutta, and the whole amount was carried by rail to the neighbourhood of the afflicted districts. The railway, however, did not penetrate to the actual seat of the famine, nor could the Ganges be utilised for transport during the dry season. Transport trains of carts, horses, mules, and camels had to be organised, and Temple, now in charge of operations, decided to build a railway fifty miles in length which, while serving as a relief work, should be an asset for the future. When, therefore, in the following May the famine set in in all its rigour the Government was fully prepared to meet it. The accumulated stores were opened for sale at little more than nominal rates, the relief works swarmed with thousands eager to obtain supplies on such favourable terms, while those too weak to earn a wage, or unable for other reasons to leave their homes, had food distributed to them. In the middle of June the monsoon broke. This was followed by an abundant harvest, Government having advanced to the cultivators the money needed for the purchase of seed. The failure in Orissa was not repeated, the loss of life being trivial. But the operations cost 30,000,000 dollars, of which more than three-fourths were provided by the State.

Relieving a Great Famine

Generous Distribution of Food



London Stereoscopic

EARL OF NORTHBROOK
Lord Northbrook was Viceroy of India from 1872 to 1876, and resigned because of differences with the Government of Lord Salisbury.

Foreign politics at the time were quiescent. Russia honourably adhered to her engagements regarding Afghanistan, and Persia had no grievance against us. Sher Ali, it is true, was in a less amiable mood than when under the spell of Lord Mayo's genial influence. Still nervous as to the imagined designs of Russia, and hankering after a definite agreement with the Government of India for the protection of his country, he tried to wring from Lord Northbrook promises which even Lord Mayo had refused to give. He also for a time showed much soreness as to the Sistan boundary award. The Viceroy did his best to allay all uneasiness in regard to Russia, but would not go further than to assure the Amir that, in case of wanton invasion of his territories, help in money, arms, and troops should be forthcoming. By way of solace for the losses which the Amir's subjects had endured from the Persian raids, a sum of five lakhs of rupees was placed to his credit. Later on Sher Ali found a fresh pretext for

resentment in the displeasure which Lord Northbrook, perhaps unwisely, felt constrained to express at the treacherous imprisonment of Yakub Khan, invited by his father to a friendly interview at Kabul. Yet, though disappointed and sullen, he refrained from anything at which the Government of India could take umbrage, and, had the Ministry in England been content to leave things as they were, the relations with Afghanistan, if not actively cordial, would have remained sufficiently tranquil. Of frontier disturbances there were few. Just before Lord Northbrook's arrival the Kukas, a new Sikh sect, attempted two incursions, the one in Sirhind and the other near Nabha. These were easily put down. On the north-eastern border the Dafla tribes had to be chastised in 1874 for their frequent raids, and in the following year the Nagas, to the east of Kachai, caused some trouble.

Minor Native Revolts

In one native state alone was interference found necessary. For some time past the misrule of the Gaekwar of Baroda had become too flagrant to pass unnoticed. In 1873 a Commission was appointed to inquire fully into the condition of the state, with the result that the chief was warned that unless within eighteen months things had greatly changed for the better, he would be deposed. It was by Colonel Phayre, Resident at the Gaekwar's court, that this ruler's misdemeanours had been brought before the Viceroy, and six months afterwards that officer reported an attempt to poison him. Evidence pointed to the Gaekwar's instigation to this crime. It was decided to put him on his trial before a Commission made up of the Maharajas of Jaipur and Gwalior, with the latter's late Minister, Dinkar Rao, and three British officers. The accused was ably defended by Sergeant Ballantyne, of the English Bar, and after a month's trial the verdict was inconclusive, the British Commissioners being unanimous as to complicity, while Jaipur voted not guilty, and Sindhia, with Dinkar Rao, held the charge not proven. The matter was referred to the Secretary of State, who ordered the deposition of the Gaekwar, not on the result of the inquiry, but as a punishment for general maladministration. At the same time, without annexation of the State, a very distant connection of the Gaekwar's family was found living in comparative poverty in British India, and him the Maharani of the late ruler was allowed to adopt with a view to his education and succession to the throne.



Maull & Fox

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE
Governor-General of Bombay from 1877 to 1880, who rendered good service in the famine of 1874 and during the Afghan war of 1878-80.

Education was fostered in every branch, primary schools in Bengal receiving especial attention. And by this time so large was the supply of qualified natives that Lord Northbrook found it feasible to open to them many of the better-paid posts in the local civil services. But the most important educational movement of the period was due to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who opened an Anglo-Mohammedan college at Aligarh, in the North-western Provinces. This institution has continued to flourish, extending its operations until at the present it at least vies with the best efforts of the Imperial Government.

The visit of the Prince of Wales in the autumn of 1875 came as a pleasant diversion from more serious matters.

Early in 1876 Lord Northbrook found himself entirely out of harmony with the Cabinet at home. Distrusting Sher Ali and apprehensive of Russian designs, the Conservative Ministry had in the previous year pressed upon the Viceroy the advisability of obtaining the Amir's permission to establish an agency at Herat, and thereafter at Kandahar, as a means of obtaining more certain information of the trend of matters in those parts. Lord Northbrook, was unanimously supported by his Council in returning a strong remonstrance. His arguments were treated with scant respect, and in the following year Lord Salisbury insisted upon a Mission being sent to Kabul, the real object of which, however carefully wrapped up, was to pave the way for a permanent agency there also. Again Lord Northbrook endeavoured to dissuade from such a project. The Ministry was obdurate, and the Viceroy resigned.

The Wonder of India

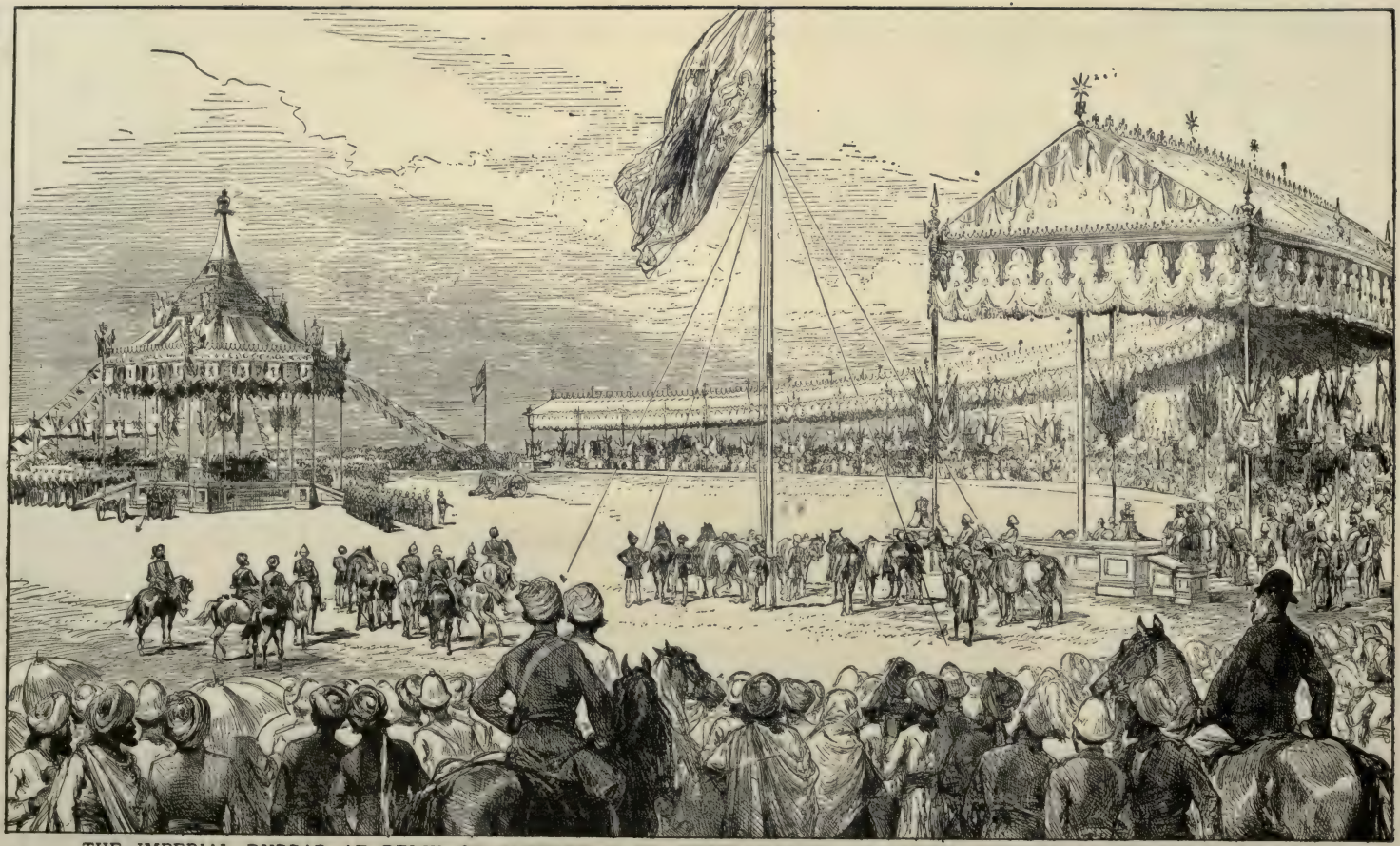
THE empire which Babar and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Hindustan amazed even travellers who had seen St. Peter's.

The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys, who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul, ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony.

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental despotism and with all the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long series of crimes and public disasters.

Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Hindus, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the Government from the mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy.

By Lord Macaulay



THE IMPERIAL DURBAR AT DELHI ON JANUARY 1, 1877: PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA AS EMPRESS OF INDIA

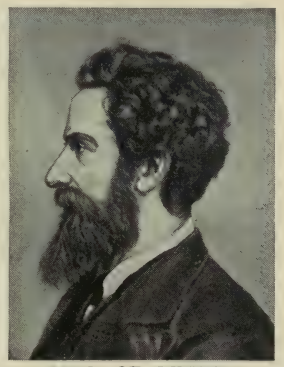


THE NEW EMPIRE OF INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

THE sequel to the "forward policy" which Lord Northbrook had so vainly resisted was not long delayed. Arriving in April, 1876, Lord Lytton lost no time in giving effect to the wishes of the Cabinet in England. His first proposal to the Amir was that he should receive a friendly mission under Sir L. Pelly. Scenting in this some sinister design, Sher Ali, with more or less valid excuses, declined the intended honour, suggesting in his turn that he should send an envoy to confer with the Viceroy on all matters needing discussion. This was met by a flat refusal, the original proposal being again insisted upon.

At a loss how to meet the danger to his independence which he felt to be imminent, the Amir then despatched the Viceroy's Vakil at his own Court to represent the grievances he considered himself to have against the Government of India, and to explain how he was situated. For answer, the Vakil was informed that the Viceroy would assent to a conference at Peshawar or elsewhere, between the Amir's Minister and Sir L. Pelly, on the one condition that the residence of British officers in Afghanistan should be permitted. At the end of January, 1877, the respective envoys met, Pelly reaffirming the conditions upon which the Government would undertake the defence of Afghanistan. In vain did Nur Mohammed urge the inability of the Amir to ensure the safety of a British agent in his capital; in vain did he appeal to the agreements sanctioned by Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook; in vain was it asked what new circumstances had arisen to render necessary the new demand so insistently pressed. Pelly, bound by his instructions, was inexorable, and to a fresh appeal made by Nur Mohammed, no answer had arrived when, after a short illness, the much-tried Minister died. Before his successor, bearing conciliatory messages from the Amir, could take up the negotiations, Lord Lytton closed the conference, and the British Vakil was withdrawn from Kabul.



EARL OF LYTTON
The son of the great novelist was Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, and represented Disraeli's forward policy.

Meanwhile, irritated by England's action in reference to the war in Turkey, Russia, as a counter stroke, determined on a mission to Kabul, and by June, 1878, Colonel Stoletoff was on his way to that capital. Without awaiting proof as to whether this proceeding was invited, or even welcomed by the Amir, the British Government decided to resent the presence of a Russian mission following upon the rebuff with which its own proposals had been met. In August, therefore, Lytton despatched a letter calling upon Sher Ali to make arrangements to receive a special embassy about to be sent under Sir Neville Chamberlain. The Amir naturally protested against so imperious a message, explaining that the Russian mission had been forced upon him, and that he was anxious to get rid of it; also promising in good time to receive Chamberlain, and appealing to the friendship which had so long existed between himself and the Government of India. Nevertheless, the mission went forward.

On reaching the mouth of the Khaibar, Chamberlain sent on Major Cavagnari to arrange with the commandant of Ali Musjid for his further advance. That officer courteously replied that without orders from the Amir this could not be permitted. Such refusal was deemed intolerable, and when, to a

letter demanding ample apology, together with an undertaking to accept a permanent British mission, no answer within the brief interval allowed was forthcoming, Lord Lytton, supported by the Cabinet, declared war. Three columns, under Generals Stewart, Roberts, and Browne, at once advanced towards Afghanistan.

A Short Afghan War

Ali Musjid was captured, Stewart and Browne respectively occupied Kandahar and Jellalabad, while Roberts prepared to invest Kabul. Terrified by these rapid movements, and much broken by the death of his favourite son, the Amir made over the defence of his capital to Yakub Khan, and fled to Mazar-i-Sharif, where he died shortly afterwards. Yakub, now acknowledged as Amir, soon found that armed resistance would be useless. He therefore entered into negotiations, and in May a treaty was signed at Gandamak, whereby the presence of a British Resident at Kabul was accepted, the foreign relations of Afghanistan came under British control, and certain positions of the country necessary for Lord Beaconsfield's "new scientific frontier" were ceded, England in return undertaking to safeguard Afghanistan from foreign invasion. Towards the end of July, the newly appointed Resident, Cavagnari, arrived at Kabul with his staff and escort, and was splendidly received, the Bala Hissar being assigned to them for residence.



EARL ROBERTS IN 1880
When Sir Frederick Roberts, he made his famous forced march from Kandahar to Kabul, October, 1880.

Till the beginning of September, everything seemed to be going well. But on the 3rd of that month certain of the Amir's troops, long kept out of their pay, broke into revolt. Failing to obtain more than a month's arrears, they appealed to the Resident, who, of course, could do no more than refer them to their own master. A second application in that quarter being met by no redress, they turned their fury upon the Residency. A stout resistance was offered by the small force under Cavagnari, but after an attack of some hours the insurgents succeeded in setting fire to the building. The Resident fell, crushed by a beam of the roof, and all with him were put to the sword. The Amir at once telegraphed to Roberts, who, pushing forward from his camp on the Shuib Gardan, quickly occupied Kabul, Yakub taking refuge with the British. Of the military operations the most remarkable incident was the brilliant forced march of General Sir Frederick Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar, which concluded with the decisive defeat and overthrow of the Afghan Ayub. The upshot as regards Afghanistan was that, Sher Ali being dead, and Yakub having abdicated, Abdurrahman, a grandson of Dost Mohammed, was installed as Amir by General Stewart in July, 1880, and the army of occupation withdrew. The new ruler was informed by letter that so long as he was guided in the conduct of his foreign relations by the advice of the Government of India, unprovoked aggression by any foreign Power would be met by such assistance from the British Government as circumstances might require. While Lord Lytton was sailing through troublous seas in the course laid down for him in foreign policy, he was not exempt from the calamities to which the internal administration in India is always exposed from the malignant forces of Nature. First of these was a storm-wave which, at the end of October, 1876, swept down upon Lower Bengal, destroying the crops, turning the fields into salt marshes, wrecking homesteads, and filling the banks with corpses over an area of nearly 3,000 square miles. Pestilence followed cyclone, and in spite of every effort in behalf of the wretched sufferers, more than 100,000 human beings perished from one cause or another, to say nothing of the loss of cattle and the ruin to agriculture.

This, however, was but a small matter compared with the famine which shortly afterwards came upon Western and Southern India, and to a less degree upon the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. The usual measures of relief works—of importation of rice, remissions of revenue, house to house visitation, suspension of the import duty on food grain—were promptly adopted. The Duke of Buckingham in Madras, Sir P. Wodehouse in Bombay, and Sir R. Temple, as Famine Commissioner in both presidencies, strove with untiring

Another Great Famine



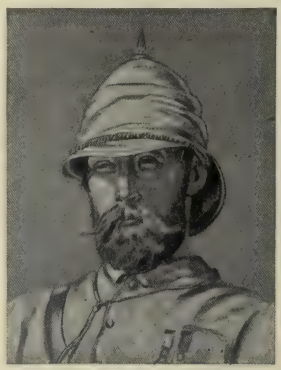
THE FORT OF ALI MUSJID IN THE KHAIBAR PASS

The fort itself is on the summit of the hill, 1, and the pickets of Ali Musjid are at 2; the spot where Major Cavagnari met the commandant of Ali Musjid is at 3, and 4 is the Khaibar River. The pass converges to 40 ft. wide near this point.

energy to minimise the distress that surrounded them on every side. Warned by the enormous outlay upon the recent famine in Bengal, Lord Lytton's Government was compelled to insist upon economy, especially as the area to be dealt with was now so much more extensive. It was, moreover, impossible to fight the battle on the same terms as before in tracts of land where there were no railways and where the death of cattle from want of fodder rendered transport unavailable. Accordingly, when in 1878 the awful conflict came to an end it was computed that some 7,000,000 of the inhabitants owed their death, directly and indirectly, to famine, while the cost to the State amounted to 55,000,000 dollars. Out of this twofold evil there at all events came the negative good that the Government showed itself more keenly alive to the urgent necessity of extending its system of railways and of supplementing them by irrigation works. A Famine Commission was also appointed to explore the afflicted districts, to gather information as to the causes of past famines, and to lay down a plan for fighting a like calamity in the future.

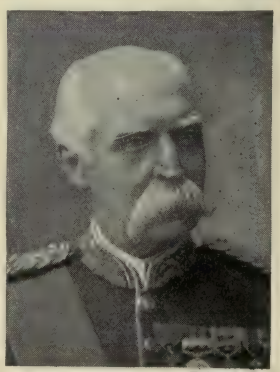
The shadow of the visitation described—for in the autumn of 1876 it was already evident that a fierce struggle was at hand—did not deter the Viceroy from carrying out his programme of Imperial rejoicings in view of the addition of the title of Empress to Her Majesty's style. At Delhi a splendid camp was laid out for himself, his subordinate governors and lieutenant-governors; a force of 15,000 troops was cantoned in the immediate neighbourhood; pavilions for the chiefs and princes formed a semicircle in front of that from which the proclamation was to be read. Lord Lytton, with a long

train of elephants, made a triumphant entry, and on the 1st of January, 1877, addressed the assembled feudatories, conveying to them a gracious message from their Empress. The Maharajas of Kashmir and Gwalior were made generals of the British Army; other princes had guns added to their salutes; honours for good service were conferred upon European and native gentlemen. A review of the troops took place on the following day, and various entertainments filled up the week. Similar festivities on a smaller scale enlivened the provincial stations, and 15,000 prisoners had their sentences remitted.



MAJOR CAVAGNARI
The leader of Sir Neville Chamberlain's advance party, which was refused passage before Ali Musjid.

Two remedial measures on behalf of the cultivators of the soil were set on foot during Lord Lytton's viceroyalty. The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, which led to further legislation of this kind, enabled courts of law to review usurious transactions of moneylenders which had provoked agrarian disturbances in the Western Presidency, while in Bengal the Act of 1859 was amended so as to give further protection to the ryot from the oppression of the landholder. Another measure by which it was sought to afford scope to the ambition of the more advanced classes was the reservation of a number of posts in the covenanted Civil Service for native probationers selected by the Government of India. These, termed "Statutory Civilians," were, after a two years' training, to receive appointments hitherto filled by civilians selected by public competition, at a slight reduction of the ordinary salary. The scheme seemed a hopeful one, but a twenty years' experience resulted in the establishment in its place of the provincial services. One other Act, intended to curb the licence of the native Press, had a still shorter life. By the Liberal Ministry so soon to come into power such restriction was viewed as indefensible. Yet it cannot be said that a free Press has yet given to India the benefits expected from it.



Elliott & Fry
SIR DONALD STEWART
General Sir Donald Stewart, when British commander in Kabul in 1880, installed Abdurrahman as Amir.

When, in 1880, Lord Beaconsfield gave place to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lytton at once resigned office, and Lord Ripon sailed for India.

Sent out with the special purpose of reversing his predecessor's foreign policy, the new Viceroy promptly handed back to Afghanistan Kandahar and certain other portions of its territory that had been occupied by us, while nothing more was said as to the residence of British agents at Kabul and elsewhere, or of the scientific frontier on which so much stress had been laid. The result was to allay Abdurrahman's suspicions and ultimately to win his loyal friendship. But though no further complications involved us with Afghanistan itself, there was danger of our being brought into collision with Russia in behalf of that ill-defined country. To avert any such evil, Lord Ripon and his Government proposed an arrangement by which the frontier between Afghan and Russian territory in Central Asia should be defined. The Cabinet in England concurring, negotiations were opened with St. Petersburg, which issued in the despatch of a joint British and Russian Commission to the scene of the debatable territory, there to devise a boundary acceptable by both parties; and before the end of the year the commissioners had begun their work. While, however, to Lord Ripon belongs the credit of suggesting arbitration, the final solution was not arrived at in his time. An account of its incidents must, therefore, be reserved until we come to the viceroyalty of his successor.

Besides the instructions which Lord Ripon received as to foreign politics, he was pledged by Mr. Gladstone's Ministry to reforms in various directions upon a more liberal basis. We have seen that Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was speedily repealed, reliance being placed upon the ordinary penalties of the law for the correction of seditious writings.



MAJOR CAVAGNARI AT A CONFERENCE WITH OFFICERS OF THE AMIR
Sir Louis Cavagnari was appointed British Resident at Kabul in 1879; three weeks after his arrival some mutinous Afghan regiments besieged the Residency and, aided by the populace, massacred Cavagnari and his companions.

From this removal of disabilities Lord Ripon proceeded to two constructive measures, one of which gave rise to a considerable enlargement of the policy initiated by Lord Mayo, while the other evoked a fierce outcry from the British Indian public at large.

The former was an extension of municipal and local boards throughout the country with the special object of enlisting the co-operation of the Indian people in matters of education, sanitation, and local works of public utility.

The latter was the introduction, in 1883, of a Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, generally known as the "Ilbert Bill," from the name of the member in charge of it, Mr. C. P. Ilbert. Hitherto, except in the Presidency towns, no charge against a European British subject could be entertained by a magistrate or a sessions judge who was not of such birth. The new Bill, which aimed at removing this restriction, at once raised a violent outburst of anger and alarm from all ranks of the British community. Europeans valued the privilege of being tried by one of their own blood, and feared that racial prejudice or even misappreciation of evidence would prejudice their trial before native magistrates. Meetings throughout the country denounced the project, associations formed themselves at various centres to bring pressure upon the Government, protests poured in upon Lord Ripon, a hot debate raged in the Legislative Council Chamber, and vigorous representations were made to the Secretary of State. In Calcutta the excitement was at its fiercest, and fears were even entertained that personal insult might be offered to the Viceroy on his return to the capital. After many months of this agitation the Government, though refusing to withdraw its Bill, assented to a compromise whereby all Englishmen were enabled to claim trial by jury throughout the country. Whether it was worth while to awaken dormant animosities for the sake of change in a procedure that had hitherto worked so smoothly has been much debated, but it must be admitted that the law as finally passed has created no well-grounded grievance.

From a matter so contentious we may pass to more pleasant things. General prosperity smiled upon the land. Surpluses

took the place of deficits; from railways, canals, and other public works the returns increased year by year; thanks to a series of good seasons the foreign trade of the country steadily rose; it was found possible to lower the salt tax and to abolish the customs duties on the importation of foreign piece-goods. With the native states no interference was found necessary; but in 1881 the transference of rule in Mysore to the young Raja came into force, and an important instrument, or Sanad, recorded in full detail the obligations under which the state's internal independence was to be guaranteed by the paramount power. Education was stimulated by the appointment of a Commission, which reviewed the whole subject from the date of the Despatch of 1854, classified the schools of all kinds, overhauled the Grant-in-Aid rules, and drew up a syllabus of recommendations for the guidance of the Departments of Public Instruction in the various provinces.

One cloud alone was visible on the horizon. During his visit to Burma, at the end of 1880, Lord Ripon received a deputation of mercantile residents at Mandalay complaining of the king's arbitrary interference with the course of trade. On his return to Calcutta the Governor-General made representations to the Court of Ava, which it was hoped would check the abuse of monopolies, which formed the chief grievance. A discontinuance of the system was promised, and a mission sent to India accepted a treaty that, if carried out, would have removed all friction between the two Governments. Thebaw, however, refused to ratify his envoy's concessions, with the result that measures of a serious nature had to be taken in Lord Dufferin's time.



Underwood & Underwood, London

A TROOP OF INDIAN CAVALRY IN THE KHAIBAR PASS

This gateway between India and Afghanistan is the only pass on the north-west frontier suitable for artillery; it is 33 miles long and is overhung by mountains which sometimes rise sheer from 1,400 to 3,000 feet above the pass.

In December, 1884, Lord Ripon left India, and, except that in 1882 he was called upon to furnish a contingent of troops for Egypt, his rule was not vexed by any military operations or by internal disturbances that demanded forcible repression.

Shortly after his arrival, Lord Dufferin invited Abdurrahman to pay him a visit in India for the purpose of discussing all outstanding questions in reference to Afghanistan. The Amir cordially responded, and in the following March arrived at Rawal Pindi in the Punjab, where he was welcomed with every honour. For some months past the Boundary Commission had been at work, when an incident occurred which threatened to put an end to the undertaking. On the left bank of the River Kushk was a place called Panjdeh, to which both Russians and Afghans laid claim. Here, on March 31, a collision took place between



A SCENE IN THE BAZAAR AT KABUL, THE CAPITAL OF AFGHANISTAN

The chief merchandise sold consists of fruit, which is grown locally, also carpets, shawls, and silk and cotton goods.



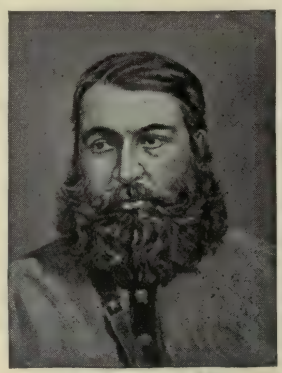
GENERAL VIEW OF KABUL, WITH THE BALA HISSAR IN THE FOREGROUND

The Bala Hissar dominates the city and is a former palace of the Amir ; it was the British Residency in 1879, and in it Major Sir Louis Cavagnari and several companions, with about 75 natives, were murdered by mutinous Afghans.

SCENES IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE AMIR

the troops of the respective nations, in which the Afghans were worsted. For the moment it seemed likely that this event would kindle a war between England and Russia.

The Amir, however, who was then being entertained as the Viceroy's guest, attached but little importance to the possession of Panjdeh, and negotiations between the Courts of St. Petersburg and St. James's ended in the neutralisation of the disputed territory until the demarcation should be completed. Meanwhile the conference at Rawal Pindi went on. Lord Dufferin's courtesy and tact were met by frankness on the part of the Amir, the gist of whose policy was a determination not to admit either Russian or Englishman within his dominions. Satisfied by assurances that the British had no thought of interference in his domestic affairs—assurances backed by promises of arms and money—the Amir returned to Kabul, henceforth to remain a loyal friend. Demarcation, interrupted for a while, was pushed forward, Sir P. Lumsden being replaced by Colonel Ridgeway, who, deputed in 1886 to St. Petersburg, brought matters to so successful a close that in July, 1887, an agreement was signed which embraced the whole of the frontier in dispute.



ABDURRAHMAN
This grandson of Dost Mohammed was proclaimed Amir by the British under General Stewart in 1880.

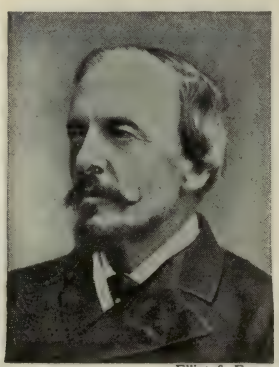
Concurrently with these negotiations ending in so friendly a manner, foreign politics had to deal with the hostile attitude of the Burman king. Reference has already been made to his treatment of commercial residents at Mandalay, and to the abortive mission of 1882. In 1885 it was suspected that Thebaw was preparing to throw himself into the arms of France as a prospective ally in case of pressure being put upon him from India. An ultimatum was therefore sent demanding that he should receive a permanent British Resident at his court, and defer to the advice of the British Government in regard to his foreign relations. The answer from Ava was a distinct defiance. Thereupon a force of 10,000 troops marched upon Mandalay, which was occupied in ten days, the king surrendering himself a prisoner.

After a full consideration of the different courses open to him in order to ensure stable government, and having himself visited the country, Lord Dufferin decided that annexation pure and simple, and the direct administration of the province by British officers, offered the best prospects of securing the peace and prosperity of Upper Burma and British Imperial and commercial interests. A complete administrative system was therefore drawn up by which the two provinces were gradually assimilated to each other. The task, however, of pacifying a country infested by robber gangs, and both unaccustomed to, and intolerant of, any form of regular government, was one that at first taxed all the energies of the new administration. Yet within two years peace and order reigned throughout, and each succeeding year has witnessed increasing prosperity with a cheerful acceptance of British rule.



Russell

MARQUESS OF RIPON
The first Marquess of Ripon was Governor-General of India from 1880 to 1884, and the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, who added Burma to the British dominions, was Viceroy from 1884 to 1888.



Elliot & Fry

MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN

While political complications were thus successfully met, legislative enactments dealt with some vexatious questions. Succinctly told, the object and result of the three great Tenancy Bills passed in Lord Dufferin's time were the settlement of disputes between the zemindar and the ryot, with especial reference to the protection of the

atter. The matter as regards Bengal had already been under the consideration of Lord Ripon's Government without any definite arrangement being come to.

Dufferin's Tenancy Bills

While the landlords contended that by Act X. of 1859 partiality had been shown to their tenants, these, on the other hand, emphasised the disabilities under which they laboured by refusing in many parts to pay rent. Act VIII. of 1885 reviewed the whole rent-law of the province, establishing a fixity of tenure whereby, while the landlord was entitled to a fair share of the increased value of the produce of the soil, the tenant obtained the same security in his holding that he had enjoyed under the old customary law.

In Oudh, again taking up the work begun by Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin carried through his Legislative Council a Rent Act which largely curtailed the powers of eviction and enhancement of rent that the talukdars claimed. Whereas hitherto the cultivator's tenure held good by law for a year only, the new Act declared the tenant-at-will entitled to retain his holding for a period of seven years from the date of his rent being settled in accordance with provisions therein laid down, and, further, to claim compensation on ejection for improvements made within thirty years previously.

Reference has already been made to a compromise in 1886 which had sought to adjust somewhat similar difficulties in the Punjab. But by 1886 these had considerably increased, and further steps were necessary to define existing rights. The result was a Bill, in 1887, which, as in Bengal and Oudh, gave relief to the tenantry, and was accepted by both parties as a satisfactory settlement of their dispute.

Though not carried through in Lord Dufferin's time, two important measures of internal policy were initiated by him. The one was an enlargement of the powers of legislative councils; the other, the admission of natives of India to a larger share of the civil appointments until then reserved for the "competition-wallah." These proposals synchronised with the formation of a body styling itself the "National Congress," which, under the fostering care of Mr. Hume, a retired English civilian, had been originally organised to promote self-government and representative institutions. The party soon fell into the hands of pleaders and the privileged classes of Hindu society, such as Brahmans, Khatris, and Bengali Babus, who gradually gained control of the native Press, receiving financial support from large landowners and others desirous of securing their interest. Mohammedans held aloof form the Congress, and the masses of the cultivators were indifferent to it. As years advanced, professional agitators and the less scrupulous adherents of the party captured the machinery, and professing to speak the voice of India, entered upon an open campaign of sedition and misrepresentation which led to serious trouble in 1907. Lord Dufferin foresaw the probable course of events, and courageously took the opportunity of a farewell dinner given to him on



KING THEBAW IN STATE

The last native King of Burma, whose misrule and arrogance drew upon him repeated remonstrances and protests from successive Governors-General of India, until the climax when Dufferin deposed him and annexed Burma.

Concerted Native Agitation

St. Andrew's Day to declare the limits within which a further share of power could alone be conceded to the educated classes.

In military matters Lord Dufferin's Government advocated a far-reaching organic reform entailing the abolition of the Presidency commands—a measure that had to wait for its fulfilment till Lord Elgin's time. Among minor events may be mentioned the rendition to Sindhia of the fortress of Gwalior, whereby the long-cherished desire of that chief was at last gratified; the foundation of the "Countess of Dufferin's Fund," out of which hospitals and dispensaries were opened for the treatment of native women by members of their own sex; the establishment of a university at Allahabad; and the gift of a Legislative Council to the North-western Provinces.

Dufferin's Military Policy

In September, 1888, Lord Dufferin was created Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, and on December 10 he made over his viceroyalty to Lord Lansdowne. It was by his own wish that his term of office had been shortened by one year, for advancing age warned him that energies tried by so many burdensome offices must seek relief in retirement from public life, or, at all events, in duties of a less exacting nature.

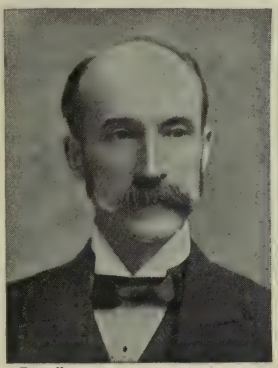
Apart from certain minor expeditions, Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty was free from the scourge of war. But many difficulties in regard to frontier states awaited his attention. Barbarous tribes had to be brought into subjection and predatory outbreaks chastised; feuds between neighbouring tribes demanded intervention; tedious negotiations were necessary for the opening up of roads for commercial enterprise; various boundaries called for definition, as, for instance, between the Shan States and Siam, between Burma and China, between Sikkim and Tibet. Here a British Agency had to be established, there the disputed succession of a chief could be settled only by our recognition; and in one state—that of Manipur, on the borders of Assam—stern measures were necessary in retribution of the treacherous murder of British officials. But no problem of foreign policy was so important as the settlement of our relations with Afghanistan. From time to time projected missions to Kabul had been abandoned for one reason or another, and

Problems of Lord Lansdowne



THE DEPARTURE OF KING THEBAW OF BURMA FROM HIS CAPITAL OF MANDALAY

especially because of internal dissensions, which Abdurrahman had to quell before he could safely engage in foreign diplomacy. However, in September, 1893, a mission under Sir H. M. Durand set out for Kabul, and was there cordially welcomed by the Amir. The result was eminently satisfactory, all questions as to respective spheres of influence being amicably decided, while an agreement was entered into for the demarcation of the whole frontier between Afghanistan and India. In return for concessions made by the Amir, his subsidy was largely increased, and the Government of India agreed to permit the importation of arms and ammunition.



Russell

MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE



Elliott & Fry

SIR H. M. DURAND

The fifth Marquess of Lansdowne was Governor-General of India from 1888 to 1893, and materially strengthened the friendliness of the ruling chiefs for the British Crown. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand was political secretary to Lord Roberts during the Afghan campaign of 1879 to 1880, and conducted the mission to the Amir in 1893.

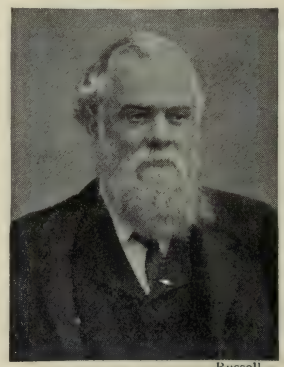
A marked feature of Lord Lansdowne's rule was his establishment of personal relations with the ruling chiefs. Within British India itself he won the approval of the educated classes by his treatment of the legislative councils. On his recommendation the number of non-official members was largely increased, the right of financial discussion and of interpretation was conceded, and, further—a privilege pre-eminently valued—the local legislatures and certain other bodies were entrusted with the selection of nominees for the Imperial Legislative Council; rules conceived in the same liberal spirit being drawn up for the local legislative bodies. In legislation itself the more important Acts due to Lord Lansdowne's government were the Factory Act, restricting the hours during which women and children might be employed; an Act by which cruelty to animals was made punishable; the Age of Consent Marriage Act, whereby the age up to which the law protected young girls was raised from ten to twelve years. To these measures must be added the appointment of a commission to consider a revision of the Deccan Relief Act of 1879.

Lansdowne's Domestic Reforms

To economics and public works Lord Lansdowne gave the closest attention. Thus, in accordance with the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1881, an Imperial Department of Revenue and Agriculture was created with provincial Departments organised upon a similar basis. Steps followed for a more scientific and more moderate assessment of the land revenue, one, too, which should tend towards relieving indebted and distressed landowners. The area brought under irrigation increased by nearly 2,000,000 acres, while close upon 4,000 miles of new railway lines were opened between 1888 and 1893. With a people so wedded to custom, perhaps no reform is more difficult than that of sanitation. Something, however, has been done by the establishment of provincial sanitary boards, and the system of waterworks introduced during Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty bids fair to be of inestimable benefit. As with so many previous Viceroys, financial disturbance troubled Lord Lansdowne. Though between 1889 and 1892 he had been favoured with considerable surpluses, deficits again made their unwelcome appearance. These were mainly due to the rapid and continuous decline in the value of silver. So great was the embarrassment thus created that the Ministry in England determined to appoint a committee to consider proposals made by the Government of India for restricting the coinage of silver at the Indian mints and making sovereigns legal tender at a rate not exceeding 36 cents for the rupee. These proposals, though modified by the committee, resulted in fixing the ratio between gold and silver at 32 cents for the rupee, and with this standard to work upon, Indian finance is now free from the oscillations that had so long vexed it from a fall in the rate of exchange.

Falling Price of Silver

In military affairs many important steps were taken. Among them were the abolition of the Presidential Army system, the amalgamation of the three separate staff corps, the recruitments from more warlike classes in many of the native regiments, the equipment of the Imperial service troops offered by the feudatory chiefs at the instance of Lord Dufferin, and large measures for the more prompt mobilisation of the army and the defence of the harbours and frontiers of India. Lord Lansdowne also laid the foundations of police reorganisation on which Lord Curzon was to build, instituted an inquiry into the administration of gaols, founded an Imperial library, and collected valuable statistics by means of the Imperial census.



Russell

EARL OF ELGIN

The ninth Earl of Elgin, was Governor-General of India 1894-99, and pursued a cautious and conservative policy.

On January 24, 1894, he handed over charge of his office to Lord Elgin with the consciousness that the measures taken during the five years of its tenure had contributed towards the greater security and increased well-being of the country at large, more active co-operation on the part of the native princes, and friendlier relations with foreign states. His successor brought to the task of governing India those qualities of common-sense and high principles which ensure success to their possessor if willing to profit by the experience of others. His judgment and courage were soon put to the test by a succession of unlooked-for calamities. The first trouble was a legacy from events occurring towards the close of his predecessor's reign. In 1892 the Mehtar of Chitral, who received a subsidy from the Government of India, suddenly died. His second son, Afzal-ul-Mulk, thereupon seized the reins of State to the exclusion of his elder brother, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who took refuge with the British at Gilgit. Hardly had Afzul established himself on the throne when he was attacked by his uncle, Sher Afzul, and fell in the struggle. In his turn Sher Afzul had to yield to the old Mehtar's eldest son, whose right was recognised by Lord Lansdowne, a British officer being appointed to reside in Chitral as representative of the Indian Government. In 1895, fresh complications arose. Umra Khan, chief of Jandol, invaded Chitral, and at his instigation Nizam-ul-Mulk was treacherously murdered by a younger brother, Amir-ul-Mulk, who called upon the Viceroy to recognise him as Mehtar. This demand was refused, and in the confusion Sher Afzul again descended from Afghanistan, like Amir-ul-Mulk, claiming and being denied recognition. A collision shortly afterwards occurred between his troops and a body of Indian sepoys, under the command of a British officer, which was driven into the fort of Chitral, and there besieged by a large force of Chitralis. Two British columns, speedily despatched, relieved the fort, order was restored, and the invader fled the country.



Russell

LORD CURZON



Elliott & Fry

EARL OF MINTO

Lord Curzon of Kedleston was Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, and followed an energetic policy of reform in every direction. The fourth Earl of Minto succeeded Lord Curzon, and was Viceroy from 1905 to 1910.

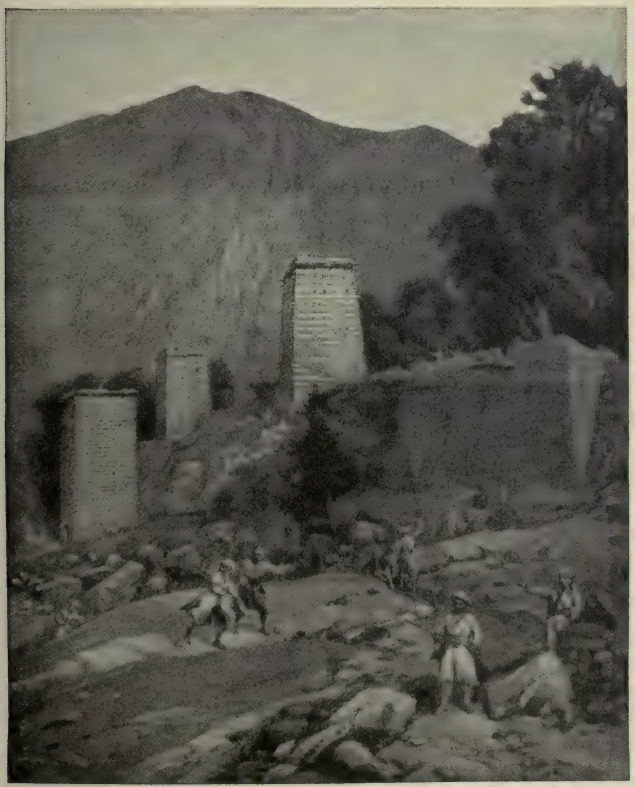
Everything now gave promise of quiet times, when once again famine loomed large. So general, indeed, was the failure of the monsoon in 1896 that distress more or less acute threatened nearly the whole of India. Every measure that previous experience had dictated was at once set in operation, yet at one period nearly 5,000,000 of half-starved human beings were earning a scanty subsistence on the relief works, while the death-rate increased by leaps and bounds. Charitable contributions from various quarters reached the high figure of some 15,000,000

dollars, and the loss to the Government of India in one shape or another was computed at not less than $85,000,000. On the top of famine came bubonic plague in Bombay, which eventually spread over the greater part of the country. Endeavours to stamp it out by isolation and sanitary precautions have been baffled as much by the caste and religious habits of the people as by the ignorance of its cause, and now it appears to have become endemic.

Plague that Follows Famine

To crown the anxiety with which the Viceroy and his councillors were beset in these directions, a general and apparently concerted rising of border tribes along the north-western frontier necessitated extensive military operations. Afridis, Mohmands, Orakzais, Buners, Waziris, and others poured down into British territory, capturing forts, beleaguering posts, and overwhelming native garrisons. For their punishment, two expeditions were fitted out—the one against the Afridis under Sir W. Lockhart, the other, commanded by Sir Bindon Blood, against the other tribes. Throughout the winter of 1897 these forces were engaged in a bitter struggle, and though in the end the insurgents were vanquished, victory was bought at a heavy cost of life and large expenditure of money. Apart from the measures demanded by famine and plague, which absorbed so much of the energies of civil governments, nothing of striking importance marked Lord Elgin's rule. Progress was made in the way of opening up a wider career to educated natives by enlarging the number of posts to which they were accounted eligible, and in developing the provincial, as distinguished from the Imperial, system; something also was done towards improving municipal administration. In 1899 Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon of Kedleston.

Work of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty



THE FORT OF CHITRAL: SCENE OF A MINOR SIEGE
In the fort of Chitral, in the native state of Chitral on the north-west frontier of Kashmir, Sir George Robertson (then Surgeon-Major Robertson) was besieged in 1895, and relieved by Colonel Kelly after a forced march from Gilghit.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between the brilliant Englishman who now took up office and the cautious Scotsman who had just laid it down—between the steady determination of the one to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors and the bold energy of the other intent upon regenerating India in every direction. During the seven years of his rule Lord Curzon pushed his inquiries into every nook and corner of the administration, completing some useful reforms and originating a variety of schemes upon the value of which time alone can pronounce. It is impossible here even to summarise the multifarious projects on which his active mind busied itself. Nor can we treat in much detail the more prominent occurrences of his rule.

Of frontier questions, those most perplexing to successive Viceroys have had reference to the North-

west. Till lately, the territory contiguous with the border was under the administration of the Punjab Government. This involved a great deal of work which, if not of any Imperial character, seemed to Lord Curzon to demand special arrangements. These he proposed to make by carving out of the Punjab a frontier province under the rule of a commissioner, subject to the Government of India. Though meeting with much opposition, the scheme was ultimately sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Cognate with it was the question of protecting the frontier. Hitherto this duty had been in the hands of Imperial troops, whose neighbourhood was thought at times likely to provoke collision with the frontier clans. It was therefore decided to substitute tribal levies under the command of carefully-selected British officers. After the severe castigation which the tribes had recently received, it was not to be expected that renewed outbursts would occur in the near future, and thus these two experiments were launched at the most favourable time. So far they seem to have been successful, but it would be rash to draw conclusions from so short an experience of their working.

Several Frontier Problems

Protection of the Frontier

Another measure which roused still greater opposition was the subdivision or "partition" of Bengal. In this there was no novelty of procedure. As Lord Dalhousie had found it necessary to sever Bengal from the Governor-Generalship, as the North-western Provinces and the Punjab became distinct provinces, and Assam a Chief-Commissionership, in each case because it was found impossible for a single officer to administer so wide an extent of country, so now Bengal required relief of a similar nature. The idea, however, roused the Bengal pleaders and the newspaper proprietors to a frenzy of wrath, and the agitation against it was active. Meetings of protest were organised throughout the province; the native Press teemed with vituperation of the most rancorous character; English goods were boycotted, and the "Friends of India," as they style themselves, still continue their outcry in the House of Commons. But the change once carried out has been maintained, and it may safely be predicted

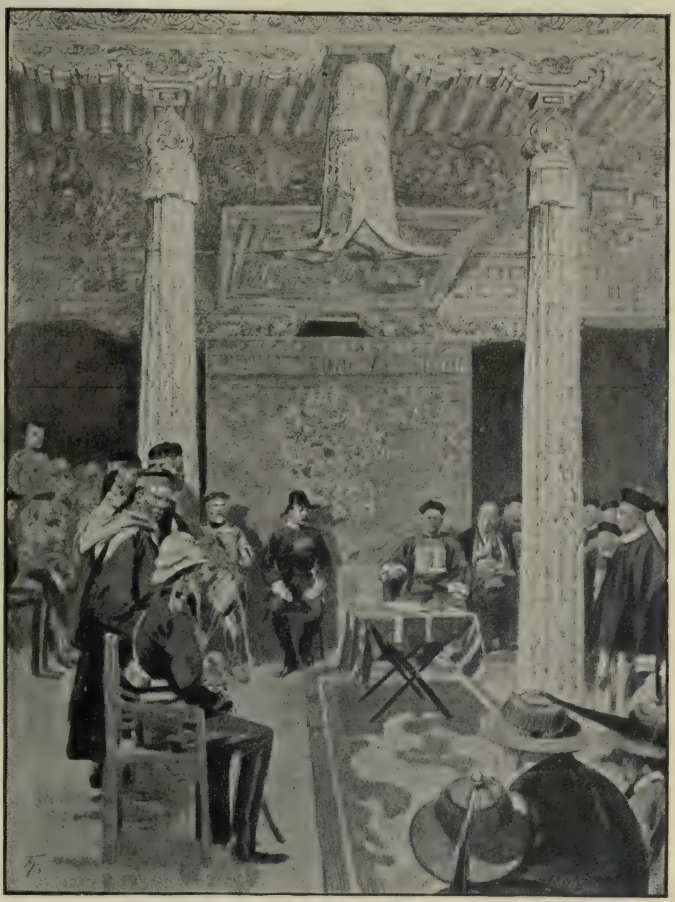


ENTRY OF THE BRITISH MISSION INTO LHASA

During the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, in 1903, a British mission under Colonel Younghusband entered Tibet to compel observance of the provisions of the treaty of 1887; a few minor engagements took place, and Lhasa was reached on August 3, 1904.

that the administrative advantages of the redistribution of charges will soon be recognised.

In financial matters Lord Curzon reaped what others had sown. Thanks largely to Lord Lansdowne's treatment of the exchange difficulty, he enjoyed a succession of surpluses averaging about fifteen million dollars. But if the funds at his disposal were large, the demands upon the public purse kept pace with the incomings. Famine, the equipment of the army, and the need of civil administrations, all helped to swallow up what might otherwise have been devoted to the remission of taxes. Not till 1903, therefore, was it possible to move in this direction. In that year, however, the salt tax was reduced by eight annas per maund, and the limit of exemption from income tax was raised, two measures involving an annual sacrifice of revenue to the amount of twelve and a half million dollars.



THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF LHASA

The Treaty of Lhasa, which was signed in the apartments of the Dalai Lama at the Potala in Lhasa on September 7, 1904, permitted trade between India and Tibet; it engaged Tibet not to sell or lease any Tibetan territory to any foreign Power without the consent of Great Britain and to pay an indemnity of $2,500,000 in 75 yearly instalments.

The famine of 1899–1900 affected a population of 25,000,000 in British India, and more than 30,000,000 in native states. For weeks together, upwards of 6,000,000 of human beings were dependent upon the charity of Government. The expenditure exceeded 30,000,000 dollars, besides liberal advances made to agriculturists, loans to native states whose finances were unequal to measures of relief, and large remissions of arrears of revenue. At the end of 1902, remissions to the extent of over 5,000,000 dollars were granted to clear off the arrears that had accumulated during the time of distress, and so to give the rural population of the affected tracts a fresh start in life. Each previous visitation had added to the experience gained by Government in respect to the treatment of famine, but much credit was due to the Viceroy's personal energy in coping with so far-reaching a calamity.

In the existing state of education, Lord Curzon found a scope for his reforming energies. To consider the subject generally, a conference was held at Simla, in 1901, at which the views of those most competent to advise were fully stated, the result being a series of resolutions embodying a programme of reconstruction. The most urgent question was that of extending elementary education, the provincial fund for which had long been insufficient. Ultimately an annual grant of thirty-five lakhs of rupees for this purpose was accepted as a permanent charge upon

the Imperial Exchequer. Something was also done for training colleges, industrial schools, and female education. The universities presented a more thorny problem. In the absence of a general inspection of the affiliated institutions, many of the so-called colleges were no better than "cramming" establishments of an unsatisfactory character, with a direct interest in lowering the university standards. This desire was tacitly encouraged by the Senates, in which a superabundance of members with no practical knowledge of education made it their object to attract the largest number of students and to glorify themselves by an increasing out-turn of graduates. By a Bill passed into law in 1894, the universities were provided with new Senates, mainly composed of teachers, and leave was given to each to frame its own regulations and to inspect its own colleges. This step, which ought to have been taken long before, was received with a storm of obloquy, on the ground that it was intended to "officialise" the universities and, by insisting upon an impossible standard of efficiency, to crush the weaker colleges out of existence.

Reform of Indian Colleges

Among foreign matters was the mission to Lhasa, provoked by the failure of the Tibetan Government to observe the treaty made with it in 1887. To the Governor-General's complaints no heed was paid, his letters being returned unopened. In 1902 a conference at Yatung was arranged with China as the suzerain of Tibet. The Chinese envoys, however, arrived too late, and nothing was done. Later on, with the consent of the Chinese, Khamba Jong, just across the Tibetan frontier, was fixed upon as the place of meeting, the Dalai Lama accepting the proposal, only to decline all negotiation when the mission arrived. It was now felt by the Governments of India that no further delay could be allowed in settling the matter. A British force, therefore, pushed on to Lhasa, which it occupied after some fighting. A treaty, subsequently revised by the Secretary of State, was exacted, the Dalai Lama fled, and the Tashi Lama, his successor, has since shown himself ready to accept British friendship. Another mission, this time to Afghanistan, was despatched in 1904, its object being to draw closer the relations between the two countries, and so persuade the new Amir, Habibulla Khan, to take measures for opening up his dominions to free commercial intercourse. A treaty was, after some delay, concluded which merely reaffirmed existing arrangements.

Tibetan and Afghan Relations

Lord Curzon, having taken leave to England in April, 1904, was reappointed Governor-General on his return to India



Edwards

GENERAL VIEW OF LHASA, THE METROPOLIS OF LAMAITE BUDDHISM

Lhasa, which means "the abode of divine intelligence," is the capital of Tibet, and has only recently been entered by foreigners. Towards the left of the picture is the Potala, the palace of the Dalai Lama, and there was signed the treaty of September 7, 1904, by which non-British interference in the affairs of Tibet was made impossible.



KING GEORGE V. AND QUEEN MARY, AS PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES, IN INDIA

In December, 1905, the Prince and Princess of Wales arrived in Calcutta. Their three months' tour was a pageant of Oriental magnificence, and brought much benefit to India on account of their reception by the native princes and people.

in the following December. He took an active part in the great scheme of military reorganisation to which the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, had devoted his energies. The Governor-General persuaded himself that the direct participation of the Commander-in-Chief, as a member of Council, in the disposal of military business that came before the Government of India would weaken the control of the civil authorities over the military affairs of India. Neither the Government of Mr. Balfour, nor that of the Liberal Party which at a later date succeeded it, shared these fears. Before, therefore, another year was over he relinquished his post in India in favour of Lord Minto, who assumed office in November, 1905.

The new Governor-General at once attended to two matters of great importance which his predecessor had nearly brought to a final issue. A Police Commission had reported upon the various forces throughout India, recommending substantial increases of pay and the introduction of much-needed reforms of system. The necessary changes were at once carried out in this department. In the extension of irrigation, the late Viceroy had provided further important safeguards against famine, and Lord Minto actively followed the lead given him.

As soon as he had settled the outstanding questions which awaited his arrival, Lord Minto strove to allay the feelings of unrest and discontent which recent changes had increased, and even proceeded to consider how far it might be possible to associate the natural leaders of Indian society in the guardianship of common and imperial interests. The formation of councils of notables, the enlargement of legislative councils, and the increase of facilities for discussion of the budget, were some of the schemes which he contemplated. Unfortunately, the Hindu Press in all parts of India, and the opposition to the division of Bengal, with the popular movement in favour of boycotting European goods, had already inflamed racial animosity; and he was obliged to turn aside for the moment from the task of reform to that of repression and the preservation of the public peace. It may be noted that during this period of unrest the Mohammedans, who have always realised that the programme of the Congress party is not in their interest, have displayed loyalty to British rule.

The tour of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and the Princess of Wales in the winter of 1905–6 was a success in every way and exercised a most salutary effect upon all ranks of Indian society.



KING GEORGE V., WHEN THE PRINCE OF WALES, REVIEWING THE INDIAN ARMY

The drawing from which the illustration is taken is the work of an artist present at the military review at Rawal Pindi, where 25,000 troops were on parade. In the picture the Prince of Wales is the front figure on horseback, Lord Kitchener is immediately behind him, and the Princess of Wales occupies the front position in the carriage.



INDIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

HAVING now traversed the dusty road of Indian history, and marked the stages along it indicated by the terms of office held by the Viceroys down to the present time, we may pause and take a general survey of the country.

India consists of two parts—British India, comprising, with Berar, which is administered by the Nizam, 1,097,900 square miles, with 244,000,000 of British subjects; and native states, under British protection, covering 675,267 square miles, with 71,000,000 of people, subject to the laws of their own ruling chiefs. The former is divided into fifteen Provinces, of which the following are the largest in matter of area: Burma, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Central Provinces and the Punjab. Of these, Bengal is the most populous, with over 45,000,000; the United Provinces, with nearly 48; Madras, with 41; and Bihar and Orissa with 34 millions, following in the order stated.

Area and Population of India

The Boards of three members, known as the Governor-in-Council in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, conduct the affairs of those Provinces; but elsewhere one Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner is the executive head of the administration. Beneath these higher authorities Commissioners, except in Madras, where there is a Board of Revenue, exercise authority over divisions, and collectors under them have charge of Districts. The 270 districts are the real units of administration in British India, being in turn subdivided into *talukas*, or *tahsils*, over which a native officer has control.

The law, whether of Parliament or of India, lays down in detail the powers which the supreme Government of India, consisting of a Governor-General and six members of Council, to which is added the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member, must retain in their own hands. The Provincial Governments exercise all authority not specially reserved by the Government of India, and in turn distribute a share of their powers among the Commissioners, the collectors—who are also magistrates—and the sub-divisional officers. Throughout, the whole administration business is divided into departments, such as judicial, revenue, military, financial, public works, political, and legislative; and as the streams of work pour in from the villages through the districts into the provincial offices, they are conducted into the proper department of the secretariat or provincial offices, whence orders issue to the part affected, or else a reference is made to the supreme Government.

How Great Britain Rules India

The Indian Civil Service, to which natives of India as well as other subjects of the King gain access by open competition, supplies the upper layer of the official classes, and is so thin that the average of civilians actually at work at any time is about one for every quarter of a million of the Indian population. Including this thin crust, mainly composed of British officers, there are some 22,000 natives of India holding public posts on monthly salaries of 75 rupees and upwards, thus forming 77 per cent. of the entire staff of officials employed in India on the salaries stated.

Part of the work of Government in British India is, however, performed by municipal and local boards. Of the former there are 714 dealing with an urban population of 17,000,000; of the latter, 1,124 administering an expenditure of over 15,000,000 dollars on education, civil works, and sanitation.

Local Governing Bodies

But the real field open in India to the application of indigenous principles of government consists of the 693 native

states under their own ruling chiefs, who apply a public revenue of 24,000,000 of rupees to their own uses and the wants of more than 70,000,000 of their subjects. Some of these chiefs rule over considerable states, while others govern mere jurisdictory estates. Five—viz., Nepal, Haidarabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir—are in direct relations with the supreme Government, in addition to 148 states in Central India, twenty in Rajputana, and two in Baluchistan. The rest are under the control of the Provincial Governments, those under Bombay numbering 354 large and small states. But none of



Frith

SIMLA: THE SUMMER HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

Simla is beautifully situated amid magnificent scenery on the southern slopes of the Himalayas; it is a sanatorium as well as the seat of the Government during the hot summer months, and during the winter it is deserted.

these states are subject to British law, the principle of autocracy pervading the whole The ruling chief promulgates laws without the intervention of a legislative council. He is supreme alike in executive and judicial matters; he spends the revenues as he thinks proper, and tolerates no free Press or political agitation. The tie which unites such states to the paramount Power is light. The British Government acts for one and all of them in their foreign relations. It regulates the extent of their armed forces, and claims their military co-operation in time of Imperial need; it settles successions, and preserves their integrity; but it does not interfere in the local affairs of those which are large enough to exercise internal sovereignty, except in cases of gross misrule.

The economic condition of British India, for which the British Governments are responsible, depends mainly upon the following facts. The population, in the main rural, is scattered among 551,490 villages. Only 8,000,000 are attending schools, of whom 505,000 are studying English. And in the whole of India, including the native states, not 37,000,000 out of 315,000,000 have ever learnt to read or write. The people are divided by religion, caste, and language, no less than 147 vernaculars being spoken in the empire. Two-thirds of the population depend on agriculture, and many more on labour or industries connected with it. Yet more than half of the empire is subject to failure of the annual rains, and therefore to a cessation of the work from which its inhabitants derive their livelihood.

The prevention and mitigation of famine therefore demand constant forethought, and in a less degree sanitary measures



The General Post Office, which is built on the site of the Black Hole.



General view of the city as seen from the Ochterlony Monument.





The Town Hall and the High Court, showing the statue of Lord William Bentinck. Photos by Frith

VIEWS IN CALCUTTA

are urgent, in view of the habits of life which favour the spread of plague, cholera, and fever. Much has been done by the extension of irrigation to prevent famine, and about one-seventh of the cropped area in British India is now fertilised by means of canals. The annual value of the crops on irrigated areas was in 1912 equivalent to over 100 per cent. of the total capital outlay, or about $207,550,000. In Sindh and the Punjab, irrigation colonies have been recently planted out on a grand scale. Railways have been extended so as to bring relief to all parts, there being now 33,494 miles of line open to traffic.

Canal and Irrigation Schemes

The material improvement effected by these measures is reflected in the extension of cultivation, the expansion of trade, and the increase of revenue. In the last five years imports have risen over 50 per cent., and exports nearly as greatly, no less and $850,000,000 worth of gold and silver having been absorbed in that period. The salt tax, reduced from 2½ rupees to 1 rupee, brings in less than formerly, and opium receipts are falling as a result of other causes. But the increased receipts from land, stamps, and excise, and the earnings of railways, produce a larger revenue. The net revenue of British India in 1912-13 was $303,426,500, and for some years now substantial surpluses have accrued. The burden of taxation proper is approximately fifty cents a head, or if land revenue, which is not taxation, be added, then it amounts to ninety cents a head. Of the total Indian debt $1,372,015,000, no less than three-fourths is productive debt, representing capital borrowed at low rates for the construction of railways and canals yielding large returns, which are therefore excluded from the net revenue mentioned above, while the country's other liabilities are covered by reserves, loans, and other assets. It may be added that the post office and telegraphs are worked at a low profit, and the country therefore escapes payment of charges which elsewhere are pitched high enough to produce a substantial revenue.

Sources of Indian Revenue

Despite, therefore, the losses due to failure of the rains, which no human foresight can avert, the risk of frontier wars, and outbreaks of devastating plague, the material condition of India is sound. It possesses a free Press, and 600 vernacular newspapers testify to the activity of its political organisations. The Government, secure in its intentions, and confident of the results which it has achieved, has hitherto taken no steps to correct the misstatements of fact which are disseminated by these organs; but the question must arise whether a foreign Government, employing a large native army and reducing its civil servants of European extraction to a minimum, can afford to allow the credulous masses of its subjects to be daily seduced from their allegiance by falsehood and seditious writing. Current events seem to indicate the necessity of educating the people more rapidly than has been the case in the past, and of placing before them the true facts relating to themselves and their governors.

At this point inquiry suggests itself as to the part which India is playing in the history of mankind. What does its possession mean to the United Kingdom? And what does British dominion mean to the Indian Empire with its vast population? The India of to-day is in every respect different from India at the beginning of the last century. Then desolation still impressed its fresh traces on the land. Internal wars and the competition of rival claimants for native states had not ceased. Forests and hill tracts witnessed human sacrifices and the most degrading superstitions. Property in slaves was recognised. The open country was exposed to gang robberies and the detestable practices of Thugs. The patient cultivator, oppressed by his landlord, was squeezed by the robber, and if a horde of Pindaris passed through his district, fire and sword worked havoc in his village. All this has been changed, and even clean forgotten by the present generation; changed not by the gradual progress of a people righting their own wrongs step by step, but by the sudden grasp of the reins by a foreign ruler, lifting up the weak, establishing courts of justice, suppressing disorder with a firm hand, and organising the military forces of India for the maintenance of peace and order. To the work of pacification succeeded the rapid application of foreign science to human needs, improving by leaps and bounds the moral and material condition of the people. Even the physical features of the country have been altered. The conservation

Progress of a Century



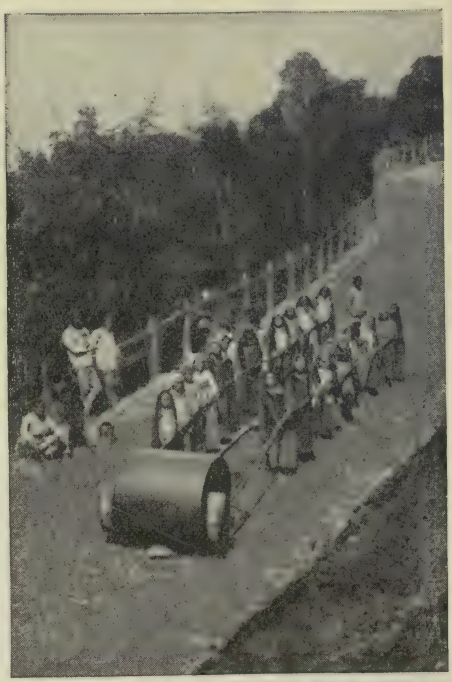
INDIAN BULLOCK CARRIAGE, OR REET



SNAKE CHARMER IN PUBLIC STREET



KASHMIR WOMEN SHELLING RICE



20-WOMAN TEAM WITH ROAD ROLLER

SCENES IN LIVING INDIA

Photographs by H. C. White Co. and Underwood & Underwood, London

and restoration of forests have reclaimed large tracts from sterility due to want of rain. The rainless tracts of desert have been converted into popular colonies of busy cultivators.

The Indian, who rarely left the limits of his village, is now a frequent traveller by road or rail. New markets have been opened to his products, foreign capital is brought from distant lands to his service, and a variety of new occupations is offered to him both above and beneath the surface of the land. The revenue returns show that in the last thirty years the proportion borne by land revenue to the gross public income has fallen from 39 to 22 per cent., thus indicating the progress of industrial enterprise. The increasing volume of trade, the absorption of the precious metals, the style of domestic architecture, the clothing of the people, their staying power, and their rapid recovery from the effects of bad monsoons or disastrous floods—all tell a tale of material progress. A moral advancement is equally visible. The East, which in olden times regarded Western methods with "patient deep disdain," now sends her sons over the seas to learn the secret of European machinery and commercial success. Hindu society, with all its watertight compartments of caste, is moving forward, and Mohammedans are no longer content to look only backwards on the glories of the past with longing, lingering looks. They have taken their education into their own hands. The minds as well as the bodies of all classes are stirred by new desires, and although the masses still lay behind their leaders, they feel the ferment of a new civilisation. Religion has not escaped the universal change. When his river gods have yielded their freedom to the engineer and the dreaded goddess of smallpox has been defrauded of her victims by the doctor, the priest must shift his ground; and although European missionaries may not win many converts, railways, public works, and hospitals have turned the world upside down, and given new courage and hopes to even uneducated masses of mankind.



THE FINEST RAILWAY STATION IN THE WORLD: VICTORIA TERMINUS, BOMBAY
This elaborate edifice, in Italian Gothic style, with Oriental modifications in the domes, was completed in 1888 at a cost of $1,500,000; it is certainly the finest railway station in India, and is said to be unequalled in any country.

India on her part, lifted from the despond and helplessness of ages by her improved communications with the West, has rendered and will render a still larger return for the services received by her. Her contributions in corn, tea, cotton, and other products to countries in which the growth of population has outstripped production, are of the highest value. Her



THE TRADE OF THE EAST: AFGHAN CAMEL TRAIN CROSSING THE INDUS WITH MERCHANDISE FOR THE MARKETS OF INDIA

This ancient means of transport for long distances is still used by certain Afghan tribes, who, on the approach of cold weather, collect their belongings, consisting chiefly of hides, fruit, and grain, which they take to the cities of India and transport from one commercial centre to another until disposal, afterwards returning to Afghanistan in the spring.

religious books, philosophic works, and languages are of great help to scientific inquirers, and there is no reason why her sons should not be enrolled in the lists of great inventors. Her fighting power and her resources may assist to promote the cause of peace, and give her neighbours a chance of acquiring that freedom and peace which she herself enjoys. The fact that the Convention of August 31st, 1907, between Great Britain and Russia includes three Asiatic countries, Afghanistan, Tibet, and Persia, and is actuated by a sincere desire "to prevent all cause of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Russia," shows how the politics of East and West are intertwined. The maintenance of peace, the development of commerce, and promotion of moral progress are the objects of British Imperial policy, and it is well that India should join hands with the United Kingdom in the attempt to secure them for her neighbours.

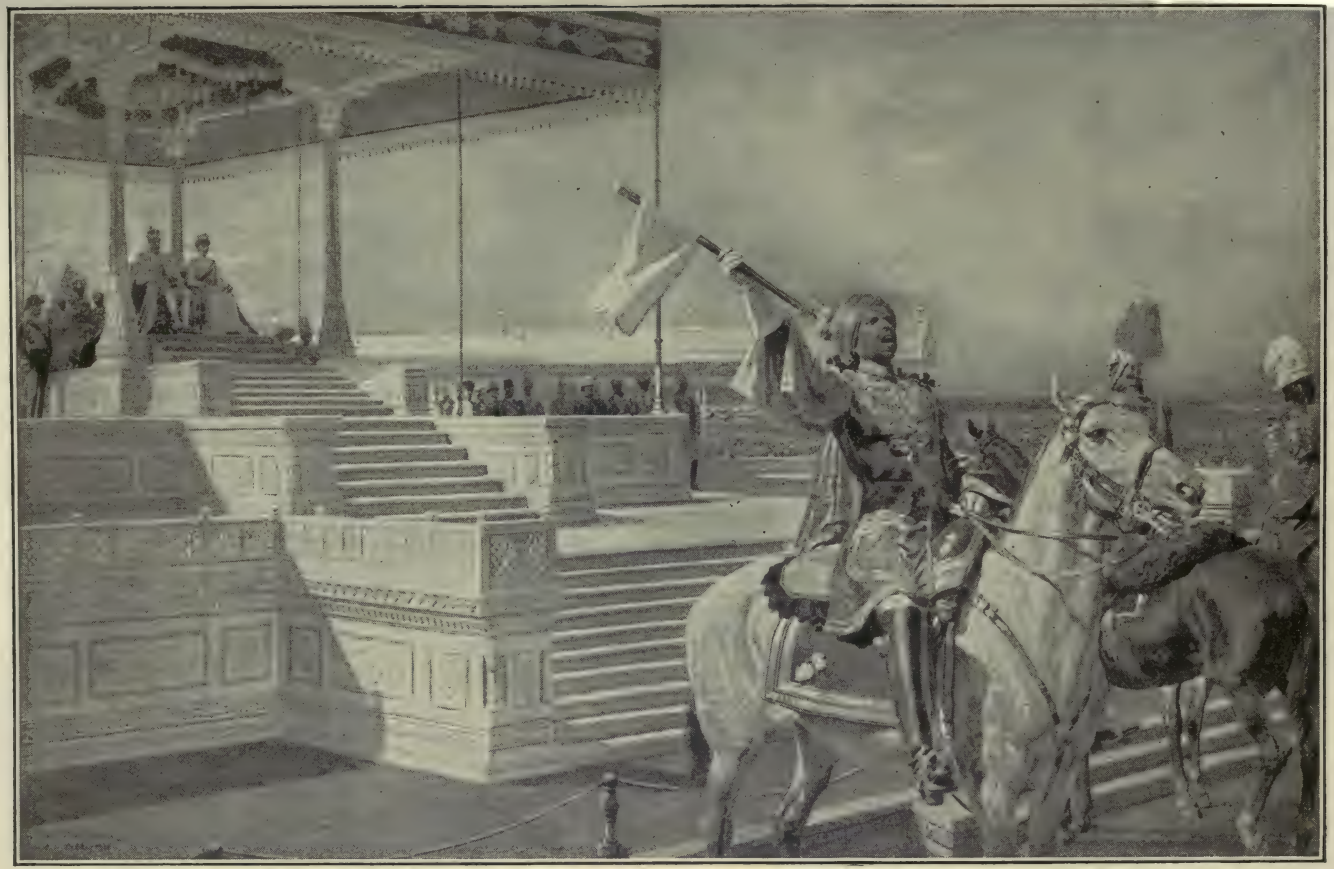
In the narrower sphere of the relations between the two countries, abundant testimony is afforded as to the far-reaching effects of their mutual interdependence. The distant dominions of the Crown in South Africa, America, and British Columbia must to some extent accommodate their local interests in the labour market to the obligations of the central authority towards the Indian subjects of his Majesty. Problems of public administration, a free Press, representation, and self-government, must be looked at from another side when applied to a population composed mainly of uneducated men, divided by sharp lines of religion and caste, upon whose patriotism—if that term means allegiance to an alien rule—too great a strain must not be placed. Questions of free trade or tariff reform cannot be settled without thought of India's feelings and wants. The difficult internal problems of the unemployed invite inquiry into the Indian plan of campaign against famine, and economists must ask themselves how it is that there is no Poor Law relief in India. These and other instances may be cited to illustrate the extent to which the internal as well as the external politics of the United Kingdom and the Indian Empire are interwoven, emphasising the oneness of mankind and the claims of universal history to the consideration of statesmen.

WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

LATER EVENTS IN INDIA

THE Indian Councils Act of 1909 made very considerable changes in the Government of India. It placed an Indian on the Viceroy's Council and enlarged this council for legislative work to a membership of 68, of whom 36 are nominated and 32 elected as representatives of landholders, professional classes, Mohammedans, and European and Indian traders and planters. The Act also enlarged both the powers and the membership of the Provincial Councils and increased the number of elected members to these councils. But Lord Morley, in introducing this Bill, stated emphatically that these reforms led neither "directly nor necessarily up to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India." The result has been that while the commercial Indians and the large landholders have welcomed these changes, the extreme Nationalists, students and lawyers for the most part, remain dissatisfied and pursue their campaign of agitation against British rule with undiminished activity.

We must, however, discriminate in considering this agitation, between the Nationalists who look for self-government for India on the lines of Colonial independence, or at least for fuller opportunities to co-operate in legislative and administrative work, and the small group of academic or physical force revolutionists, chiefly inhabitants of Bengal, who hope to make India completely independent of British sovereignty. It is computed that the latter, theorists and physical force advocates combined, only number 3 per cent. of the educated Indians. Yet in spite of the smallness of their numbers, the anarchists, for the group that practices assassination and bomb-throwing have assimilated the anarchist doctrines of the West, succeed in conveying the impression that they represent a considerable following, while the entirely loyal and constitutional Nationalists are apt to be overlooked. The Indian National Congress embodies the ideals of the Constitutionalists, the propaganda of the anarchists is carried on by the circulation of pamphlets and by newspapers in the vernacular—papers



THE KING-EMPEROR AND QUEEN-EMPRESS AT THE DURBAR HELD AT DELHI, DECEMBER, 1911. NATIVE HERALD MAKING THE PROCLAMATION

which are from time to time suppressed for sedition.

The catalogue of political murders and attempted assassinations in India since the opening of the twentieth century is too long to be written here. It must suffice to mention the murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca in London, 1909; the bombs thrown at Lord and Lady Minto at Ahmedabad that same year; and the attempt on Lord Hardinge's life at Delhi in 1912. Of course, these crimes give an altogether exaggerated notion of the "unrest" in India. The conspirators of the anarchist type are extremely few, and their influence is nil on the millions of patient labouring native Indians. But education of European pattern has turned a section of the youth of India from the traditional religions and philosophies of their fathers, and it has made them fiercely interested in politics, and unwilling to enter any profession except the law. The Indian Bar is overcrowded, the Indian student cannot become a politician of American or European type in his native land, and, in revolt against the conditions that govern his activities, he turns his hand against the British Raj, and embarks on a career of conspiracy, sedition, and murder. When more money is spent on schools and colleges in India it is possible that the unemployed pleaders at the Bar, and the young Indians of education and intelligence who now find an occupation in planning and executing assassinations, may turn to the more peaceful business of the schoolmaster; in that case, the "unrest" will no longer be displayed to the world in the form of sedition and murder.



LORD HARDINGE, Jeakins, Simla
who succeeded Lord Minto as Viceroy in 1910

The ground of "unrest" amongst the more moderate Nationalists, the partition of Bengal in 1905, was removed in 1912 by the reconstitution of Bengal as a compact Bengali-speaking province, under a Governor in Council, and the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a new province. Assam at the same time once more became a separate province under a Chief Commissioner.

Lord Hardinge succeeded Lord Minto as Viceroy in November, 1910, and a great Durbar was held at Delhi in December, 1911, to announce the Coronation of King George V., and at this Durbar, the first attended in person by the British Sovereign, the King-Emperor made the important statement that the seat of the government of India was to be transferred from Calcutta to the ancient capital, Delhi. On geographical, historical, and political grounds this choice of Delhi was made, and the new capital forms a separate territory like the District of Columbia.

The appointment of a town-planning committee, and the selection of the southern site for the capital, were followed, in December, 1912, by the formal entry of the Viceroy into Delhi. In 1916 Lord Chelmsford was appointed Viceroy.

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA

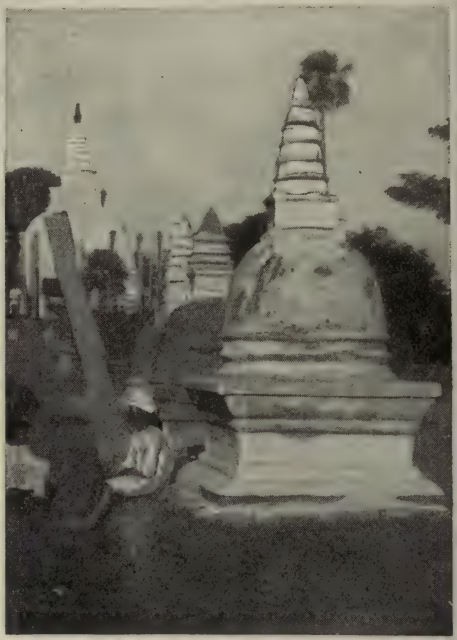
DATE	
	B.C.
3000	India occupied by Dravidian Peoples
2500	Aryan domination of Upper India
2000	The Laws of Manu
1000	The Mahabharata
500	Gautama (Buddha) institutes BUDDHISM
322	Invasion of India by Alexander the Great
250	Asoka rules in Hindustan
	A.D.
500	Buddhism displaced by the later Hinduism
664	Saracen incursions begin
	1000–1500
1001	MAHMUD OF GHAZNI begins series of Mohammedan invasions
1176	First Mohammedan Dynasty ("Ghori") established in Hindustan by Shahab-ud-Din
1206	Turkish "Slave" Dynasty established at Delhi
1288	Afghan Khilji Dynasty at Delhi
1321	Turkish "Tughlak" Dynasty at Delhi conquers the Deccan
1350	Bengal and the Deccan throw off the Delhi supremacy. Bahmani (Mohammedan) Dynasty in the Deccan
1398	TAMERLANE devastates Upper India
1414	Seiad (Arab) Dynasty at Delhi
1450	Lodi (Afghan) Dynasty at Delhi
1498	Five main kingdoms in the Deccan VASCO DA GAMA reaches India by the Ocean route The Sikh sect founded in the Punjab by Nanuk
	1501–1600
1507	Portuguese established at Goa by Albuquerque
1526	BABAR the Turk conquers Hindustan. BEGINNING OF THE MUGHAL OR MOGUL SUPREMACY
1530	Humayun succeeds Babar
1540	Humayun expelled by Sher Shah (Afghan)
1556	Return and death of Humayun. The empire won back for his young son AKBAR at Panipat
1561	Akbar assumes the government. Period of toleration, Hindus and Mohammedans being appointed impartially to the Imperial service. Organisation of the Mogul Empire over North India. The great Deccan kingdoms remain independent
1600	Charter of the English East India Company
	1601–1700
1605	Jehan Gir succeeds Akbar
1613	FIRST ENGLISH FACTORY IN INDIA AT SURAT
1620	First English settlement in Bengal, at Hugli
1627	Shah Jehan succeeds Jehan Gir. The Mogul Empire partly absorbs the Deccan
1632	FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE POWER
1639	English settlement at Madras
1658	Aurangzib deposes Shah Jehan Beginnings of the Mahratta power under Sivaji
1662	Portugal cedes Bombay
1679	Aurangzib begins conquest of the Deccan
1687	Fall of the Deccan kingdoms
1700	Govind, the last Sikh guru

DATE	
	1701–1750
1701	François Martin, French Governor in the Carnatic
1707	Death of Aurangzib, followed by gradual DISINTEGRATION OF MOGUL EMPIRE
1717	Development of Mahratta power under the Peshwa or Minister Balaji Wiswanath, at Puna
1724	Asaf Jah (Nizam), Viceroy of the Deccan, assumes virtual independence
1735	Extension of Mahratta ascendancy over Malwa
1739	Invasion of NADIR SHAH. Sack of Delhi
1740	Oudh and Bengal establish virtual independence under viceroys
1741	Dupleix Governor at Pondicnery
1746	France and Britain being at war, DUPLEIX ATTACKS MADRAS, captures it, and employs sepoys to rout the forces of the Nawab of Arcot
1748	Restoration of French and English conquests
1749	Renewed Anglo-French hostilities in support of rival claimants to the thrones of Haidarabad and Arcot
1750	Predominance of the French
	1751–1800
1751	CLIVE AT ARCOT: BEGINNING OF BRITISH ASCENDANCY
1752	Surrender of French at Trichinopoli
1756	Black Hole of Calcutta
1757	BATTLE OF PLASSEY ESTABLISHES BRITISH POWER IN BENGAL
1760	Lally decisively defeated by Eyre Coote at Wandewash
1761	END OF FRENCH POWER IN INDIA
1764	Overthrow of Mahrattas by Ahmed Shah at Panipat Bengal secured by Munro's victory over the Oudh Nawab at Buxar
1765	CLIVE ACCEPTS THE DIWANI OF BENGAL FOR THE COMPANY FROM THE MOGUL
1773	Suppression of the Rohillas. North's Regulating Act
1774	WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General
1780	First Mahratta war; capture of Gwalior. Invasion of Carnatic by Haidar Ali of Mysore
1782-3	The French admiral Suffren in Indian waters. The crisis ended by the death of Haidar, and the treaty of Versailles
1784	PITT'S INDIA ACT
1786	Cornwallis, Governor-General
1790	War with Tippu Sahib of Mysore
1792	Partial annexation of Mysore
1793	The permanent settlement (of land) in Bengal Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Governor-General
1798	Lord Mornington (MARQUESS WELLESLEY), Governor-General
1799	CONQUEST OF MYSORE
1800	"Subsidiary alliance" with the Nizam
	1801–1850
1803	Second Mahratta war. British victories of Assaye and Laswari
1805	Barlow, Governor-General *ad interim*. Mahratta treaties

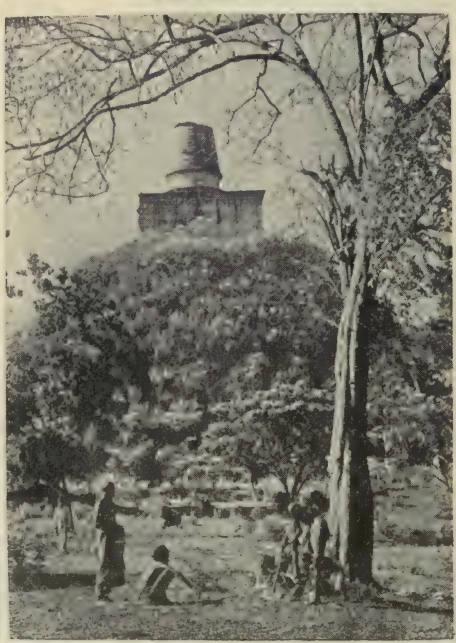
DATE	
1807	Minto, Governor-General. Missions to Persia, Afghanistan,
1808	the Punjab, and Sindh
1809	Treaty with RANJIT SINGH
1813	Lord Moira (Lord Hastings), Governor-General
1814-5	GHURKA OR NEPAL WAR. Treaty with Nepal
1817-8	PINDARI WAR, developing into third Mahratta war. Annexation of Peshwa's territories
1820	Extension of (the Sikh) Ranjit Singh's power in the Punjab
1823-6	Lord Amherst, Governor-General. First Burmese war. Annexation of Assam, Arakan, and Tennasserim
1828	BENTINCK, Governor-General
1829	Abolition of Suttee
1830	Suppression of Thuggee
1835	Establishment of educational system. Liberty of the Press
1836	Auckland, Governor-General
1839	Shah Shuja restored at Kabul by British arms. Death of Ranjit Singh
1841	DISASTER OF KABUL
1842	Afghan war. Kabul recaptured. Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General
1843	Annexation of Sindh. Gwalior repressed in the MAHARAJPUR Campaign
1844	Hardinge, Governor-General
1845	Sikhs invade British territory. SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN concluded by battle of Sobraon
1848-9	Dalhousie, Governor-General. Second Sikh war ended by battle of GUJERAT ANNEXATION OF PUNJAB
	1851–1911
1852	Second Burmese war. Annexation of Pegu
1853	Annexation of Nagpur
1850	Annexation of Oudh
1857	Canning, Governor-General OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY (May), Storming of Delhi and reinforcement of Lucknow (Sept.). Relief of Lucknow (Nov.)
1858	Suppression of Mutiny TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT FROM THE COMPANY TO THE BRITISH CROWN Canning first Viceroy
1862	Lord Elgin, Viceroy
1863	Ambela Campaign
1864	Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy
1869	Lord Mayo, Viceroy
1872	Lord Mayo assassinated Lord Northbrook, Viceroy
1875	Visit of the Prince of Wales (Edward VII.)
1876	Lord Lytton, Viceroy
1877	Queen proclaimed Empress
1879	Afghan War
1880	Lord Ripon, Viceroy
1881	British withdrawal from Afghanistan
1885	Lord Dufferin, Viceroy
1886	Burma annexed First Meeting of National Congress
1887	Anglo-Russian agreement regarding Afghan frontier
1888	Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy
1893	Lord Elgin, Viceroy
1898	Lord Curzon, Viceroy
1905	Lord Minto, Viceroy
1909	Indian Councils Act
1910	Lord Hardinge, Viceroy
1911	King-Emperor and Queen-Empress hold Durbar Delhi is made the capital of India



The Ruanweli Dagoba, a Buddhist monument dating from about 200 B.C.



Thuparamaya Dagoba, the shrine of Buddha's jawbone, erected about 250 B.C.



The Abayahagiriyn Pagoda, completed in 87 B.C. over a relic of Buddha.



The ruins of a nine-storey palace built about 200 B.C., and set with precious stones.

RUINS OF CEYLON'S ANCIENT CAPITAL CITY OF ANURADHAPURA

Photographs by H. C. White Co. and Underwood & Underwood, London



A RULING PRINCE OF WESTERN INDIA WITH HIS VASSALS



TRAVELLERS WITH ESCORT IN THE ANCIENT PROVINCE OF KATWA



CEYLON

THE LAND, THE PEOPLE, AND THE LEGENDARY PERIOD

THE history of India at the very earliest times known to us has been influenced by its position on the southern boundary of a great continent. Its frontier mountain ranges, apparently impassable, have been repeatedly crossed by foreign nations, and these invasions constantly transformed the history of the country so richly dowered by Nature. The case of Ceylon is wholly different. As the most southerly outpost of India, it is so far removed from the rest of Asia that no races have penetrated the island from the interior of the continent.

Every invasion within historical times started from the peninsula itself, from which Ceylon is divided by a narrow strait little broader than a river. As regards its general characteristics, therefore, it is practically a continuation of India. The Eastern and Western Ghats form an abrupt boundary to the Deccan. On the south lie the plains of the Carnatic, broken by several isolated plateaus—the Sivaroy, Palni, and other mountains—and by numerous small islands of granite and gneiss rock. This plain gradually sinks away southward to fall below the sea at the Coromandel coast. Beyond the narrow Palk Straits, Ceylon gradually rises again above the sea-level, the north of the island being almost entirely flat coral soil, while in general outline the whole is formed like a shield. The centre of this immense shield, the highlands of Malaya, are crowned by the central mountain range of Ceylon, the most southerly and the greatest of those isolated mountain systems in Southern India. The narrow straits are interrupted by numerous islands placed like the pillars of a bridge, and form rather a link of communication between the island and the mainland than an obstacle to intercourse, the characteristics of both countries being almost identical in consequence of this connection. In Ceylon, as in India, the rocky foundations of the soil consist of the same primeval stone, and on each side of the Palk Strait the characteristics of rocks and mountains are identical. The same winds blow upon both countries; in the summer the rainy south-west monsoon bringing a bountiful supply of moisture to the steep and mountainous west, while in winter the dry north-east monsoon refreshes the eastern side of the island.

Position of the Island

Physical Features of Ceylon

The vegetable world of Ceylon is therefore a repetition of that of India. The west of each country is marked by luxuriant growth and inexhaustible fertility, while the east shows a poorer vegetation and a more niggardly soil; in the east, as in the flat north of the island, the population attains to any density only when the industry of man has succeeded by scientific works of irrigation in collecting the fertilising moisture against the times of long drought. The fauna of Southern India and of the island are again, generally speaking, identical. In both cases the

forests are inhabited by the elephant, the great cats—the Bengal tiger alone has not crossed the straits—apes, snakes, white ants, and leeches. The scanty means of livelihood produce the same epidemics in the dwellers of both countries; sickness and death are due to cholera, and especially to malaria, which is prevalent at the foot of the mountain ranges and of the many isolated peaks, with their blocks of stone thrown in wild confusion one upon another, as also in the jungles of the river beds.

Plants and Animals of Ceylon

It would be astonishing if this identity of natural characteristics were not observable also in the population which has inhabited the island from the remotest antiquity. At the present day Ceylon, like India, is inhabited by two main types anthropologically and ethnologically different, a dark and a fair race, of whom the latter immigrated at a comparatively late time, and were not the original inhabitants of the island.



H. C. White Co.

GROUP OF YOUNG SINGHALESE WOMEN

In primeval times India, like Ceylon, was the home of one race only, characterised by dark colouring, wavy hair, and small or even diminutive stature. The facts of geology, and of the distribution of plants and animals, prove that the continent and the island must have formed a continuous whole at no very remote epoch. Assuming, however, that the Palk Straits have always been situated where they are now, it would have been an easy task for people, even in the lower stage of civilisation, to have crossed from the plains of Southern India by the Adam's Bridge to the attractive districts of the island. It can be historically demonstrated that Tamil invasions took place at least two thousand years ago, and the plantations of Ceylon at the present day annually attract from the continent a Dravidian population which is to be numbered by thousands. It is, however, certain that before the first historical immigration the island was inhabited by tribes standing in the closest possible relation, anthropologically and ethnologically, to the Dravidian peoples. The legendary woodland tribes of the wild Wakka are undoubtedly to be identified as the ancestors of the modern Veddas; while, in all probability, the first Aryan immigrants into Ceylon found other Dravidian races in possession who had risen to a higher state of civilisation in more favourably situated habitations. The "Tamils of Ceylon," who now inhabit the north and the east coasts of the island, are undoubtedly for the most part descendants of those Dravidians who overran the island from the north in numerous campaigns.

Together with this dark race of primeval Indian origin, the island is inhabited in the more fertile south-west portion chiefly by the Singhalese, an entirely different race, both in civilisation and physique. These were originally strangers to the country, with totally different physical characteristics, language, religion, manners, and customs. Where was the home of these strangers? Certainly not in the south of India, which was then inhabited by pure Dravidians. The geographical position of Ceylon obviously points to North India as the most probable point of departure for a migration of this nature. The southern part of the island is confronted by no country whatever, while in the east and west the mainland is far distant and is divided from Ceylon by broad oceans, to be

Races of the Island

traversed only by the children of a highly-developed civilisation. On the other hand, the coasts of Nearer India, curving inwards from the north-west and north-east, plainly point the mariner towards Ceylon. With the exception of a few Malays introduced within the last century, the island exhibits no trace of Indonesian or Malay blood which might in any way remind us of the African races. On the other hand, the nearest relations of the Singhalese are to be found along the line of the coast routes followed by those Aryans who crossed the mountain frontier and entered India in the third millennium B.C., and in the mixed tribes of the North Indian plains descended from them; physical characteristics, language, customs, and social organisation alike point to this origin. Evidence of this nature even enables us to define with some precision the date at which these immigrants entered the island and the road by which they came. The highest castes of the Singhalese have always been the Goiwansa or Handuruwo — that is to say, those of noble birth; Brahmans have never found a place among their various castes. Where they are mentioned by tradition, or in historical records, we have to deal with pure invention on the part of the chronicler, or with foreign Brahmans, references to whom occur, for example, in the accounts of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon; in no case, however, do the Brahmans appear as an essential element in Singhalese society. Thus the Singhalese branch must have broken away from the Aryan-Indian group of peoples at a time when the Brahmans had not yet secured their supremacy over social order, justice, and morality, popular feeling, thought, and action—that is to say, before the period of the formation of the great states of the central Ganges. Hence the Singhalese migration cannot have started from the east of India, from the mouths of the Ganges, or from Orissa; for it was not until the Brahman's supremacy had been assured that the Aryans advanced into those districts. At a much earlier period the Aryans on the west had advanced to the sea, starting from the Punjab and following the Indus to the mouths of that river, while at a later period they followed the Aravalli Mountains to Gujerat. But the Indus was of very little importance as a trade route for transmarine commerce; its current was too strong, its delta too soft and shifting, while the sea coast offered no protection against storms. On the other hand, an admirable base for transmarine enterprise was afforded by the sheltered Gulf of Cambay, running far into the country with its rich hinterland. This was the point where the Aryans took the sea, during the flourishing period of the great Aryan states on the Ganges; and during the whole of the Mohammedan period it formed the chief harbour of India. The inference that earlier Aryan marine migrations started from Cambay is irresistible.

Advance of the Aryans



Underwood & Underwood

SINGHALESE CRAFTSMEN AT WORK

The Castes of the Singhalese

This conclusion is well supported by tradition. In Ceylon, human memory has been more tenacious than on the Indian continent, and has preserved a reliable historical record for more than 2,000 years. It is true that the epic of Ramayana, which in its Singhalese form is a shorter imitation of the great work of Walmiki, a glorification of the mythical conqueror of Ceylon, is pure poetical

invention. Unhistorical are all the legends there related of the expedition of Rama, of the seduction of his faithful wife Sita, of his alliance with the apes—the black races of the Southern Deccan—of his enemies the Rakshasa, of his bridge over the straits, his wonderful exploits, and his ultimate return to India. Rama is a model of virtue from the Brahman point of view, and the many exploits related of him are only the scaffolding used by the artists in constructing the ideal of a Brahman royal prince.

Legends & Traditions of Ceylon

We have, however, more valuable historical sources. The monarchy lasted for more than 2,000 years, as did the Buddhism which it protected, a course of development more favourable to the muse of history than the political and religious revolutions which disturbed the history of India proper. In the monastic libraries everything was recorded which concerned the order itself and its patrons the kings; and the annals thus collected were from time to time condensed into literary works.

Thus the oldest of the Ceylon monasteries, the Mahawira, or Great Monastery in Anuradhapura, has preserved the tradition of the introduction of Buddhism, and the history of the "Great Family" of 174 kings, in its chronicle, called the Mahawansa. Two Pali books, the Dipawansa, or History of the Island, and the Mahawansa, which is later by 150 years, are works diverging but little from the original, and, like that original, both are continued until the death of King Dhatusena in 479 A.D. At a later period, however, continuations were constantly added to the Mahawansa, which were carried on to the end of the Singhalese monarchy and till the English occupation in 1816. For a long period these and similar works lay forgotten in the libraries of the monasteries, until, in 1836, George Turnour made the first part of the Mahawansa known by a faithful translation, throwing a flood of light upon the early history of Buddhism. Other chronicles display divergences from the original source, which explain the difference between the views of the several monasteries to which they belong; they are shorter, less accurate, and, moreover, inadequately translated. A third class of documents is still hidden in the collections of manuscripts within the Buddhist monasteries.

Ancient Historical Records

In the case of every chronicle the light of history dawns only with the introduction of Buddhism into the island—that is, with the time of Asoka, in the third century B.C. The accounts given of earlier events in Ceylon are chiefly pure Buddhist invention, which attempted to increase the sanctity of the sacred places in the island by asserting the presence therein of Buddha or of his twenty-three predecessors. These improbabilities apart, the prehistoric portions of the chronicles contain secular stories of far greater importance for us. Here we find reduced to writing that tradition which for centuries had been handed down by the people; transformed and decorated, no doubt, the work of whole epochs being assigned to individual personalities, but, on the whole, plain and recognisable in its main features. The very first figure of Singhalese history can be supported from the evidence of historical ethnology. Wijaya—or *Victory*—led the foreign tribes across the straits, and his characteristics can be recognised in the Aryans who advanced to the sea before the era of Brahman supremacy.

Story of a Royal Exile

In the country of Lala, or Gujerat, so runs the legend in chapter seven of the Mahawansa, a lion surprised a caravan which was escorting the daughter of the King of Wanga and of a Kalinga princess; the lion carried off the king's daughter to his cave, and from their marriage was born a son, Sihabahu, and a daughter, Sihasiwali. Mother and children fled from the captivity of the lion; the lion's son grew up and, after killing his father, became the successor of his maternal grandfather, the King of Wanga. At a later period, however, he returned to his native country of Lala, and built towns and villages in the wilderness, in spots where irrigation was possible. His eldest son, Wijaya, was made viceroy when he came of age; but he developed into an enemy of law, and his associates committed innumerable acts of treachery and violence. Ultimately the people grew angry and complained to the king. He threw the blame on the friends of the prince, but censured his son severely. The offences were repeated, and upon the third occasion the people called out, "Punish thy son with death." The king then half shaved the heads of Wijaya and his 700 retainers, and put them on board a ship, which was driven forth into the

open sea. Wijaya first landed in the harbour of Supparaka, in India; fearing, however, that the reckless immorality of his followers would arouse the animosity of the natives, he continued his voyage. This prince, by name Wijaya, who then became wise by experience, landed in the district of Tambapanni, of the country of Lanka, or Ceylon. As the King Sihabahu had killed the lion, his sons and descendants were called Sihala—that is, lion slayers; and as this island of Lanka was conquered and colonised by a Sihala, it was given the name of Sihala—Europeanised as Ceylon—that is, Lion Island.

The historical foundation of this legend carries us back to the starting-point of the Singhalese settlement, the country of Lala; the name survived in the Greek Larike, the modern Gujerat; the solitary lion, who at the very outset inhabited the country and attacked and plundered the neighbours, is to be explained as an early Aryan settlement on the Gulf of Cambay. The nickname of "lion" was a favourite designation for all the warrior Aryans and their leaders. In Gujerat itself a famous dynasty, known as "the Lions," continued till recent date; while all Sikhs bear the name of Singh—*i.e.*, Lion. At that period the Aryan conquerors had not been subjected to the stern caste regulations of the Brahmans, and had no scruples of conscience in contracting alliances with native wives—*e.g.*, the Kalinga princess. The migration to Ceylon belongs to a somewhat later time. The lion prince made the former desert a populous country, with towns and villages; then further disturbances broke out. According to the Buddhists, who followed the Brahman version of Indian history, the lawlessness of Wijaya and his adherents consisted merely in resistance to the Brahman claims. The rulers attempted to use compulsion. However, the bold spirit of the warlike part of the Aryans continually revolted against Brahman predominance, until the warriors were defeated and sailed away to seek intellectual freedom in a new country. Driven back from the Malabar coast, where Brahman influence seems to have penetrated at an earlier period, they found what they required on the north-east coast of Ceylon, an arable district untroubled by Brahmans.

Wijaya landed with his adherents, apparently about 543 B.C., at Tambapanni—according to the Sanscrit name of the river, Tamraparni, the Taprobane of the Greeks. His later history is adorned by tradition with features familiar in the legends of Odysseus, and perhaps appropriated thence, owing to the intercourse of early European civilisations with the Spice Islands. The strangers first fall into the hands of an enchantress, Kuweni, who kept them fast in an underground place; they are then freed, as in Homer, by Wijaya, who is helped by a god well disposed to man—in this case, Vishnu. He marries the princess enchantress, and with her help becomes supreme over the country; then, however, he divorces her and marries the daughter of the powerful neighbouring King Pandu of Madura, while his comrades take wives from the daughters of distinguished families in the Pandu kingdom.



Underwood & Underwood, London

SITE OF THE CITY OF ANURADHAPURA

The growth of the jungle is so rapid that sites of the old towns in Ceylon are soon overgrown; even the once great city of Anuradhapura, the capital before our era, is now, as this picture shows, overgrown with the jungle.

The death of Wijaya, who left no legitimate descendant, was followed by a short interregnum—the country of Lanka was without a king for a year; however, a new influx of the Aryans arrived from Lala, and Wijaya's nephew, Panduwasudewa, seized the throne of the Singhalese king. After the death of his son Abhaya, the succession was interrupted for seventeen years by disputes about the kingship. Then, however, after the defeat and slaughter of an uncle, the most important

of the legendary rulers ascended the throne, by name Pandukabhaya. Under his governorship the Singhalese State rose to considerable power; the different races of the island were reconciled, and lived peacefully together in the capital of Anuradhapura. This town had been founded by the first settlers; now, however, the tank which had been previously built was extended to form a great lake, and by the construction of a palace and shrines for the different religions and sects the settlement became highly important, and is spoken of by the chronicler as "delightful and well built." The oldest of the king's uncles, the former Prince Abhaya, was installed as governor of the town; two Yakkas were appointed as overseers for every two of the four quarters into which the town was divided, another Yakka being made sentinel of the southern gate. The despised races, such as the Chandalas, were settled in the suburbs, where they were employed in street-cleaning, police work at night, and burials; outside the town, cemeteries and places for torture and execution were constructed. The royal hunters—the Veddas, who now dwell apart from the other inhabitants—had a street of their own. The king appears in the character of a benevolent monarch. Hospitals are erected for the sick, and the ruler attempts to meet the views of the various religious sects by assigning quarters to them, building them houses. and erecting temples. The Singhalese rulers thus mentioned by tradition cannot be considered in any degree historical personages. Wijaya is as vague a personality as the founder of Rome, and Pandukabhaya was no more a legislator than Numa. It is probable that the characteristics of famous generals were interwoven with the picture of those legendary kings; the most we can say is that they represented successive stages of civilisation. Wijaya is the personification of the first Aryan emigration, as Panduwasudewa is of a second; his successor, Abhaya, represents the struggle of the princes for supremacy, while Pandukabhaya personifies the final victory of one individual over his rivals, and the introduction of social order, the reconciliation of the natives to the immigrants, the rise of general prosperity, and the development of the kingdom. Generally speaking, the Aryan development in Ceylon advanced on parallel lines with the development of the kindred tribes in the Ganges territory. The victorious conquest of the original inhabitants and the occupation of the country, the struggles of princes with one another, and the final formation of certain great towns, supported by the many natural products produced by cutivation or by a bountiful Nature, and advanced by the peaceful incorporation of the subject tribes into the body politi —such is the general course of development. In one respect only was the development of the island Aryans essentially different from that of their brothers on the mainland—the Brahmans never asserted their fatal influence upon the intellectual development.

Building of a Mighty Capital

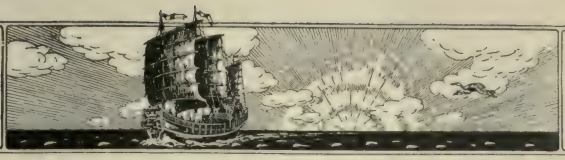
Development of Settled Government



H. C. White Co.

ANCIENT SHRINE OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON

The Temple of Isurumuniya at Anuradhapura, dating from 300 B.C., and attributed to King Tissa, is hewn from the living rock on a lake surrounded by lotus plants but infested with crocodiles.



PROFESSOR
EMIL
SCHMIDT

CEYLON IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

THE early history of Ceylon assumes a more reliable character about the year 300 B.C. It is characterised by three main movements—Buddhism, internal struggles for the succession, and foreign wars with the Dravidians on the continent.

The first human figure in Singhalese history is Dewanampiya Tissa, the contemporary of King Asoka. In the Singhalese chronicles his date is not yet accurately determined. While his own history is written in full detail, the scantiest account is given of his three successors, of whom we know little more than the facts that they were all younger brothers of Tissa, that each of them reigned ten years, and that they endowed many pious foundations to support the monks. Similarly, King Asela, who is distinguished from the above-mentioned rulers by the first entrance of the Tamils into the succession, is said to have reigned ten years. He is stated to be the son of King Mutasiwa, who had died a century earlier!

Beginning of Buddhism in Ceylon

These accounts of the different reigns have often received wholly arbitrary additions. Consequently the great event in Ceylon, the introduction of Buddhism under Tissa, is to be placed at a later date than that assigned by the chronicles. The chroniclers supposed Tissa to have accepted the new doctrine shortly after his accession, which is stated to have occured in 307, the actual date being 251 B.C., and placed his death in 267 B.C., whereas the despatch of Buddhist monks to Ceylon by Asoka did not take place before 250 B.C.

The monarch who gave the monks so hearty a reception was naturally painted by them in most brilliant colours. Tissa is placed at an equal height of piety to Asoka, who had extended his kingdom from Afghanistan to the modern Mysore, and legend is even ready to retrace the friendship of the two monarchs to their association in a previous state of existence in which the kings were said to have been brothers. But all this brilliant description cannot entirely hide the truth that the Ceylon king was dependent in some degree upon Asoka. In his thirteenth rock inscription, Asoka prides himself on the fact that he had disseminated the Dhamma "as far as Tambapanni"; moreover, Tissa, who ascended the throne amid great festivities in 251 B.C., represents himself as being again crowned by special deputies of Asoka after the exchange of rich presents destined for coronation purposes. The surprising liberality with which the exponents of the new doctrine were received was probably due in part to the dependent position of Ceylon. Mahinda, the son of Asoka by a woman of inferior birth, the daughter of a merchant in Wedisa, was most kindly received by Tissa with six other missionaries a month after his second coronation.

Ceylon Subject to Asoka

Magnificent endowments of land, such as the splendid park of Magamega in the capital, together with the mountain of Chetya, were the first gifts to the missionaries; the transference was made with the greatest pomp, and dwellings for the monks were immediately erected upon the lands. On the very first day the king and six thousand of his subjects were converted to the new teaching, which had long before lost its original simplicity, and in which the worship of relics was an important element. Hence almost immediately two of the greatest objects of veneration were brought by special ambassadors from the country of the founder; these were the collar-bone of the "Enlightened One," and a branch of the sacred Bo tree. At the present day upon the island the shrines built for such relics with their cupola-shaped thupas or stupas, in some cases of enormous size, are to be found by thousands, and are a characteristic feature in the landscape. The relics were accompanied by the order of nuns of Samghamitta, who also found many adherents.

Shrines and Relics of Buddha

The introduction of Buddhism was fraught with the most important consequences to the whole development of the Singhalese people. The Indian Brahmans had attained their high position at the

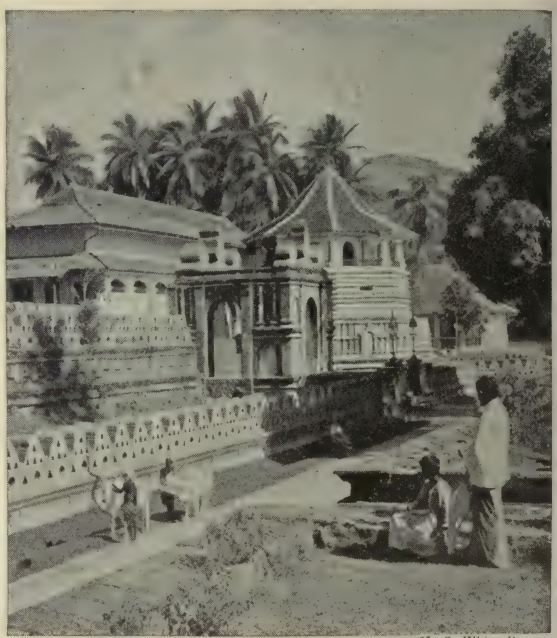
price of severe struggles; the Buddhist monks received theirs as a present from the Singhalese kings, and henceforward the people were under their spell. At the moment the order merely acquired sites for the erection of monasteries, of summer resorts, and of shrines for relics. In other respects, the command of complete poverty which Buddha had laid upon his *bikkhus*, or beggars, was strictly followed, and the monks obtained the necessaries of life as alms, and in no other way; but after a little more than one hundred years this rule was broken, first by the king Duttha Gamani, who was celebrated for his services to the order, and afterwards by his grandson Wattha. Successive kings assigned the best land, the canals and tanks, and, indeed, whole villages with their inhabitants, to the monks. By degrees, if not the whole, at any rate the best part, of all arable and cultivated land passed into their possession.

Growth of Monastic Wealth

Meanwhile the inhabitants became impoverished. The population increased in proportion to the land recovered for cultivation by means of irrigation, but the products of such land chiefly went to support the idle monks. Many villages were in a state of serfdom to the monasteries; the remainder, oppressed by the royal taxes and the alms which they were obliged to place in the pots of the yellow-robed mendicants, were cut off from all hope of prosperity. A considerable proportion of the growing youth disappeared into the monasteries of monks and nuns; those who remained upon the land were oppressed by the teaching that activity in any form was an obstacle to true happiness; while intellectual growth became impossible, and freedom or self-respect were unknown.

The pious king who had introduced Buddhism to the island, with many of his successors, might well look with satisfaction upon the wealth of the country, the increase of agriculture, the growth of the population, and the boundless piety of his subjects. To the splendour of the capital, even in later times, testimony is borne not only by the admiring accounts of the Singhalese historians and Chinese pilgrims, but still more by the miles of ruins, now hidden in the primeval forest, which alone mark the sites of former temporal and ecclesiastical palaces. The extent of the arable land and the thickness of the population are shown by the enormous tanks—now dry—almost as large as lakes; while the slavish subjugation of the people is evidenced by the gigantic shrines and the many miles of irrigation works which were constructed by the forced labour of the villages and districts. But the apparent greatness of the royal power was at the same time its weakness; the people over whom the king ruled was a people of subservient slaves. In the mountains only did a remnant of the former population survive; even there small ruins of monasteries are to be found; but there also lived strong and independent men. When a Tamil invasion overran "the royal domains" on the great northern plains and compelled the king to flee from his capital, the wave of conquest was broken upon the mountains.

Remains of Former Splendours



H. C. White Co.

THE MOST SACRED TEMPLE OF BUDDHA'S TOOTH

This temple was built in Kandy in the fourteenth century to contain an alleged tooth of Buddha, which speedily caused the city to become an important centre of Buddhist power and influence throughout Ceylon.

Almost all the kings were good rulers according to Buddhist ideas; but their praise depends entirely upon the extent of the gifts with which they endowed the order. Mahawansa in one and the same breath relates that Asoka, the great friend of the order, was the wisest and best of princes, and that he killed his ninety-nine brothers to secure his sole power in Jambudipa, or India. Similarly, later the murderers of brothers and kings are described as "men who devoted themselves to works of love and piety," or as men "who after their death enter the community of the king of the gods," provided only that they were benevolent to the order during their reigns.

The numbers, the riches, and the influence of the order increased with extraordinary rapidity. Purity of life and doctrine, however, deteriorated no less speedily. The history of the order is a history of violent schisms. From the time of King Wattha Gamani, the brotherhoods of the monasteries of Mahawihara and Abhayagiri were separated by bitter jealousy and hatred; the tension increased with the value of the possessions which the kings assigned to one or other of the parties, and bloody struggles broke out the moment the king definitely declared for either of the two rivals. Energetic rulers made attempts at reunion, which appeared successful for the moment; but the old hatred invariably broke out sooner or later, and seriously impaired the prestige of the Church. The disconnected nature of the doctrine itself was reflected in the looseness of monastic morality. Mahawansa complains, "In the villages which have been presented to the order, purity of life for the monks consists solely in taking wives and begetting children." The people gradually grew more indifferent to the order, for which their respect had long since ceased; and the order itself was so shattered by the long, weary Tamil wars that from 1065 A.D. onward scarce four monks in full orders could be found throughout the island. Since this was the number required by the laws of the Church for the formation of a legal chapter and the creation of new members, monks had to be imported from India or Burma. The list of successors to Dewanampiya Tissa provides a more intelligible but a far less pleasing picture than the obscurer figures of that monarch's predecessors. After the reigns of three kings, who appear but shadowy personalities in the chronicles, the Tamils invaded the country in the year 237 B.C., according to the Mahawansa, under the leadership of two young princes, who possessed numerous ships and a strong force of cavalry. After killing the king, Sura Tissa, they ruled over the kingdom for twenty years. The Buddhist historians describe them as righteous, and we may therefore assume them to have been tolerant. They were defeated and killed by Asela.

Priestly Wars and Vices

Tale of the Tamil Invasion

In 205 B.C., however, after the lapse of the usual ten years, the Tamil Elara invaded Ceylon from the north, "a man of the famous tribe of the Uju"; he slew the king, and held the supremacy for forty-four years impartially against friend and foe. The only province that did not bow to the foreign yoke was the



A HERMITAGE IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CEYLON

The chief Buddhist cave temples of Ceylon are in the mountainous district about 60 miles north-east of Colombo; their date is said by tradition to be about 100 B.C.

mountainous Rohana in the extreme south of the island; from that point a descendant of the great family, Duttha Gamani, again expelled the Tamils. One Tamil fortress after another fell into his hands; and finally in 161 B.C., in a battle at Anuradhapura, he killed the Tamil king Elara himself in single combat, and immediately afterward Elara's nephew, Bhalluka, who had brought up a fresh army too late from Malabar. This portion of the Mahawansa reads like a stirring epic. The monks had every reason to praise the pious and liberal conqueror of the Tamils. He refounded numerous monasteries and erected permanent memorials in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars of Lohapasada in the Marikawatti and the Ruwanweli dagobas.

An Epic of Ancient Ceylon

Laji Tissa, a grandson of Duttha Gamani, killed his uncle, Saddha Tissa, in 119 B.C. to secure the power for himself; his successor and younger brother, Khallata Naga, was murdered by his Minister, Maharattaka, in 109 B.C. Hardly had Wattha Gamani Abhaya, the youngest grandson of Duttha Gamani, avenged this treachery, when the Tamils, attracted by these quarrels about the succession, again invaded the country under seven leaders, and forced the young king to seek refuge in the mountains. At that time purity of blood among the Aryan Singhalese kings had long been lost. Scornfully the Brahman Giri called after the flying king, "The great Black Sihala is flying!" Like his grandfather, Wattha Gamani in 88 B.C. raised in the highlands a force which succeeded in liberating the throne of Wijaya from the hereditary foe; afterwards, during his reign of twelve years he built many monasteries, and assigned large districts for the support of the monks, who had hitherto lived on the alms they gained by begging.

During the Tamil supremacy the population had been so impoverished, and the contributions of alms had grown so scanty, that the very existence of the order would have been endangered if forced to depend on this source. At the point where he had been insulted by the Brahman Giri, Gamani founded a monastery which he called Abhaya Giri, after his own name and that of the Brahman. The elder monastery of Mahawihara, inspired by jealousy, soon found an excuse for quarrelling with its younger sister foundation. The dispute led to one good result—the reduction to writing of the sacred doctrine which had hitherto been orally transmitted from generation to generation. The three Pitakas and the commentaries to these, the Atthakathas, were written in the Singhalese language, and a wound was consequently inflicted upon the Buddhist Church which has never since been healed. Melancholy is the picture which the

Quarrels of Monastic Orders



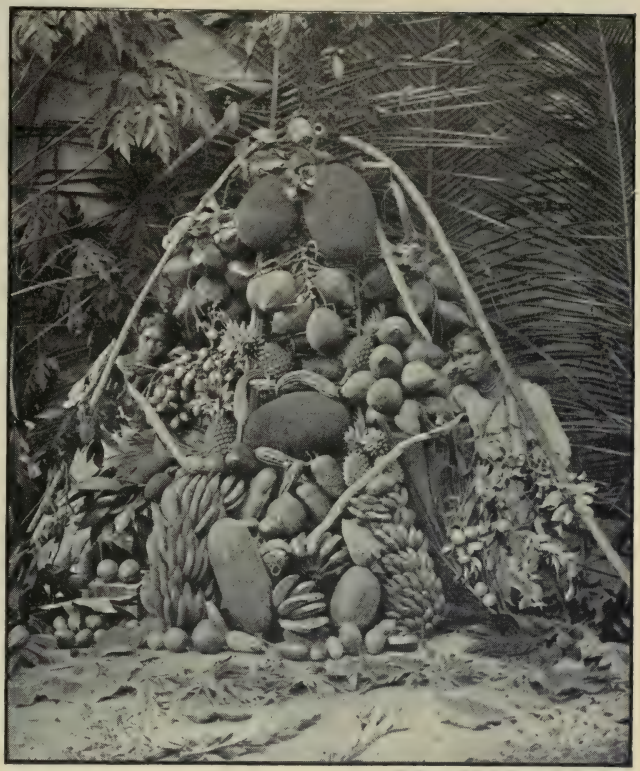
H. C. White Co.

TEA-PICKING AT NUWARA ELIYA, CEYLON

This photograph of a characteristic Singhalese tea-garden was taken at Nuwara Eliya, the Governor's summer residence, which is 6,210 feet above sea-level.

historians of the monastery of Mahawihara have drawn of the immediate successors of Wattha Gamani. His son, Chola Naga, is described as a robber and brigand from the very moment of his accession, and afterwards as a cruel persecutor of the monks; apparently he had declared against the brotherhood. However, his wife, Anula, from 47 B.C. to 42 B.C. seems to have been a disgrace to the royal throne, and to have rivalled Messalina by her poisonings and voluptuousness. She poisoned her husband's successor to secure the throne for herself and to gain full license for her unbounded avarice. Henceforward death was active in the royal palace: Anula herself was killed in 42 B.C., while twelve years later Amanda Gamani was assassinated by his younger brother, as was Chandamukha Siva in the year 44 B.C. The last of the great family, Yasalalaka Tissa, who had murdered his predecessor, had a favourite warder, by name Subha, who bore a very close resemblance to himself. The king would amuse himself by clothing his servant in the royal robes and setting him on the throne, while he himself took the post of doorkeeper. Once, however, when he joked with the false king arrayed in his royal robes, the latter called out, "How can this slave dare to laugh in my presence!" Yasalalaka was punished with death, and Subha continued to play the part of legitimate king; however, after a year, he was killed by Wasabha, a member of the Lambakanna caste, who seized the throne. The Lambakanna caste had displayed rebellious tendencies at an earlier period. Their caste pride had been wounded by King Ilanaga, who reigned 38–44 A.D.; they had revolted and expelled this monarch for three years. On the present occasion they maintained their possession of the throne for three generations. Then ensued a period of rebellion and murder, and the power passed into different hands, until in 248 A.D. three of the Lambakanna murdered the king, Wijaya II., and seized the power.

Jest that Became a Tragedy



Underwood & Underwood, London

THE TROPICAL FRUITS OF SUNNY CEYLON

The produce of Ceylon includes coconuts, cinnamon, coffee, tea, plantains, tamarinds, grapes, cinchona, cacao, cardamoms, areca-nuts, and other fruits.

In the country generally times were hard, and the prevalence of robber bands made life and property alike uncertain; the royal prestige was greatly impaired, and the order was weakened by the dissensions of the two chief brotherhoods. The last of the three above-mentioned Lambakanna, by name Gothabhaya, vigorously attacked the Abhayagiri sect, and expelled from the Church and banished from the island some sixty monks who "had adopted the false Wetula doctrine, and were like thorns to the conqueror's religion." At a later period, however, he was persuaded to change his mind by Samghamitta, a pupil of the banished high-priest, to whom he entrusted the education of his sons. In the case of the elder, Jettha Tissa I., this education

Monastic Sect Expelled

proved unsuccesstul; upon reaching the throne he sternly oppressed the Abhayagiri monks, and persecuted his tutor in particular, who was forced to flee to the mainland. Twelve years later he was succeeded by his younger brother Mahasena, who ruled from 277 to 304 A.D. This king was persuaded by his tutor, who had now returned, to begin a severe persecution of the Mahawihara brotherhood. He prohibited these monks from receiving alms, and thereby made it impossible for them to remain in the "royal domains"; they were forced to flee to the mountains. For nine years the venerable mother monastery remained entirely abandoned; proposals were brought forward to dismantle it, and to use the valuable materials for the improvement of the hostile Abhayagiri monastery, when at length the king revoked his decision against the persecuted monks. His adviser, Samghamitta, was killed in the course of a popular rising, the expelled monks were recalled, and their monastery was splendidly restored. Henceforward the king attempted to make amends to the brotherhood for the wrong which he had done to them by a special display of liberality.

A King who Persecuted the Priests

The next four kings were good Buddhists, liberal to the Church and benevolent to their subjects. Sirimeghawanna, from 304 to 332, the son of Mahasena, is lauded for the complete restoration of the Mahawihara monastery, and also as being the ruler under whom a princess of Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga, brought to Kandy in Ceylon the most sacred relic of the Buddhists, the tooth of Buddha. Among the following monarchs Shettha Tissa II., from 332 to 341, is distinguished as a sculptor and a painter, while his son Buddhadasa, from 341 to 370, was famous as a physician and the author of a Compendium of the Whole Science of Medicine. Then followed Upatissa II., from 370 to 412, who was murdered by his brother Mahanama. Under the latter, from 412 to 434, an event took place of high importance to southern Buddhism—the translation into the Pali language of the Atthakathas, emanating from Mahinda, which had hitherto existed only in Singhalese and were unknown in India. The monk Buddhaghosha was sent from Magadha to Ceylon by his teacher Rewata to translate this work "according to the rules of Magadha, the root of all languages"; in the seclusion of the Ganthakara monastery at Anuradhapura he completed this great work.

Rise of the Arts

In the year 1893, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his coronation, King Chulalongkorn of Siam issued a new edition of it in thirty-nine volumes.

The example set by Mahanama in murdering his brother was rapidly followed. Then the Tamils reappeared under their king Pandu and his sons, occupying the northern part of the island from 416 to 463; they were ultimately driven out of the country by Dhatusena, a great landed proprietor and apparently a descendant of the family of Asoka—the Maurya dynasty. "He gave the country peace, and restored to religion those rights which the strangers had abolished"; however, he was imprisoned by his own son Kassapa, and buried alive in the year 479.

This scandalous deed opened another period of misery for the country. In the next two centuries, from 479 to 691, no fewer than twelve rulers died violent deaths. Fratricide and the revolts of generals produced a rapid series of changes in the succession to the throne. The provincial viceroys tended to independence, and the sectarian warfare within the Buddhist Church continued undiminished. The Tamils, who had formerly invaded the country for plunder and conquest upon their own initiative, were now constantly brought in by the Singhalese princes or generals to overthrow the legitimate occupants of the throne. Temples and royal treasuries were plundered, religion was oppressed, and the people grew more and more impoverished. During the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the period of the king Kumara Dasa, from 515 to 524, to whom is ascribed the Sanscrit translation of the Ramayana, which remains only in the Singhalese translation, and of Agrabhi I., from 564 to 598, who was famous as a poet, Chinese pilgrims describe the capital as a brilliant town; even at the outset of the seventh century a Singhalese historical work speaks of the beauty of Anuradhapura.

Period of Crime and Disorder

Nevertheless, under Aggabodhi IV., from 673 to 689, the capital could no longer hold out against the hereditary enemy; the royal residence was removed to Polonnaruwa, or Pulathi, at a greater distance from the point of Tamil invasion, the

harbour of Mantotte on the Gulf of Manaar. This change became permanent about 846 A.D. The island gained some occasional relief from the internal wars of the different Dravidian races on the mainland. Nevertheless, Sena I. (846 to 866) was obliged to take refuge in the inaccessible recesses of the highlands; the northern part of the island was cruelly devastated, the capital plundered, and its treasures carried off to India. Now, however, attracted by the rich booty, the Chola began war with their Tamil neighbours. Thus, under Sena I., the Singhalese crossed the Palk Straits; the Pandya king was killed, the hostile capital of Madura plundered, and the booty taken from Ceylon recovered. Under Kassapa IV., from 912 to 929, a Singhalese army went to





Underwood & Underwood, London

VIEWS OF KANDY, THE FORMER SEAT OF THE TYRANNICAL KANDYAN KINGS

the help of the Pandya king, though with little effect, and the Tamil ruler was forced to take refuge in Ceylon.

This rapid rise of Singhalese prosperity was of no long duration. Under Udaya III. (964–72) and Mahinda IV. (975–91) Ceylon was invaded by the Cholas; under the leadership of their king, Parakesariwarman (1052–61), they overran the island to its southernmost extremity, the province of Rohana, carried away two sons of the king Manabharana, and killed the king Wira-Salamega about 1056. The plundering extortions and the religious animosity of this Malabar people reduced the country to an awful state of desolation. It was not until 1059 that a brave noble, Loka, succeeded in driving the Chola from his native province of Rohana, the last, though not the inviolate, bulwark of the Singhalese kingdom. His successor, Vijaya Bahu I., also known as Sirasanghabodhi (1065–1120), though at first defeated, repeatedly advanced into the lowlands, where he overthrew three Chola armies, captured their fortresses, recovered Anuradhapura, and shattered the last resistance of the enemy in a bloody conflict under the walls of Polonnaruwa; this victory permanently freed the country from the Chola.

Invasion by the Cholas

Invaders Finally Expelled

The power of Ceylon was not yet, however, definitely established. When Vijaya Bahu endeavoured to enter into friendly relations with the enemy, and sent special ambassadors to the Chola king with rich presents, the noses and the ears of the emissaries were cut off. Further, when he ordered his troops to march against the Cholas, a mutiny broke out, and the whole of the south rose against the king, who had much difficulty in crushing the rebellion. The country was utterly exhausted, and the Buddhist order was in so feeble a state that not a single monk in full orders was to be found anywhere in the island; monks, accordingly, had to be brought over from Ramanya or Martaban in lower Burma.

Under Vikkama Bahu I., the southern provinces broke away entirely and were divided among different rulers. The king had the utmost difficulty in driving out an Aryan adventurer from North India, who had blockaded him in a mountain fortress, and in recovering Polonnaruwa. The population was com-

pletely exhausted, and the taxes were collected by measures of the severest oppression, "as the sugar mill presses the juice from the cane." To meet his necessities, Vikkama Bahu was forced to appropriate Church property, and thus made the monks his deadly enemies. They emigrated to Rohana, taking with them Buddha's tooth and his alms-dish. During the many wars the irrigation canals had been destroyed, and the once fruitful land had become a malarial desert. Towns and villages were abandoned, and had grown so desolate "that their sites were undiscoverable."

Oppression Causes Desolation

Parrakkama Bahu I., or Parakrama, from 1164 to 1197, was the greatest monarch who ever sat upon the Singhalese throne. Only by realising the misery under which the country almost succumbed during his youth can we estimate the results achieved by the intellectual force and patriotism of this ruler, whom history rightly names "the Great."

After the death of Vijaya Bahu I. the Singhalese monarchy had almost entirely collapsed. The nominal ruler was still resident in Polonnaruwa, but the greater part of the country was broken into petty principalities. In the province of Rohana alone four such princes were to be found, including Manabharana, who laid claim to the little district "of the twelve thousand villages," and was the father of Parrakkama the Great. This ruler spent his youth in the mountains; "he received a thorough instruction in religion, in the different legal systems, in rhetoric and poetry, dancing and music, in writing and in the use of sword and bow, and in these exercises he attained the highest degree of perfection." Upon the death of his uncle he became ruler of his principality.

Parrakkama's administration was in every respect admirable; he introduced a properly organised system of taxation, and endeavoured to make the utmost possible use of streams and rainfall for the irrigation of the soil. At the same time he drilled those of the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms, with a view to the reunion of his country as a whole. His first expedition was directed against the highland of Malaya, which he subdued with the support of a general of King Gaja Bahu IV. The court at Polonnaruwa was entirely denationalised; it was thronged by crowds of foreigners, including princes from the mainland, who disseminated foreign influence, foreign customs, foreign religion, and "filled the land of the king like thorns in a bed." For this reason he declared war upon Gaja Bahu, and advanced by a rapid series of victories to the land of pearls, "the coast of the Gulf of Manaar." Ultimately the king and the princes were captured. After thus attaining his object, the conqueror restored their country to his defeated foes. A chieftain of Rohana, Manabharana the younger, had attempted to turn the war between Parrakkama and Gaja Bahu to its own advantage; he was conquered in like manner, and also left in possession of his land. Both of these conquered princes appointed the victor as their successor. Thus Parrakkama became master of the whole island, although at first he was obliged sternly to suppress repeated revolts, especially among the freedom-loving inhabitants of the south and in the western province of Mahatittha.

Ceylon's Greatest Ruler

The king's strong hand soon made itself felt beyond the boundaries of his kingdom. For a long period he had been in friendly relations with Ramanya or Lower Burma. Vijaya I. had invited Burmese monks to Ceylon, and the two countres were united by peaceful commercial relations. However, during the gloomy period of the last Singhalese king, Arimaddana, the ruler of Ramanya had attempted to profit by the unfavourable condition of Ceylon. A tax was laid upon the exportation of elephants, which made the purchase of these animals almost impossible for the impoverished Singhalese. The usual presents were withheld from the Singhalese ambassadors, the ships of Ceylon were forbidden to land in Burma, and the emissaries sent from Polonnaruwa were finally robbed and imprisoned. Parrakkama then sent a strong expedition to Ramanya; his ships were greatly damaged by a storm, but the army succeeded in defeating the Burmese troops, storming the capital, and killing the king. Parrakkama's supremacy was proclaimed, and peace was granted only upon condition of an indemnity to compensate for former vexations, to which was added the obligation of a yearly tribute.

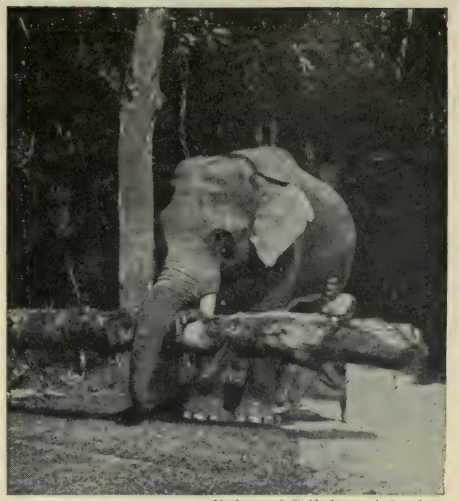
Relations of Ceylon and Burma

In Southern India also, Parrakkama avenged the wrongs that had been committed against Ceylon in former years.

The struggles between the Cholas and the Pandyas had continued since the time of Vijaya Bahu I. Under their king Kulasekhara the Cholas had fiercely besieged King Pandu in his capital of Madura. It was not to the interest of Ceylon to see a great Dravidian kingdom in place of the numerous petty states, who might wear one another out by internal struggles; Parrakkama therefore sent to the help of the Tamil king a strong army under Lankapura and Jagad Vijaya Nayaka. Before the arrival of this force, Madura had fallen and King Pandu had been killed; however, the Singhalese had defeated the Cholas and devastated their country. King Kulasekhara was besieged in his fortress of Rajina and was barely able to save himself by flight. He was forced to conclude peace upon terms highly disadvantageous to himself. The Pandya kingdom was restored, Prince Vira Pandu was installed in Madura as king, and a Tamil coinage, with the head of Parrakkama, was struck to commemorate the campaign. The captured Cholas were sent to Ceylon, where they were forced to work at the restoration of those same religious buildings which their forefathers had destroyed in their plundering raids. True to the proverb of his choice, "What is there in the world that a persevering man cannot perform?" Parrakkama gave his devastated island a fresh lease of prosperity. As chieftain of a small district, he had once observed, "In a country like this not the least drop of water that falls from heaven should be allowed to run into the sea until it has first done good service to mankind." This principle was now vigorously put into practice throughout his great kingdom. He had tanks built or restored by thousands; the greatest of these, for example, the "Sea of Parrakkama," was equal in extent to the lake of the Four Forest Cantons. More than five hundred new canals were made, and several thousand ruined waterways were reconstructed. Malarious swamps and impenetrable jungles were transformed into miles of flourishing rice fields and orchards; towns and villages arose from their ruins, with a dense and prosperous population.

Singhalese Invasion of India

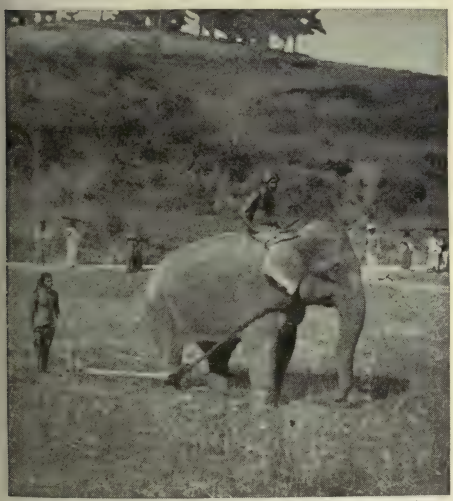
Schemes of Irrigation



Underwood & Underwood, London

ELEPHANT CARRYING A HALF-TON LOG

The intelligence and great strength of the trained elephan. give hm a high industrial value, which is nowhere mor. apparent than it is in the teak forests of Further India.



Underwood & Underwood, London

NATIVE FARMING IN CEYLON

The elephant is frequently used for ploughing and other purposes on the "paddy," or rice farm, and he is here seen harnessed to a primitive Singhalese wooden plough.

The decaying capital of Polonnaruwa rose to new splendour and was provided with everything that could conduce to comfort and luxury. The ruler was not forgetful of the old and famous capital of Anuradhapura, the palaces which the founder of the empire had erected, the shrines consecrated by Mahinda and his successors; and the monasteries and relic shrines were cleared of their jungle overgrowth and restored. The administration of the country was reorganised, and a mild and equable system of taxation introduced. The disorders which had

broken out in the Church were checked, and the morality of the priesthood improved. Parrakkama even succeeded in reconciling that feud between the chief sects which had lasted for a thousand years, and in unifying the doctrine; "the attempt to bring about this union seemed no less desperate than an attempt to raise the mountain of Meru from its foundations." Parrakkama the Great was succeeded by his nephew Vijaya Bahu II. (1197–8), a weakling characterised by the monks as a great scholar and poet; after a reign of one year he was assassinated. Then began a period of the greatest confusion. During the eighteen years immediately following the death of the great king the empire saw no less than fifteen different rulers, with reigns of one, nine, and seventeen days, three, seven, nine, and twelve months. At least five were murdered; six were deposed, and in some cases blinded. A motley row of figures passes before us, Singhalese, Kalingas, Cholas, and Pandyas. The Kalinga prince Magha, who reigned from 1215 to 1236, seized the island with an army of twenty thousand warriors, was the first ruler able to secure his position upon the throne; at the same time his rule proved a devastating scourge to the unfortunate country which had never yet been subjected to so fearful a visitation.

Religious Enemies Reconciled

In the south alone a few capable leaders were able to maintain their independence in the mountain fortresses defended alike by Nature and art. Of these petty principalities, the most important was Dambadenya, where Vijaya Bahu III. (1236–40), who traced his descent from Vijaya Bahu I., had established himself; from this base of operations he was able to subdue the province of Malaya. His son Parrakkama Bahu III. (1240–75), drove out the Dravidians in 1255, almost annihilating them, together with the Chola king, Someswara; still, he was forced to struggle with other enemies, for the weakness of Ceylon had attracted the Malays, who were especially active at that period. Their leader, Chandrabhanu, twice invaded the country and devasted "the whole of Lanka"; the Malays, however, never succeeded in permanently establishing themselves on the island.

Malay Raids in Ceylon

In the works of peace, Parrakkama II. rivalled his great predecessor. During the Dravidian rule proprietary titles had been lost or confused, and a redistribution of the country among laity and monks was now undertaken. Roads were laid down, tanks and canals restored, and Polonnaruwa, which had been almost entirely ruined, was rebuilt; in Anuradhapura works of restoration were begun upon the main buildings, which had been severely damaged. Meanwhile, the so-called monks had plunged into every kind of vice, and the old quarrel between the brotherhoods broke out with renewed fury. Here, too, the king's action improved the situation.

Vijaya Bahu IV., the successor of Parrakkama II., was murdered by one of his generals two years later, though the murderer also received short shrift. In default of a powerful ruler, the people quickly relapsed into their former state of misery, and, to complete the tale of their suffering, a terrible famine broke out. A Pandu army invaded the country so suddenly that even the greatest relic of the Buddhist world, the tooth of Buddha, could not be hidden, but was carried off to Madura with other booty. The tooth was not recovered until the reign of Parrakkama Bahu II. (1288–93). This raid of the Pandyas seems to have been the last Dravidian invasion of Ceylon; a few years later, in 1311, the Mohammedans under Kafur advanced from the north to the Palk Straits, and from the middle of the fourteenth century the Pandyas became tributary to the kingdom of Bijanagar, in the Deccan. The Singhalese chronicles make no reference to wars with the Dravidians later than the year 1290. In consequence of the incessant civil wars, the ruling kings removed their capitals further within the mountains, and Buddhism hardly existed even in name. Hence, even up to the time of Parrakkama IV., about 1300, only the very scantiest historical record was kept in the monasteries, and from that date until the middle of the eighteenth century historical writing ceased entirely. The records became somewhat more definite at the time of Raja Simha I. (1586–92), who secured the throne by murdering his father. But it was not until the time of Kirti Sri raja Simha (1747–80) that the gaps were filled up with the scanty material to hand and with the aid of tradition.

A Great National Relapse



THE EUROPEANS IN CEYLON

"IN those days certain merchants carried on trade in the harbour of Kolamba, which they continued until, in the course of time, they had grown very powerful. The Parangi, or Portuguese, were collectively base unbelievers, cruel, and hard-hearted." In the year 1498 Vasco da Gama had cast anchor before Calicut; seventeen years later came the destruction of the Arab trade, which had hitherto monopolised the valuable products of Asia, especially the spice exports; Ormuz, Malacca, and Goa became the foundations of the Portuguese power in the Indian seas. Portuguese ships had visited Ceylon as early as 1505; in 1515 a fleet sailed to the island from Calicut under Lopez Soarez, and the Singhalese monarch in Kotta gave permission to the admiral to found a permanent trading station in the harbour of Colombo, near his residence. If the king hoped to gain powerful friends by this means, he was soon bitterly undeceived. He was forced to become a Portuguese vassal, and to agree to the payment of a yearly tribute of cinnamon, precious stones, and elephants. Hostilities were the early and the natural result. The kings removed their capitals to the mountains of the interior, first to Sitawaka, then to Kandy. But in vain; the war continued without interruption, and every Portuguese campaign penetrated further into the country.

Aggression by the Portuguese

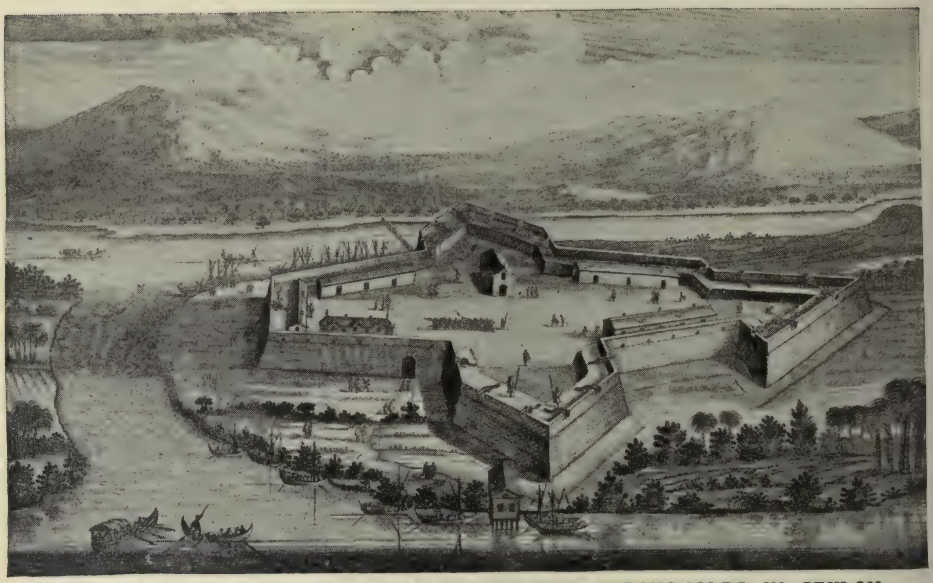
By degrees, however, the difficulties afforded by the precipitous highland slopes, the jungles of the primeval forest, the dangers of the climate, and the military strength of the highlanders increased. The latter learnt the arts of strategy, tactics, and the use of weapons from their enemies; they had of old been famous for their skill in metal-working, and were able to keep their guns and cannons in better repair. Mayadhana and his son Raja Simha I. vigorously repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese; of Raja Simha II., Mahawansa says: "As a lion bursts into a herd of elephants, or as flakes of wool are swept away by the wind, so was the enemy seized by fear and fled before the dauntless king."

The Portuguese were never able to establish themselves in the interior; their only established possessions were the fortresses of Negambo, Colombo, Galle, Battikaloa, and Trincomali, with the land immediately adjoining these settlements. They operated with some success against the Tamil kingdom, which occupied the northern extremity of the island, and a small strip of land upon the east coast. The capital of Jafna was stormed in 1560, and the sacred tooth fell into the hands of the Portuguese. In vain did the King of Pegu offer 400,000 gold pieces for the relic. The Portuguese valued the destruction of that fragment of bone at a higher price; it was pounded in a mortar by the Archbishop of Goa, Dom Gaspar, burnt in the fire, and the ashes thrown into the river. Tooth worship was, however, not extirpated by this means; in no long time a second "tooth" appeared in Kandy, which was said to have been hidden and buried during a Portuguese invasion, while the conquerors were said to have destroyed only an imitation of the real tooth. On the first conquest of Jafna, the Portuguese contented themselves with depriving the Sultan of the island of Mannar and of all his treasures, and imposing a heavy tribute upon him. In 1617, the town was again stormed upon the reported outbreak of hostilities against the Christians; the Sultan was beheaded and his land declared Portuguese territory.

Extent of Portuguese Power

The story of the destruction of Buddha's tooth is typical of the religious fanaticism of the Portuguese. Every ship brought, together with soldiers greedy for plunder, bands of monks who were anxious to spread Christianity by any means in their power. Their greatest success was the conversion of a Singhalese king to the one true Church. "The King Dharma Pauli Raja embraced the Christian religion, and was baptised under the name of Don Juan Pandaura; many nobles of Kotta were

Portuguese Religious Fanaticism



BATTIKALAO, ONE OF THE EARLY PORTUGUESE STRONGHOLDS IN CEYLON

Battikalao, now the capital of the eastern province in Ceylon, is situated on an island in a salt water lake, 30 miles long and from two to five miles wide; the old Dutch fort, seen in the picture, now does service as a prison.

converted with him. From this time onward the wives of the nobles, and also those of the lower castes, such as the barbers, fishers, humawas, and chalyas, became Christians, and lived with the Christians for the sake of the Portuguese money."

This apostate king appointed Philip II. of Spain and Portugal his heir, and from that time the Portuguese kings have added to their many titles that of Lord of Ceylon. The soil was well prepared for the conversion of the Singhalese to Christianity. The old religion had degenerated to the lowest possible point; Raja Simha, the worshipper of Siva, had persecuted his Buddhist subjects. Repeated importations of foreign monks had been unable to check the decay of Singhalese Buddhism; the people had grown utterly indifferent to religious questions. Within the Portuguese districts members of the lower castes could exist only by keeping on good terms with their masters, and consequently the people came over to the Catholic Church in numbers.

Religious Condition of Ceylon

High-sounding Portuguese names are still to be found among the modern Singhalese, the descendants of converts who adopted the family names of their masters upon their change of faith. The Portuguese exemplified their own interpretation of Christianity by practising inhuman extortion upon every subject within their domains. In this manner they sought to indemnify themselves for the comparatively small profits accruing from their trade. The cultivation of the most valuable product of the island, cinnamon, was retarded by the bitter hatred of the foreigners, and confined to narrow districts in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortified settlements of Colombo and Galle. Spices "were collected sword in hand and exported under the guns of the fortresses." Trade rapidly decreased, and the receipts failed to balance the expenditure of the Portuguese during 150 years of unbroken war. The decay of Portuguese trade in Ceylon was but one of the many phenomena apparent upon the decline of Portugal, which was absorbed by the Spanish monarchy in 1580. The spirit of enterprise which had inspired the country during the fifteenth century and at the outset of the sixteenth had faded; its power was wasted by constant wars in deadly climates, the people were impoverished, and the oppression of the Inquisition lay upon all minds.

Decay of Portuguese Power

Portugal's career as a colonial Power was at an end. Her place in Ceylon was taken by the Dutch, who had now all but achieved their deliverance from Spain.

Beginning of Dutch Influence

In 1602 Joris van Spilbergen landed in the island with two ships to conclude an alliance with the angry Singhalese king against the Portuguese; the king sent two ambassadors "into their beautiful land," and persuaded the people to come to Ceylon with many ships. In the meanwhile, the two Powers concluded a convention in 1609 for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island, though neither the feeble king Vimila Dhamma Surya I. (1592–1620) nor the Dutch felt themselves strong enough for immediate action. The war was not prosecuted with any energy until the time of Raja Simha II.; the Dutch then captured one Portuguese fortress after another. Ultimately, in 1658, after an armistice of ten years, Colombo and Jafna fell, and the Portuguese were definitely ousted by the Dutch.

The Dutch Policy of Peace

The new nationality conducted their policy in a wholly different spirit. They were primarily merchants, and their chief object was to avoid any possible disturbance to their trade. They had originally agreed to send an embassy to the king at Kandy every year. The king treated these with contempt and scorn; on different occasions the ambassadors were beaten, imprisoned, and even put to death, outrages which the Dutch patiently bore. On one occasion only, during the reign of Kirti Sri Raja Simha, did they attempt a punitive expedition with Malay soldiers; Kandy was captured, and the king was forced to flee, taking with him the tooth of Buddha. Sickness and famine, however, broke out among the troops, and their line of retreat was cut off; many soldiers succumbed to the attacks of the mountaineers, while others were scattered and lost their way in the inhospitable forests.

Raja Simha II. was succeeded by a number of weak rulers who favoured the



AUDIENCE GRANTED BY THE KING OF CEYLON TO GERARD HULST IN 1656

Inset in top of the picture is a portrait of the Dutch general, Gerard Hulst, who is described as the "First Counseller, and Director Generall of ye Indies, Comander in Chief of all the Sea and Land Forces sent to Ceylon, and the Coast of the Indies." The united arms of the Singhalese and the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from the island.



THE BARBARIC EXECUTION OF A USURPER

In the reign of Raja Simha, a usurper had himself proclaimed King; Raja Simha enticed him to his court, had him buried to the elbows and killed by his attendants, who threw wooden balls at his victim. Our illustration is from an old engraving in an early history.

monks, though they were unable to improve the position of the order. Sri Wira Parakkama Narinda, from 1701 to 1734, built the Dalada Maligawa, a temple yet in existence, to enshrine the sacred tooth, and decorated its outer walls with thirty-two histories of the birth of Buddha; but under his successor, Vijaya Raja Simha, from 1734 to 1747, the monks had entirely disappeared. The doctrine itself had degenerated into a mixture of Hinduism, devil worship, and Buddhist conventionalities. The connection of the island with Southern India—a large number of the rulers of Kandy married princesses from Madura — had enabled the Brahman gods to gain the pre-eminence in Ceylon; their images were carried in procession in company with the statues of Buddha, and when a king built a Buddhist shrine he erected with it a temple dedicated to Siva or Vishnu. It was not until the time of Kirti Sri Raja Simha, from 1747 to 1780, that Buddhism was purified of its hollow formalities and revived; two embassies brought over each a chapter of ten monks, the first under the high-priest Upali, from Siam. The religious toleration of the Dutch and the English has since enabled Buddhism to extend its area and regain some of its power in Ceylon, though at the same time the doctrine has been largely modified by the worship of Brahman gods and Dravidian demons.

The Dutch at first derived great profit from their trade in the products of Ceylon. The cinnamon plantations captured from the Portuguese were not increased; but the careful cultivation of the plants raised the value of the bark to an unprecedented height, and high prices were maintained by a strict monopoly. These measures, however, eventually led to the decay of the trade. The high prices attracted the rivalry of other plantations upon other islands. An army of subordinate officials



DUTCH FORCES TAKING THE ISLE OF MANNAR

An incident in the struggle for supremacy in Ceylon before 1658 when the Dutch finally expelled the Portuguese, against whom they had allied themselves with the Singhalese.



DEPOSITION OF THE KING OF KANDY BY THE BRITISH IN 1815

The British assumed complete sovereignty of Ceylon in 1815, when they deported Wikrama Raja Singha, King of Kandy, whose excesses had culminated in the massacre of some native merchants who were British subjects.

swallowed up a large proportion of the profit, and dishonesty was increased by the scanty salaries paid. The cinnamon trade, which originally brought such high profits, at length scarcely succeeded in paying its expenses.

The trade of Ceylon suffered from the decline of Holland as a sea-power. The capture of the Portuguese possessions marks the zenith of Dutch influence, and Dutch trade was at that time five times greater than that of England. While, however, the struggle for Colombo and Jafna was in progress, England dealt a deadly stroke at her rival; in 1651–60 the Navigation Acts were passed, which prevented foreign ships from carrying goods between England and her colonies. In

the year 1792 the proportion of trade in the hands of these rivals was as two to five. When Holland became a virtual dependency of the French Republic during the European wars at the close of the eighteenth century, Great Britain took from the Dutch not only their trading fleet,



H. C. White Co.

COLOMBO HARBOUR, CEYLON

which was valued at $50,000,000, but also all their colonies at the Cape, in Malacca, in Cochin, in the Moluccas, etc. The occupation of Ceylon was not a difficult task.

The British Governor of Madras sent an expedition which promptly captured Trincomali, a position of considerable naval importance. The capitulation of Colombo, the Dutch capital, which surrendered without striking a blow, effectively substituted British for Dutch throughout the island—which, unlike many other British conquests of the time, was not restored at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, when, on the contrary, it was formally annexed to the British Crown. For the time, the native rulers in the interior were not dispossessed. But the savage excesses of the monarch, Wikrama Raja Singha of Kandy, culminated in the massacre of some native merchants who were British subjects; with the inevitable result. The king was easily captured and deported to Madras, and in March, 1815, the chiefs by formal treaty accepted the British supremacy.

Since that date Ceylon has had "no history." The island is ruled as a British Crown Colony, and its notable events have been mainly of commercial interest. The first was the successful development of the country as a great coffee producer; the second was the destruction of the coffee plantation by a fungus which all efforts failed



Underwood & Underwood, London

QUEEN STREET, COLOMBO

to eradicate, about 1870, followed by the development of tea-growing, which has proved a not inefficient substitute. For the rest, the rule of Ceylon has followed the lines of other British Crown Colonies where a large dark-skinned population is governed by a handful of British.



FURTHER INDIA

THE LAND, ITS PEOPLES, AND GENERAL EARLY HISTORY

FURTHER INDIA, otherwise known as Indo-China, forms the most easterly of the three great projections southward from Asia. Equal in area to the south of Nearer India—830,586 square miles—it is bounded by China on the north, by India on the north-west; the western boundary in all its length is formed by the east coast of the Sea of Bengal, its southern boundary is the sea between the mainland and the islands of Java and Borneo, while the China Sea washes its eastern shores. The course of its civilisation has been inspired by impulses derived not from over seas, but from the two civilised countries of India and China.

The superficial configuration of Further India is controlled by parallel mountain ranges running for the most part from north to south, which, beginning in the mountain country between Eastern Tibet and Yunnan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung, the southern provinces of China, to the north of the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, diverge southward. At the roots of these mountains, in gorges often 3,000 feet deep, run those four mighty rivers which rise in Tibet, afterward diverging fan-wise to hurry on to the different seas. From its passage through the mountains eastward the Yangtse Kiang naturally forms the most important line of communication in the Celestial Empire. The Brahmaputra turns back westward through the broad valley of Assam to the Ganges delta. Only the Salwen and Mekong, running southward, can be said properly to belong to the peninsula of Indo-China. Between these rivers flow parallel streams, the sources of which begin at a point somewhat to the south of the spot where the main streams pass the gorges; of these the most westward is the Irawaddi, which rises in the mountain land to the east of Assam. The greater part of its course is navigable; with its tributaries it facilitates communication with Yunnan, passing through the fruitful plains of Chittagong and Arakan, and forming one of the greatest deltas in the world at its mouth in the Gulf of Pegu.

Mountains of the Peninsula

From this river the Salwen, eastward, is divided by no greater obstacle than a low-lying range of hills running north and south, which eventually turns it away from the narrow coast district of Tennasserim and directs its course to Central Further India. Between the Salwen and the Mekong flows the Menam, the main river of Siam, the whole course of which falls within Indo-China, since its sources do not extend beyond the twentieth degree of latitude north. Beyond is the Mekong, rising in Tibet, the delta of which extends eastward into the China Sea. All these streams have fruitful deltas, and plains upon their banks, but navigation on any large scale is excluded by the rapids and shallows immediately above their mouths. The mountain chain running from north to south forms a sharp line of demarcation to the east of the Mekong between Central and Eastern Further India, Cochin-China, Annam, and

The Great Rivers of Indo-China

Tonquin. The Songka, or Red River, is the only stream flowing northward in Tonquin, a district generally narrow which forms the eastern third of Indo-China; it is, however, more navigable than the central rivers, and forms the most convenient route of access to Yunnan and its mineral wealth. The climate is that of a tropical Asiatic district under the monsoons. In the alluvial plains of the valleys and deltas all natural growths flourish with inexhaustible fertility, and from an early age these have been the points of departure for Indo-Chinese civilisation. The highlands further to the north are less richly dowered by Nature, and have retained for thousands of years their influence upon tribal formation. Here from a remote antiquity was the home of powerful half-barbaric tribes who were driven out by upheavals among the restless nomadic hordes of Central Asia or attracted by the riches of the southern lowlands, which they repeatedly invaded, bringing infusions of new blood and valuable material for the work of civilisation.

Physical Features of Indo-China

Hence even at the present day racial stocks displaying anthropological and ethnological differences can be plainly recognised. As direct descendants of the earliest inhabitants we have three races belonging to different anthropological groups—the Nigritic, Malay, and Indonesian types. The Nigritic people, who are related to the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, and to the Aëtas of the Philippines, are now known as Sakai and Semangs, and inhabit small districts within the peninsula of Malacca. The Malays are identical with the inhabitants of the islands, to which they were expelled at a comparatively late period. Tribes which have maintained their purity of blood also occupy certain districts in the Malay peninsula; while others, mixed with later invaders, occupy extensive tracts in the lowlands of Siam and Annam; their original settlements seem to have been the lowlands of Indo-China. On the other hand, the highlands were inhabited by Indonesians, whose nearest relations are now to be found in the Indonesian Archipelago, in the Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, etc. The modern representatives of the Indonesian race within Indo-China are the Nagas on the frontier between Assam and Burma; the Selongs, in the Mergui archipelago; the Moi—half-wild tribes between the Mekong and the coast of Assam and between Yunnan and Cochin-China; the Kui, in South-eastern Siam and North-western Cambodia; and the Mons or Talaings in the deltas of the Burmese rivers, formerly distributed throughout Lower Burma.

Races of Further India

The highlands, which extend further northward from Eastern Tibet to the southern provinces of China, were in antiquity inhabited by a powerful race closely allied to the Indonesians, who may be generally comprehended in the tribal families of the Thai. From this point repeated invasions took place into the lowlands at a later period. About 1250 this people was settled in the principality of Xieng-Mai. Under Râma Khomheng in 1283 the more southerly kingdom of Sukhodaya is mentioned in inscriptions. Driven westward by the resistance of the Brahman kings of Cambodia, the Thai are found in possession of the lower Menam about 1350. The descendants of these immigrants after fusion with the former inhabitants of the district form the chief element in the population of those states of Further India which reached any high degree of culture.

Early Kings of Further India

It is impossible to decide whether the Cham are an early branch of the Thai or whether they originated from the Indonesians; they found the Malays settled in the lowlands and borrowed their language, which is closely related to the different Malay dialects of the present day; at the same time their physical characteristics display marked divergences from the Malay type and approach more nearly to the Indonesian. The first glimmer of historical information shows them as the settled people of a kingdom which embraced South Tonquin, Annam, and a great part of Central Further India. A second wave of migration advancing within our era brought the Khmers into the fruitful land; here they, too, mixed with the population in possession, the Malays, and Indonesians—hence the wavy hair of the Kui—and raised their State of Cambodia to high prosperity at the expense of the Champa kingdom. By later invasions of the Thai their district was reduced to its present limits, the

smaller State of Cambodia and Southern Cochin-China.

From this cradle of nations new races advanced east and south and expelled the Moi, the Malays, and Khmers from their settlements: these were the Annamese. At the present day they are settled from the delta of Tonquin to Southern Cochin-China, and have been strongly modified by infusions of Chinese blood, while their civilisation is almost entirely Chinese. Probably the same wave brought a second stream of the Thai forward about the same date, the Lao race in the mountains of what is now North Siam, and a third tribe, the Burmese, who are linguistically related to the Tibetans; these tribes advanced from the mountain land at the east of Tibet to the lower courses of the Irawaddi, where they settled, driving to the coast the Mons, who show linguistic affinities with the Annamese. About 1000 A.D. they were followed by the Shan, now settled in the mountain districts of Upper Burma, who still call themselves Thai, or Free, and further to the east by the Siamese, who overthrew the supremacy of the former Khmer immigrants in Cambodia and formed a highly prosperous kingdom of their own. The physical characteristics of all these tribes show that they are not free from fusion with other races.

Migrations and Conflicts

The prehistoric period of Further India is shrouded in darkness, though a few vague and general indications may be derived from the sciences of comparative philology and anthropology. These indications alike point to early racial commixture and fusion. From a philological point of view, several primordial groups stand out in isolation. The dialects of the dark inhabitants of the peninsula at the present day are as yet but little known; but the special characteristics of the Malay group of languages show that this branch diverged from the original stem in a remote antiquity. The remaining dialects of the people of Further India belong to the isolating family of languages, and point to the existence at an extremely early age of two distinct tribes, which may be designated as Tibeto-Burmese and Thai-Chinese, according to their modern distribution.

We have no means of deciding where the first ancestors of these groups may have dwelt. We can venture to assert only that the separation of these primitive peoples, with whom we are concerned in the history of Further India, took place in the north. During the later history of Indo-China, the Thai preserved their racial purity, as they do at the present day in the mountainous frontier between Further India and China. Philological evidence points to the fact that an early bifurcation of the Thai formed the tribes of Mon-Annam, which were driven into their present remote habitations by the invasions in later centuries of the Thai. They were then known as Mons and Annamites. The Cham also broke away from the Thai at an early period, and were strongly influenced by the Malay population, with whom they came into contact, both in respect of language and physical structure, Within recent and historical times they were followed by the Khmers, the Laos, Shans, and Siamese.

Cradle of the Races

Upon the dates and the history of these ancient racial movements we have no information whatever. Chinese histories refer, indeed, to an embassy sent from Indo-China, probably from Tonquin, in the year 1110 B.C. to the Imperial Chinese court of the Chau. In 214 B.C. and 109 A.D., Chinese generals founded dynasties of their own in Tonquin. Upon the general history of those ages we have no other information. The wild imagination of the natives has so transformed their legends that though these go back to the creation of the world, they give us no historical material of any value whatever.

It is not until the first centuries of our era that the general darkness is somewhat relieved. On the north frontier and in the east we find a restless movement and a process of struggle, with varying success, between the Chinese and the native races; while in the south and west Hindu civilisation is everywhere victorious. The most important source of our knowledge upon the affairs of Further India in those ages is Ptolemy's description of the world, dating from the first half of the second century A.D. The larger part of the south was occupied by the Champa kingdom of the Chams, with its capital at Champapura. To the east and north-east were settled the Khmers, who, according to an ancient tradition of Cambodia, had advanced southwards from their northern settlements and come into connection

Light on Early Indo-China

with the Chams. Ptolemy, however, also informs us that at his time the coast-line of Further India was inhabited throughout its length by the Sindoi or Hindus. As their importance in Indo-China was at that time great enough for the Alexandrine geographer to describe them as a race of wide distribution, the advance of Hindu civilisation must have taken place at least some centuries previously. The introduction of Brahman civilisation was a victory for merely a few representatives of a higher culture. The physical characteristics of the population of Further India were but little influenced by this new infusion. The movement can hardly have begun before the period at which the Brahmans colonised Orissa. From this point Brahmanism apparently made its way to Indo-China by sea. On the one hand, the Brahmans did not advance along the land route, long hidden and leading through the Ganges delta and Assam, until the second half of the present millennium, at which time Brahmanism had long since fallen into decay in Indo-China. On the other hand, a proof of the fact that the colonisation was of transmarine origin is the predominance of Hinduism upon the coast. The movement to Indo-China cannot have started from Southern India for the reason that at that period Brahmanism had taken but little hold on the south, and the transmission of their civilisation from those shores is therefore extremely improbable. It was not until a much later period that communication between the two countries began, the results of which are apparent in the Dravidian influences visible in the later temple buildings of Indo-China. Further evidence for the northern origin of Indo-Chinese Brahmanism is found in the names of the more important towns of early Indonesia, which are almost entirely borrowed from the Sanscrit names of the towns in the Ganges district, and also from the desire of the Indonesian rulers to retrace their origin to the mythical sun and moon dynasties of Madhya-desa. The maritime route led straight to Burma, but Indian civilisation at the moment found that district less favourable to its development than that of the great and more hospitable Champa kingdom in the central south. The Gulf of Ligor and the coast and banks of the great rivers of Cambodia seem to have been the central points of Brahman influence. This influence was less important in the eastern part of the peninsula of Further India, which was both further from the Brahman starting-point, and more subject to Chinese civilisation. From Upper Burma to Cochin-China countless temple ruins are to be found at the present day, with rich ornamental sculptures and Sanscrit inscriptions, bearing evidence of the force of Brahman influence in earlier ages.

Brahmanism in the Peninsula

Evidences of Brahman Influence

Every year important discoveries are made, especially in those districts which the French have opened up. Most of the traditional names of the kings of Cambodia are to be read in inscriptions in their Sanscrit form from the third century A.D. to 1108. At a later period within this district Sanscrit writing gave way to the native Khmer script. Inscribed memorials, carvings, and building generally, make it clear that Siva and his son, Ganesa, the god with the elephant head, were the most widely distributed of the Brahman gods. The images and symbols of these gods are far more numerous than those of the other figures of Hindu mythology. At the same time Vishnu was highly venerated. The most important and beautiful Brahman temples of Further India are dedicated to this god, instances being the temples of Angkor Thom and of Angkor Wat, built, as we learn from the evidence of the inscriptions, in 825.

Gods of Further India

At the time when the early exponents of Brahmanism advanced to China, Buddhism had also taken root in their native land, being then considered merely a special variant of the belief in the old gods. Hence, with the transmission of Brahmanism, the seeds of Buddhism were undoubtedly sown in Indo-China. As Buddha himself was received into the cult of Vishnu as being the incarnation of this god, so, during the flourishing period of Brahmanism in Champa and Cambodia, his images were erected and worshipped within the temples dedicated to Siva or Vishnu.

Buddhism advanced to Indo-China by two routes. The first of these led straight from India and Ceylon to the opposite coast. According to the tradition, Buddhaghosha, in the fifth century A.D., after making his translation of the sacred scriptures into Pali, introduced the doctrine of Buddha into the country, starting from

the island of Ceylon. Resemblances between the script of Cambodia and the Pali of Ceylon testify to the contact of the civilisation and religion of these two countries. Subsequently, however, the northern or Sanscrit developments of Buddhism had advanced to Further India by way of Central and Eastern Asia.

The doctrine in this form was first transmitted to the vigorous and half-barbaric tribes of the mountainous highlands, who seem to have accepted it readily. At any rate, the Thai races—Laos, Shans, and Siamese—who migrated southward at a later period, were undoubtedly zealous Buddhists. Their advance about the end of the first and second centuries A.D. implies a definite retrogression on the part of Brahmanism in Indo-China. The Brahman gods decay, and the temples sink into ruins. Upon their sites arise buildings which, in their poverty of decoration and artistic conception, correspond to the humility of Buddhist theology and metaphysics. In Cambodia alone did Brahmanism maintain its position for a time, as is evidenced by buildings and inscriptions from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. About the year 700 the northern type of Buddhism made an unobtrusive entrance, and King Jayawarman V., who reigned from 968 to 1002 undertook reforms on its behalf. But it was not until 1295 that the schools fell into the hands of the Buddhists, and Buddhism did not become the State religion in Cambodia before 1320.

Decay of Brahmanism in Further India

Buddhism Increases its Influence

At that date, the Southern, or Pali, Buddhism had also found adherents in the country. Brahmanism, however, had been very deeply rooted, as is proved by the numerous Sanscrit words borrowed by the modern languages of Further India, and also by many special practices which have persisted to the present day. Vishnu, Siva, and Ganesa, though no longer worshipped as gods, were honoured as heroes, and their images in bronze and stone decorated the temples side by side with the images of Buddha, as, for instance, in the temple of Wat Bot Phram at Bangkok. Vishnu remains one of the heraldic devices on the royal banner of Siam, and the kings of this empire show special favour to the Brahmans in their districts who cling to the old beliefs. They alone are allowed to prepare the holy water, and play a predominant part in many palace ceremonies. The aristocracy of Cambodia still lays claim to certain privileges which remind us of those possessed by the Kshatriyas, or Rajputs, in the Brahman caste system.



A STRETCH OF THE VALLEY OF THE IRAWADDI IN BURMA

The Irawaddi is the main highway of commerce in Burma, and its many-mouthed delta makes a prolific rice field.



EAST FRONT OF THE GREAT SHIVE DAGON PAGODA AT RANGOON

This picture can but imperfectly convey an idea of the splendour of the magnificent edifice, which, for the light elegance of its contour, and the happy combination of its several parts, may be fairly said to challenge for beauty any other of its class in India. The building is composed entirely of teak-wood, and the most unwearied pains have not been spared upon the profusion of rich carved work which ornaments it. The whole is one mass of the richest gilding, with the exception of the three roofs, which are silvered. The carved work is so highly executed as to resemble alto-rilievo.



COUNTRIES OF FURTHER INDIA

BURMA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

FROM the times when, thanks to Ptolemy, a more definite light is thrown upon the affairs of Further India the general history of Indo-China appears characterised by a tripartite division corresponding to the three main geographical districts of the peninsula; we have to-day the western district, facing the Indian Ocean, the central district, watered by the rivers of the Salwen, Menam, and Mekong, and the eastern district, most easily accessible from China and facing the Chinese Sea.

The earliest sources of Burmese history are of Chinese origin. From the Chinese annals we hear of struggles with the inhabitants of the north-west of Further India during the first century B.C. In these struggles the old capital of Tagong ceased to exist, and further Chinese incursions took place between 166 and 241 A.D.

Burma Before Our Era

The earlier history of the country rests solely upon vague tradition. These traditions enable us dimly to observe the persistence of an incessant struggle between petty kingdoms which rise to power and again disappear.

From this constant change a number of larger and more tenacious bodies politic originate. Such is the state of Arakan on the northern coast, which was colonised from Burma, but strongly influenced by India by reason of its neighbourhood to that country. Under its king, Gaw-Laya, it held the predominance over Bengal, Pagan, Pegu, and Siam about 1138, and about 1450 it advanced from Sandoweh, beyond its central point of Akyab, to Chittagong. On the south we have the state of Malaya Desa, so called after the principal tribe, and—more important than either of the foregoing—the two states of Burma and Pegu. The history of these latter is the history of an incessant struggle between two races—the Burmese, who advanced from the north, and the native Mons.

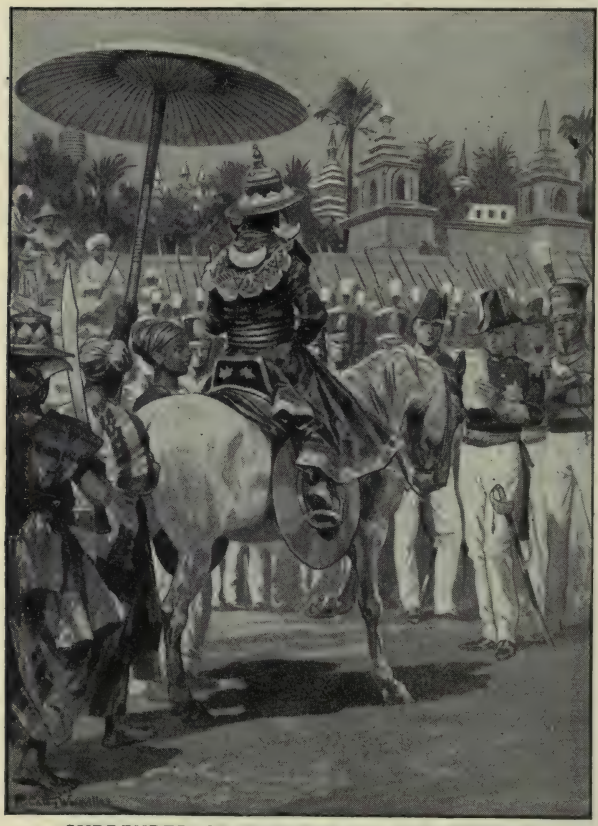
The earliest mythology of the Burmese speaks of Prome in the fifth century A.D. as the capital of a primordial kingdom. At a later period certain rebels emigrated from Prome and founded Pagan, which became the central point of a new kingdom, and flourished from the seventh to the ninth centuries. About 1060 it was sufficiently powerful to conquer, under the leadership of Anuruddha, or Anorat azo, the Talaing kingdom of Sadon, but was destroyed about 1300 by the dynasty of Panja. The period during which Tagong was the capital of the old Burmese kingdom coincides with the distribution of Indian civilisation by the Brahmans. According to Brahman legends, Tagong on the Irawaddi was founded by King Abhiraja about 500 years before our era. At any rate, the rulers of Tagong were entirely subject to the influence of foreign civilisation. Tradition has preserved long lists of names belonging to different dynasties, in which there is an attempt to establish an original connection with the royal families of early India. Individual members of these lists are still celebrated as mighty heroes in Burmese popular songs.

The Early Burmese Dynasties

The scanty substratum of historical truth that can first be derived from the native legends displays the first thousand years of our era as an age of restless movement, and of struggles fought out between the individual states, and also against the Singhalese, and in particular the Chinese, who attempted to reduce Burma under their supremacy when they were not themselves occupied by internal disturbances. At a later period Chinese incursions were repeated, and as late as 1284 fierce battles against these powerful neighbours took place. It was not until

Chinese Aggression in Burma

1305 that the Burmese ruler Minti succeeded in shaking off the dominion of China, until the time of Shan supremacy in that country. The darkness in which the details of Burmese history are veiled begins to disperse in the second half of the fourteenth century. The character of the development, however, remains unchanged; bloody wars between the two chief races, the Burmese and the Mons, brave and cruel rulers alternating with weaklings, and a general state of upheaval which affected the little states of the west, and even the kingdom of Central Indo-China.



SURRENDER OF RANGOON TO THE BRITISH
During the viceroyalty of Lord Dalhousie the British took Rangoon on April 14, 1852, after a blockade and assault by Commodore Lambert.

In the year 1364, King Satomenchin, lord of the land of Sagoin and Panja, founded the Burmese capital of Ava, the classical Ratnapura, which for a long time was to be the central point of the history of the country. His successor, Mengyitsauke, increased his kingdom by the conquest of Prome. He and the following kings defeated both the Arakanese in 1413 and later, and the Chinese in 1424, 1449, and 1477. The centre of power then shifted from Ava to Pegu, the ruler of which, Mentara, after subduing Burma and Arakan in 1540, then stormed Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, in spite of a most vigorous defence, and thus became paramount over the great kingdom in Central Indo-China in 1544. The Siamese repeatedly revolted, although their efforts were forcibly suppressed, and soon succeeded in freeing themselves from the supremacy of the Pegu king, Burankri Naunchan, who reigned from 1551 to 1581. Burma remained dependent upon Pegu for a longer period. Attempts to shake off the foreign yoke failed in 1585; Ava became a provincial town, and was reduced to ruin by neglect.

At the outset of the seventeenth century the forces of Pegu were expelled by Nyaung Mendarah; Ava was restored as the capital of Burma in 1601, while Pegu and the northern Shan states in the neighbourhood were subjugated. In 1636, however, Pegu freed itself from Ava, which its rulers then subdued, and Ava became the capital of the two united states. The balance of fortune and power continued to oscillate between these states. In the second half of the seventeenth century Pegu was predominant; the turn of Burma came at the outset of the eighteenth century. However, between 1740 and 1752 Burma suffered several severe defeats, and again became subject to Pegu. When Burma finally threw off the yoke of Pegu in 1753, the last section of her history as an independent state begins.

Europeans had set foot upon the soil of Indo-China several centuries previously; Malacca had been conquered by Albuquerque in 1511, and had become a stronghold of Portuguese influence in the Malay Archipelago; trading stations had also been founded on the north and west coasts of Further India, but the development



BURMESE HORSE AND FOOT SOLDIERS FIFTY YEARS AGO

of these was hindered by the continual struggles between Pegu and Burma. Upon occasion Portuguese knights and soldiers fought on one or the other side. Adventurers, both Portuguese and Spanish, gained a temporary reputation at the cost of a miserable end. However, European relations with Further India went no further than this. At a later period the English and the Dutch also founded settlements on the Burmese coast, but were collectively expelled in consequence of their tactless behaviour to the Burmese officials. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the English, in return for the help which they gave to



SACRED WHITE ELEPHANT OUTSIDE THE PALACE AT AMARAPURA

Amarapura, literally "the city of the gods," a few miles from Mandalay, was the capital of Burma before 1860.



KING MENG DAN MENG
The well-meaning but incompetent ruler of Burma, who, in 1857, changed the capital from Amarapura to Mandalay.

Alompra, the Burmese liberator, obtained permission to found a factory on the island of Negraïs, at the mouth of the Bassein River, which carried on a considerable trade until October, 1759.

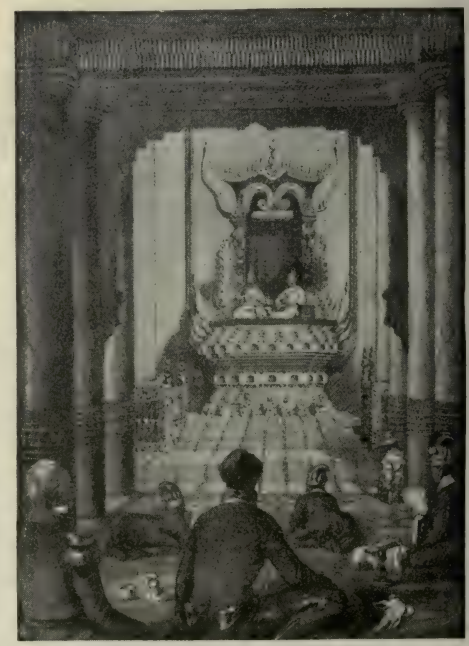
In 1740 Burma was overrun by Beinga-Della of Pegu, and the royal family was utterly exterminated. In 1753, however, Alompra collected a number of adherents in the village of Mozzobo. In a parable apparently emanating from Buddhaghosha we read the following contemptuous statement: "Of the twenty-one castes, nineteen can be released from their sins by good works; but the huntsmen and fishers, though they visit the pagoda, hear the law, and keep the five commandments until the end of their lives, can never be released from their sins."

Castes Beyond Salvation

Alompra drove out the Governor of Pegu and the brother of its king, Aporaza, who appeared in 1754 before Ava with a fleet. In 1755 he advanced upon Pegu and gained possession of the hostile capital in 1757. In memory of the victory of Synyangong on April 21, 1755, Rangoon was founded, a town which rapidly rose to great commercial importance by reason of its favourable geographical situation.

Pegu, which had struggled for so many centuries with Burma for predominance, ceased to exist in 1757. From that date Burma, which, by the occupation of Mergui and Tenasserim, even encroached upon Siam, was indisputably the first power in the west of the peninsula of Further India. After the death of Alompra, May 15th, 1760, his successor, Namdoji Prau, was confronted with the task of quelling revolts, repelling the attacks of the Chinese, who declined to tolerate the growth of this new Power on their southern frontier, and incorporating those petty states of Western Indo-China which had retained their independence. Shembaun (1763–66), the second successor of Alompra, successfully defended his empire against the Chinese, almost destroying their army under General Chien Lang before Ava; in 1771 he temporarily conquered Siam and subdued Assam, which had hitherto maintained its independence both against India and Indo-China. Alompra's third son, the sixth king of the dynasty of 1757, Bhodau Phra, meaning royal grandfather, a brave ruler, though cruel and capricious, founded Amarapura as a new capital in 1783, and obliged

Growth of Burmese Power



AN AUDIENCE WITH MENG DAN MENG
The King of Burma receiving the leaders of the Mission from the Governor-General of India at Amarapura in 1855.

a l the inhabitants of Ava to emigrate t nither.

He suppressed revolts in Pegu with bloodthirsty severity, most cruelly persecuted the Buddhist doctrine, and, in 1874, incorporated Arakan, which he had captured by treachery, with his kingdom. Thus upon his death, in 1819, Burma had reached the zenith of its greatness and power. Phagyi-dau, the grandson and successor of Bhodau Phra, returned to residence in the capital of Ava. He inherited the capricious and irresponsible character of his father without any of his high talent. His exaggerated estimate of his own powers led to the first war with England from 1824 to 1826. By the peace of Yandabo, February 24th, 1826, Burma was deprived of most of its power, compelled to pay an indemnity of $5,000,000, to conclude a commercial treaty, and to receive a British Resident, and was confined to the basin of the Irawaddy; its possessions now hardly extending beyond the delta of that river, including Rangoon. However, the rulers of the country had been taught nothing by the severe punishment which they had received. In 1837 Phagyi-dau, having become totally insane, was deposed and

Trouble with India



H. C. White Co.

A SCENE IN MANDALAY

The city of Mandalay was from 1860 to 1885 the capital of the Burmese kingdom and the residence of the king.



H. C. White Co.

BY THE TURTLE POND AT MANDALAY

The turtle is held in great veneration by the Burmese.

placed in confinement. His successor, Tharawadi, who was no less autocratic and short-sighted, declined to recognise the convention of Yandabo. The English missionaries were so badly treated that they were forced to evacuate the country, and the British Resident was withdrawn in 1840 in consequence of the insolent treatment which he had experienced.

In 1845 Tharawadi also went mad, and was deposed by his son Pagan Meng; hostilities, however, still continued. British captains were insulted and payment of the indemnities demanded was refused. Burma was wilfully provoking a new war with England. The war came in 1852. In rapid succession, though at a price of considerable loss, the British troops captured Martaban on April 5, Rangoon, Bassein, Prome, and finally Pegu on November 21. On December 20, Lord Dalhousie proclaimed a new frontier line, declaring Lower Burma, or Pegu, British territory. This was a fatal blow to Burmese independence, as the country was cut off from the coast and from communications by sea, and deprived of its most fruitful rice territory. This peace,

British Take Lower Burma

so favourable to England, placed her in complete possession of what had been the east coast of Burma on the Sea of Bengal. The rest of he native kingdom was placed in a position of entire dependency upon British India, the maintenance of good relations with England being thus indispensable. This, however, was a condition impossible of fulfilment by the Burmese rulers.

Pagan Meng was deposed in 1853 and succeeded by Meng dan Meng, a well-meaning ruler, benevolent to his subjects ; he was, however, wholly unable to grasp the situation, as is obvious from the fact that eighteen months after the incorporation of Pegu he sent an embassy to Calcutta requesting the restoration of the territory taken from the kingdom. For a long time he declined to sign the convention confirming the loss of Pegu. At the same time, under this king, who removed his capital from Amarapura to Mandalay in 1857, highly profitable relations were begun between Burma and British India. In 1862 Arakan, Martaban, Pegu, and Tenasserim were united into "British Burma" under Arthur Phayre as Chief Commissioner, and in 1874 Queda in Malacca was voluntarily ceded by its prince, and united to Tenasserim. In 1871 Italy, and in 1873 France, concluded commercial treaties with Burma, which manifested its interest in a definite connection with Europe by the despatch of ambassadors in 1872, 1874, and 1877.

Meng dan Meng died on October 1st, 1878, and was succeeded by Thebaw, a king of the type of Phagzi dau and Tharawadi. After his accession relations between the British and Burmese Governments became seriously strained. The king signalised the opening of his reign by massacring many of his nearest relatives, and things came to such a pass that it was no longer possible for the British envoy to remain in Mandalay. The crisis arrived in 1885, when a dispute arose between the king and a British mercantile company, on whom he had inflicted an impossible fine, threatening at the same time to confiscate their property in the event of non-payment. An ultimatum was sent to him by the British Government in October, 1885, and, on his failure to comply with it, preparations were made for the occupation of Mandalay. Within less than a fortnight of the declaration of hostilities, the capital was taken on the 28th of November and the king made prisoner. However, desultory fighting continued for a long time, and it was several years before the dacoits were finally put down and the country pacified. Upper and Lower Burma were made a division of the Indian Empire under a Lieutenant - Governor, and in 1886 the Burmese Shan States were incorporated in British India.



Edwards

BURMESE MAN AND WOMAN

MALAY PENINSULA

The long tongue of land which curls out on the south-west of Indo-China is the Malay Peninsula. Of this, the north-western portion is part of Tenasserim, one of the provinces of Burma which was annexed to British India in the time of Lord Amherst. Another portion of the peninsula belongs to Siam. The general title is not unusually restricted to the remaining portion, otherwise described inclusively as Malacca.

The ethnology and early history of the region demand no detailed treatment here. We should merely be repeating what has already been said in the account of the Malay Archipelago. Even its more modern history requires but very brief notice. The value of Malaccan ports from their position on trade routes was recognised as

soon as Europeans arrived in the Indian waters; and Albuquerque himself was prompt to establish a Portuguese settlement at the town of Malacca, which gives its name to the whole territory. When the Dutch displaced the Portuguese in the archipelago, they displaced them also on the peninsula; the petty native states, however, still subsisted. The Dutch possessions followed the regular course during the Napoleonic wars, when they fell into the hands of the British, but were ultimately restored at the peace.

During the British occupation of Java, Sir Stamford Raffles detected the immense potentialities of a station at Singapore, which, owing to his representations, was purchased from the Raja of Johore in 1819. Penang and the present-day Province Wellesley had been similarly acquired in 1785 and 1798.

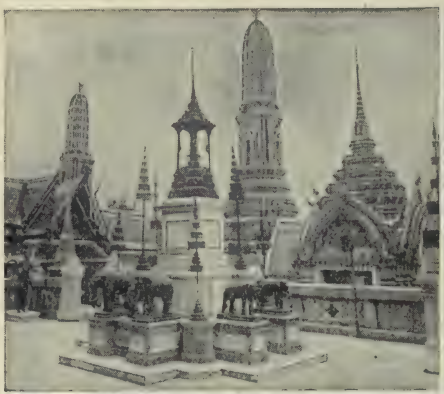
In 1824 the British received the Dutch settlements of Malacca in exchange for those on Sumatra. For the time the "Straits Settlements" remained under the control of the Indian Government, but they were converted into a Crown colony in 1867; and since 1875, the native principalities have all accepted the position of protectorates in relation to the Government at Singapore. Not many years after its acquisition, that town had become the British capital, in place of Penang, which had previously held that position. So great has its prosperity been, that the population had risen from about 10,000 to over 300,000 at the present day.



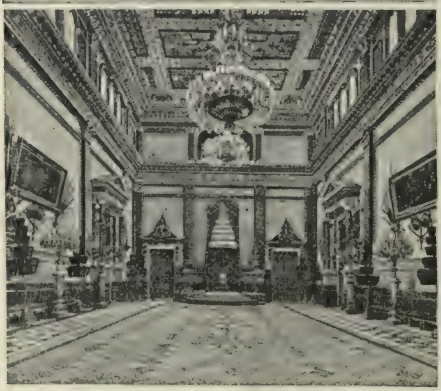
KING GEORGE V., WHEN PRINCE OF WALES, VISITING THE ARAKAN PAGODA

The Arakan Pagoda, the famous shrine at Mandalay, contains a great brass sitting image of Buddha, under a seven-roofed canopy with massive pillars and gorgeous mosaic ceiling.











VIEWS IN THE ROYAL PALACE OF BANGKOK

The picture at the top of the page gives a general view of the royal palace, and the bottom picture on the left is the throne room, which, with its pictures and chandelier, seems to partake of the magnificence of Louis XIV. rather than of a semi-barbaric potentate. The two pictures in the middle are views taken in the palace grounds, many of the buildings in which follow the Italian rather than the Oriental style. The last picture—that on the bottom right—is the Hall of Audience.



CHAMPA, CAMBODIA AND SIAM

IN Central Further India three kingdoms have successively secured predominance: Champa, Cambodia, and Siam. Our knowledge, however, of the early history of Central Indo-China is confined to the most general outlines.

This is especially true of Champa, the oldest of the three states. The earliest intelligible accounts display the Cham as a powerful people. At the time of its greatest prosperity, near the middle of the first century A.D., Champa was about the size of the modern Cambodia, though at different periods it also extended over Cochin-China, Annam, and even to Southern Tonquin. At the time of Ptolemy the civilisation was Brahman, early Sanscrit inscriptions covering the period from the third to the eleventh century A.D.; from that date inscriptions are written in Champa, a special dialect strongly influenced by Sanscrit elements. The religion of the country was, as everywhere in Further India, chiefly Siva worship or Lingam; scarce a trace of Buddhism is to be discovered during that period, and it was not until the downfall of the Champa kingdom that Buddhism became more deeply rooted in the district.

Wars with the Chinese, who were extending their supremacy over Tonquin, Annam, and Cochin-China, and driving out the Cham from those districts, occupy the period from the fourth to the tenth centuries of our era. The Champa were also forced to struggle with the Khmers, who had entered the country from the north according to the early traditions of Cambodia, and were settled in the north-east of the Champa kingdom in the days of Ptolemy. As early as the seventh century they pushed their way like a wedge between the Champa kingdom and the states of Annam and Cochin-China, which were subject to China. We find them in full possession of Brahman civilisation; the earliest written records of the Khmer state of Cambodia are in Sanscrit and belong to the third century; in 626 this inscription mentions a King Isinawarman, whose three predecessors, Rudrawarman, Bhawawarman, and Mahendrawarman, can be inferred from the oldest Buddhist inscription but one, of the year 667; from the first of these kings the list of rulers is continued with but scanty interruption until the year 1108. A reliable eye-witness, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, visited the two states of Cambodia and Champa in the years 631–33, and mentions their towns Dewarawati, Chamapura, and Champapura. At this period Cambodia was a state of equal power to the earlier Champa kingdom. Even then, however, a dangerous movement became perceptible upon the northern frontier. From the Chinese frontier mountains, tribes of the Thai advanced southward to the borders of Cambodia. A branch of these immigrants, the Lao, settled upon the eighteenth degree of latitude in 547, and founded a state with the capital of Labong; at a later period other smaller kingdoms of the Thai were formed. At the outset of the seventh century the Lao—in Chinese annals Ai-Lao—made a vigorous advance upon Cambodia. There, however, their power was broken.

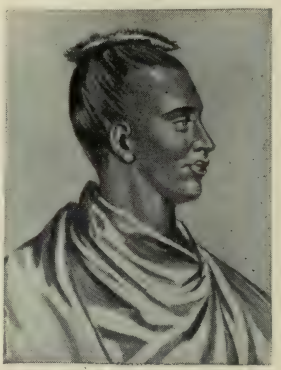


SIVA, THE DESTROYER

Cambodians are nominally Buddhists, but they really follow a debased Buddhism, and their chief deity is Siva, the Hindu god who is commonly known as the destroyer of life.

Legend associates the defeat of the Thai with the name of the king, Phra Ruang; the chronology dates from his government, the first year of which, 638 A.D., still forms a chronological starting-point throughout the whole of Central

Further India. The defeated enemy were absorbed into the local civilisation and adopted the writing and the laws of Cambodia. However, their youthful strength could not thus be permanently constrained; in the year 959 A.D. the Thai freed themselves, as is unanimously related by the early records of Cambodia and Siam. Driven on, perhaps, by the movement of the Khitan, who had invaded China in 937, they pressed on under their king, also known as Phra Ruang, to the south, and founded an independent kingdom at the expense of the Khmer state; this was the nucleus from which was formed the principality of Xieng-Mai about 1250, and the more modern Siam at a somewhat later date. Like a flash in the darkness Kublai Khan, the Chinese Governor of Mangu, burst upon the Thai in 1253–54; the kingdom of Namchao, founded by a Thai tribe, was shattered, and the Shan were driven to their present habitations. The Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya on the river Menam, which extended from Ligor to Wingchau and to the great Lake of Cambodia under the rule of Râma Khomheng, suffered but little. The Thai of Siam continued their advance, hemming in the Cham and pressing hard upon the Khmer; at the end of the thirteenth century they had already reached the mouth of the Menam. Siam had then practically attained its present extension. The Champa kingdom had dwindled to a small district in the south, and Cambodia had been driven south-eastward. The first period of modern Siamese history begins with King Ramathibodi, who ascended the throne in 1344, and rapidly extended the kingdom by conquest over a large part of Cambodia, and as far as the Malacca peninsula on the south-west. As the centre of gravity in the kingdom had thus changed, the capital of Chaliang was removed further south in 1350 to Ayuthia, which was erected upon the ruins of the old Daona. Cambodia was again attacked and conquered in the years 1353 and 1357; the newly-founded capital was peopled with the prisoners, and the weakened neighbour kingdom was forced to cede the province of Chantabum to Siam. The successors to the great Phra-Utong were busied with the task of checking their northern neighbours, of restraining the aggression of Champa, which had sunk to the position of a piratical state, of bringing Malacca under the supremacy of Siam, and of punishing a revolt in Cambodia by the complete destruction of the capital town; the Khmer were, consequently, removed to the swampy lowlands on the coast. A number of less important rulers then came to the throne, who had much difficulty in maintaining the power of the empire, and under them came that first contact with the European world which has so deeply influenced the modern history of Indo-China. In 1511 King Borommaraja, while reconquering the revolted province of Malacca, came into contact with the Portuguese, who had occupied the town and fortress of Malacca in the same year; relations profitable to both parties were begun between the Powers, and a commercial treaty was concluded. With this exception Siam remained for the moment untouched by European influence. The domestic history of the country is characterised by disturbances, quarrels for the succession, and the rule of favourites and women.



KING OF CAMBODIA IN 1863
In 1863, Cambodia became a protectorate of France, and though nominally a monarchy, it is now practically a French province.



PEASANT WOMAN OF CAMBODIA

So long as peace continued abroad, the weakness of the kingdom passed unnoticed. It collapsed, however, incontinently when the powerful Pegu turned against it after securing the predominance in Burma; King Mentara invaded the country with a large force, and the inhabitants of Cambodia seized the opportunity of joining in the military operations. Notwithstanding a desperate resistance, the capital of Ayuthia surrendered in 1544, and Siam became a tributary vassal state of Pegu. Hardly had the country begun to recover from these disasters, and to think of its lost independence, when a new invasion by Mentara in 1547 checked its aspirations. The capital, defended by Portuguese knights, resisted all efforts at capture, and Mentara returned home without accomplishing his purpose. In 1556, however, Ayuthia was stormed by Chumigren, the successor of Mentara, and almost the whole population was carried into captivity; Siam then became a province of Pegu.

Chumigren was so short-sighted as to set up the brother-in-law of the last King of Siam as Governor of the country; he was a capable man, who transmitted his strong patriotism and love of independence to his highly-gifted son, Phra Naret, who was in power from 1558 to 1593. With him begins the second great popular movement in modern Siamese history; and even at the present day he is honoured as the great national hero of Siam. In 1564 he utterly defeated the forces of Pegu, and in 1566 peopled the somewhat deserted capital with the prisoners. In the north he reduced the Lao under his power in the two following years, and in the year 1569 he secured his recognition by China as the legitimate King of Siam.

The high ambitions of Phra Naret were directed to extending the Siamese power over the whole of Indo-China. His first task was to shatter Pegu, the previous oppressor of his fatherland. For this campaign the King of Cambodia offered his help; but when the Siamese troops had marched to Pegu, he treacherously invaded the undefended land of his ally. He was beaten back, but the war of Phra Naret with Pegu proved long and arduous in consequence, and it was not until 1579 that the struggle ended with the complete subjugation of Pegu to the power of Siam. Vengeance was now taken upon the ruler of Cambodia for his treachery; in 1583 he was defeated and captured, and his capital of Lawek was utterly destroyed. In 1587 the outbreak of disturbances in Pegu and Cambodia necessitated the presence of Phra Naret; when, however, after punishing the instigators of the movement, he proposed in 1593 to conquer the kingdom of Ava, or Burma, his victorious career was suddenly cut short by death.



THE PYRAMID AND PAGODA AT PNOM-PENH, THE CAPITAL OF CAMBODIA



THE GREAT TOWER OF THE PAGODA OF WAT-CHING AT BANGKOK

The reign of this great king was followed by more than a century and a half of weak rulers, grievous confusion, bloody conflicts about the succession—in 1627 the house of Phra Naret was exterminated, and the Minister, Kalahom, founded a new dynasty under the title of Phra Chau Phra-satthong—revolts among the people in the provinces, especially in 1615, and embarrassments abroad. Only upon one occasion did it appear as if Siam had any chance of advancing to higher prosperity.

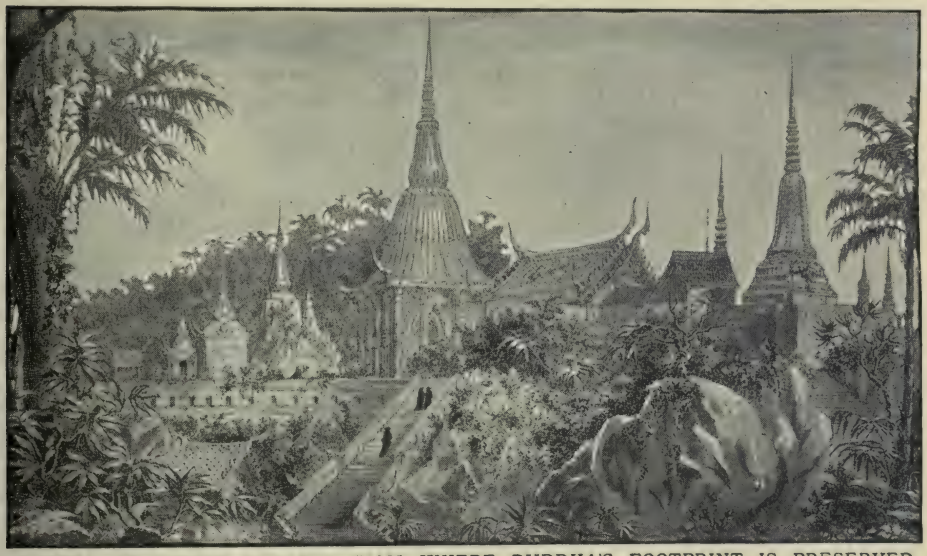
In the year 1656 a Venetian adventurer of Cephallenia, by name Constantine Phaulkon—in Siamese, Phra Klang; in French, M. Constance—entered the country. By his cleverness and capacity he gained the favour of the reigning king, Narai, who heaped honours upon him and appointed him to responsible positions, ultimately giving him almost unlimited power in every department of governmental business. Permission was given to the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese, and the French to found trading settlements. Communication was improved by the scientific construction of roads and canals, and the prosperity of the country rapidly increased. The French received special favour from Phaulkon; in 1663 they were allowed to build a Catholic church in Ayuthia and to erect a mission under Lamotte Lambert. King Louis XIV. and Pope Clement X. sent an embassy to Siam in 1673 to further the prosperity of Christianity, a friendly movement answered in like manner by Phaulkon in 1684. In 1685, with Chevalier de Chaumont as ambassador, a fleet left France, and stations at Bangkok and Mergui were granted under a convention in 1687; these places the French fortified, but the encroachments of the garrison under the command of Volantz du Bruant and des Farges soon aroused popular animosity. So far-reaching an organisation had been too rapidly initiated; Phaulkon fell a victim to a popular revolt, formed by the mandarins Phra Phet Ratscha, Wisuta Songtong, and others, and was put to death in 1689; the reforms he had introduced were, as far as possible, abolished, the French were expelled in 1690, and the missions and native Christians were subjected to severe oppression. Under the weak rulers who succeeded—Phra Phet Racha, from 1689 to 1700, succeeded by his sons and grandsons—the power of Siam rapidly decayed. Once again the



RICHLY CARVED TOWERS OF THE PAGODA OF WAT-CHING AT BANGKOK

deepest humiliation was to come from the west. In the neighbouring kingdom of Burma, Alompra had led his people from victory to victory, and had overthrown his hereditary enemy of Pegu. He now proposed to conquer Siam, but after advancing almost to Ayuthia without meeting resistance, he died suddenly in 1760. However, his successor, Shembuan, again invaded the country in 1766; in 1767 the capital of Siam was captured and burnt, and the king, who was wounded, perished in the flames.

The fall of the capital and the death of the king left the country at the mercy of the conqueror, who, however, placed but a scanty garrison in occupation.



PAGODA AT MOUNT PHRABAT, SIAM, WHERE BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINT IS PRESERVED

Upon the north, where the strength of the Thai was, as ever, concentrated chiefly on their native soil, a Siamese governor was appointed, by name Phaya Tak, a Chinese by birth. He gathered as many men capable of bearing arms as he could, drove back the Burmese, and secured recognition by China after the extinction of the dynasty of 1627. As Ayuthia had been utterly destroyed, the capital was transferred to Bangkok, at the mouth of the Menam, in 1678, which rapidly rose to a great commercial town. This success brought power; in the same year Phaya Tak subdued Cambodia and the smaller southern states and also the Laos in the North; in 1777 he defeated the Burmese, who could not forget or forgive the loss of Siam. He became insane, and was murdered in a popular revolt. Cambodia as a separate state loses all importance from this time.

The position of Phaya Tak was taken in 1782 by his Prime Minister, Chakri, the ancestor of the present dynasty. At that period a French bishop, Béhaine, had gained complete influence over the successor to the throne of the neighbouring kingdom of Annam, and France began to interfere more decisively in the domestic affairs of Eastern Indo-China. The growth of European influence and the action of ecclesiastical ambassadors excited the apprehension of the natives; in Siam the new king and his successors—Pierusing until 1809; Phendingkang, from 1809 to 1824; Crom Chiat, or Kroma Mom Chit, from 1824 to 1851—manifested their ill-feeling to the foreigners. Embarrassments were constantly placed in the way of the missions and decrees hostile to the Christian religion were repeatedly promulgated. It was not until the years 1840–50 that the French bishop, D. J. B. Pallegoix, to whom the education of the Crown Prince of Siam had been entrusted, succeeded in securing full religious toleration from the prince upon his accession in April, 1851.

Ever since the brilliant career of Phaulkon a certain alarmed astonishment had

been the prevailing spirit with which Siam regarded France. The young ruler, Chou Fa-Mongkut, a member of that branch of the ruling house which had been expelled in 1824, attempted in 1851 to enter into closer relations with the Emperor Napoleon through his ambassadors and under his brother and successor, Somdet Phra Paramindr Maha Mongkut (1852–68), and a commercial treaty was concluded with France in 1856, with Britain in 1855, with Germany in 1862, and with Austria in 1858. Peaceful relations with France continued during the reign of King Paramindr Maha Chulalongkorn, who ascended the throne of Siam at the age of fifteen, on October 1st, 1868, and took the power from the hands of his trusted Minister Chau Phraya Sri Suriyawongse on November 16th, 1873. In 1884 France obtained a protectorate over Annam, and the British secured possession of the whole of Burma in 1886, Siam being the only important state of Further India which retained its independence. On May 8th, 1874, the constitution was reorganised, the legislative power being exercised by the king in concert with the great State Council and the Cabinet of Ministers. With the advance of Great Britain and France to her western and eastern boundaries respectively, Siam became an object of increasing interest to Europe. The two European Powers were actually in contact to the north of Siam on the acquisition by Britain of the Burmese Shan states of Kyaing Hung and Kyaing Chaing, over which, however, China had claimed a nominal suzerainty. Both, moreover, cast covetous eyes on the trade of Siam, of which England possessed about ninety per cent., while France held only a very small fraction. The latter Power in particular was anxious to extend her dominions; her colonial party cherished the dream of incorporating the whole of Siam in their empire, and were determined, at any rate, to push their frontier up to the Mekong River. The leading statesmen in both countries were anxious to come to an agreement both about Siam itself and the creation of a buffer state on the north, the English proposing to cede Kyaing Hung to China and Kyaing Chaing to Siam, with a reversion to themselves in case either China or Siam parted with these states. Negotiations were opened between the French Ambassador in London and the British Government as early as 1889; but though they were broken off and renewed several times, nothing had been settled when hostilities broke out between the French and Siamese early in 1893. Whether rightly or wrongly, the French accused the Siamese of invading Annam, and announced their intention of extending their frontier to the Mekong. After a certain amount of desultory fighting, during which the French occupied one or two posts on the Mekong, two French gunboats forced their way up to Bangkok, and the French



KING MONGKUT OF SIAM AND HIS QUEEN
This king ruled from 1851 to 1868 and was remarkably progressive; he knew Latin and English.



THE "SECOND" KING OF SIAM
King Mongkut's younger brother was crowned as second king, and held this office until his death, in 1885, when the post was abolished.







Robert Lenz, Bangkok





THE ROYAL HOUSE OF SIAM

Group at top shows the late King Chulalongkorn and his sons, in English dress, and he is seen immediately below on the left in official uniform. To the right his eldest son, who succeeded to the throne on October 23rd, 1910. At bottom left is the Queen-Mother, and on right the late King in religious ceremonial costume.

Group by W. & D. Downey, London; King by Lenz.

Government proceeded to dictate terms to Siam. These they subsequently enforced by a short blockade of the Menam. The principal demand of the French was the cession of all Siamese territory on the left bank of the Mekong, including a great portion of the province of Luang Prabang, and this was eventually embodied in the treaty of peace, which was signed on October 3rd, 1893. Negotiations were at the same time being conducted between England and France with a view to the delimitation of their frontier and the creation of a buffer state to the north. But, unfortunately, these for the time came to nought, France being allowed to incorporate the land east of the Mekong to which Great Britain had a reversion in addition to the Siamese territory proper. In January, 1896, however, the two countries came to an agreement by which they guaranteed the independence of the Menam valley, which contains by far the larger part of the population and trade of Siam, and in 1904 an Anglo-French agreement guaranteed the integrity of Siam, and defined the spheres of France and England.

War between Siam and France

The chief cause of friction between England and France was thereby removed, though the Mekong alone separates their empires and the north of Siam. The treaty of 1893 has been followed by a more recent one between France and Siam, by which further territorial concessions have been made to France in the west of the Lower Mekong.

Siam has thus enjoyed peace and has been steadily developing since 1893. Although her territory has been considerably diminished, she has full autonomy and is in a stronger position than she has held for a long time past. By employing European advisers and assistants in nearly all the Government departments, she has made considerable progress in various branches of administration. Her finances have been put on a much more secure basis, and her revenue is gradually increasing, while the corruption that was so prevalent a short time ago has been in great measure put down. The administration of justice and education has advanced steadily, the police force has been reorganised, and a system of provincial gendarmerie has been established. The railways have been gradually expanding, in particular the main line to the north, which is destined to connect Bangkok with Chiengmai; but the interior of the country is still largely undeveloped, and when communications are further opened up in the matter of roads, railways, and canals, it will undoubtedly prove quite a rich one. Lower Siam produces excellent rice in increasing quantities, and the teak forests in the north are of great commercial value.

Present Progress in Siam



An Amazon Guard

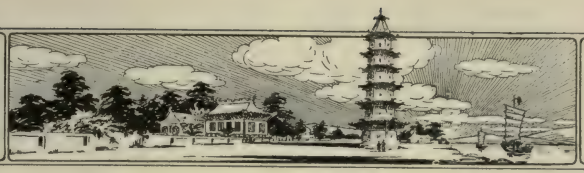


A rope dancer



An actress

SOME OF THE QUAINT TYPES AND COSTUMES OF SIAM



TONQUIN, ANNAM AND COCHIN-CHINA

FROM an early period the history of Eastern Further India, which is naturally conjoined to China by the configuration of the continent, has been inseparably bound up with that powerful empire which developed a civilisation at an unusually early period. Early reports speak of an embassy from Tonquin to the Imperial Court in the second millennium before our era, and of the foundation of Chinese dynasties in that district in 214 B.C. and 109 A.D. Chinese civilisation, however, which was bound to expand, did not stop at Tonquin. China had already established herself in Annam and Cochin-China, and had made considerable progress when the Brahman movement began to advance northward from Cambodia. There the earlier civilisation was predominant, and in a large degree determined the nature of the development of Annam. The forerunners of Brahmanism made no great progress, except in Cochin-China, and left but few traces in Annam, and practically none in Tonquin. From that remote epoch when the first dynasties were founded in Tonquin, China for more than a thousand years — until 968—firmly established herself in Eastern Indo-China, though her influence varied with the fortunes of Chinese history at large.

The Chinese Influence in Indo-China

When China proper was in difficulties from internal disturbances, changes of dynasties, or the attack of powerful foes, she exercised little more than a shadowy predominance. Thus during the years 222–618 her powers in Annam were greatly limited, and the local governors availed themselves of the embarassments of the empire to make themselves almost independent. At other periods China governed Eastern Further India with a firmer hand. Thus in the first half century A.D. revolts were suppressed in Cochin-China—which also made itself independent for a short period in 263—and after the powerful Tang dynasty had gained the Chinese throne China once again brought the larger part of Annam and Cochin-China into close dependence upon herself.

In the tenth century, when China was again shattered by internal convulsions, the movements for independence in Annam were again victorious, and their success was permanent from the year 968 to 981.

Chinese Dynasty in Annam

During that period one of the Chinese governors, by name Li, founded in Annam the dynasty known by his name (1010–1225); Tonquin threw off the Chinese yoke in 1164, as did Cochin-China in 1166. China again reduced the rebellious provinces, but only for a time; the emperor, Kublai Khan, subdued Tonquin and also Annam and Cambodia. However, the two last-named states speedily recovered their independence, and Tonquin drove the Chinese out of the country in 1288.

In the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century China again secured a footing in Eastern Further India; under the Ming dynasty Annam became tributary to China in 1368, and Tonquin with Cochin-China became a Chinese province; then during the years 1418-27 the Nationalist movement in these states became so strong that the Chinese lost all semblance of power. The leader of this movement, Le Lo, was the founder of the Le dynasty, which ruled for a long period in Annam and Tonquin, with the capital town Hanoi, founded in 1427; by embassies and presents of homage, he made a formal recognition of Chinese supremacy, but henceforward China could no longer interfere in the domestic affairs of Annam. The European advance to the east of Further India produced for the moment more important consequences in this district than in the south and west. Since 1511 Portuguese, and afterwards Dutch, factories had been founded, and from 1610 missions and small native Christian congregations existed. The country and its rulers were at first indifferent,

European Advance to Indo-China



THE FRENCH WAR IN TONQUIN IN 1884: VICTORY OF GENERAL MILLOT AT BACNINH
This spirited picture of the battle, in which 25 Frenchmen were killed, is from a drawing by a Chinese artist.

and afterwards generally hostile to all foreigners; trade ceased almost entirely in the eighteenth century, while the missions and Christian congregations were regarded with suspicion, often bitterly persecuted, and ultimately forced to continue a doubtful existence in secret.

The powerful rulers of the house of Le were succeeded by a succession of weaker princes in the sixteenth century. Under them some parts of Annam became independent in 1558, and the Le dynasty would have collapsed entirely without the assistance of skilled officials, who became so important that they secured, in 1545, the position of hereditary Minister, much like the Peshwas in the Mahratta States. Nguyen Hoang—Tien Wuong until 1614—in Cochin-China broke away from these officials, and from the nominal ruler in 1570, and became the ancestor of the present ruler of Annam. His successors increased their kingdom by incorporating the remnants of Champa and of Southern



CAPTURE OF HAI-FONG, TONQUIN: AN INCIDENT IN THE FRENCH OPERATIONS OF 1873

Cambodia—the six provinces of the modern lower Cochin-China—and were resident in Huë. These changes caused a considerable degree of complication in the political affairs of Eastern Indo-China during the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries. China claimed a formal supremacy, though she exercised no actual interference. The Le dynasty continued to be the nominal rulers of Annam; in reality, however, Annam with Cochin-China and Tonquin had become two separate states, which were often involved in furious struggles against one another. The actual rulers of Annam were the descendants of Nguyen Hoang, and in Tonquin the house of Trigne.

European relations with the country had entirely ceased in the eighteenth century; an English attempt under Catchpoole, in 1702, to settle in the island of Pulo Condore came to an end in 1704 with the murder of the settlers by the natives, and the destruction of the factory. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that Annam came closely into connection with France.

A general rising incited by three brothers of low birth, the Tay Son, entirely transformed the political situation of Annam in 1755; the old dynasties of the Le, and the mayors of the palace of the Trigne, entirely disappeared, while the Nguyen family became almost extinct. Only the grandson of the last king of this family, by name Nguyen Angne, escaped to Siam, where he was educated by a French bishop; he then recovered the most southern portion of the kingdom of his ancestors. He sent his son to France with the bishop in 1787, and on November 18th secured the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance from Louis XVI.; by this arrangement France was to receive the Gulf and the Peninsula of Turon, while Nguyen Angne was to be helped by France to conquer the rest of Annam. The execution of this compact on the part of France was largely hindered by the French Revolution; however, Nguyen Angne, who was supported by the Bishop Adrian, secured the assistance of many French officers, who drilled his troops in European fashion, and conducted the military operations. He was then able between the years 1792 and 1799 to subdue, not only Annam and the Tay Son, but also, in 1802, Tonquin, which had meanwhile thrown off the rule of the Tay Son and secured the predominance in Cambodia.



A CHARACTERISTIC SCENE IN HANOI, THE CAPITAL CITY OF TONQUIN

The kingdom had long become a mere shadow of that larger empire which had existed at the time of the emigration of the Siam Thais. Since 1583, when Phra Naret had dipped his feet in the blood of its king, who was beheaded before him, the kingdom had been forced to submit to Siam. The misery of the country was increased by continuous disturbances at home and entanglements abroad with Siam, the Laos, and Annam; the kings continually retreated before their powerful neighbour, and finally transferred their capital to Saigon on the coast, which occupied the site of the town known to Arrian as Thinai. An attempt on the part of



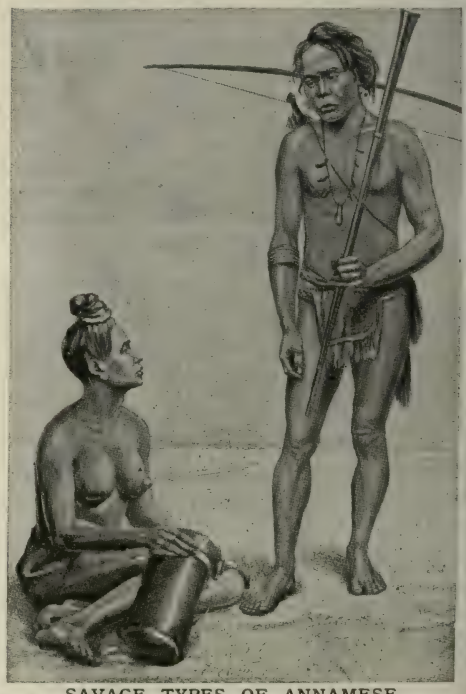
MAN AND WOMAN OF ANNAM

Cambodia to avail itself of the Siamese disasters in the war with the Burmese, Alompra, came to nothing; in 1794 the vassal ruler, Somrath Phra Marai, who was set up by Siam, ceded Battambong and Siemrat to his patron in return. From 1806 onwards the impoverished country paid tribute both to Siam and Annam; it held two seals, one from each of the two neighbouring states, and the kings of Cambodia did homage to each of these Powers.

Thanks to his French auxiliaries, Nguyen Angne proved brilliantly successful, and henceforward to his title of Emperor or King of Annam he added the royal title of "Gia long"—that is, the man favoured by fortune. Once in power, he became suspicious of the foreigners, whose importance he understood better than any other ruler in Further India. While removing his favour, he made no exhibition of open hostility. His Minister of ecclesiastical affairs is said to have had translated into Annamese for the king's benefit, about 1788, a somewhat immoral novel, a fact which throws much light upon the morality and the education prevalent in the court of Annam at that period.

His successor, Minhmang (1820-1841), was at first tolerant towards foreigners; but the political intrigues of the French and Spanish missionaries roused him to animosity against the Europeans. In 1833 the missionaries were cruelly persecuted; in 1838 he forbade Europeans to enter his country, and the profession of Christianity was publicly declared a crime as heinous as high treason. In the same year thirty-three French priests fell victims to this decree. Thie utri, 1841–47, the son and successor of Minhmang, relaxed the persecution by merely imprisoning the missionaries, four of whom were liberated in 1843 upon the threats of the French. Generally speaking, however, the oppression continued, and in 1847 France demanded full religious toleration through Commodore Lapierre, which was granted after the fleet of Annam had been destroyed. In the same year the emperor died.

He was succeeded by his son, Tuduk, who was at first well disposed towards the Christians, and reigned until July 17, 1883. Once again the missionaries interfered in a question as to the succession to the throne, and made the young emperor the furious enemy of foreigners and Christians alike. Severe persecutions broke out in 1848 and 1851. France, who considered herself the Power responsible for the Christians in Asia, ultimately sent out ships and troops in September, 1856.



SAVAGE TYPES OF ANNAMESE

Turon was stormed in 1856, but on the morning when the ships sailed away Annam replied with a fresh persecution of the Christians and the murder of the Spanish bishop, Diaz, in 1857.

France now made a vigorous effort in co-operation with Spain. On September 1st, 1858, Commodore Charles Rigault de Genouilly again captured Turon and took the town of Saigon in February, 1859. The plan of campaign was then changed; in 1860 Napoleon III. issued orders to evacuate Annam and to occupy only Cochin-China, the vassal state of Annam. Meanwhile war had broken out with China; operations were thereby hindered, and were not resumed until after the peace of Pekin. In the beginning of 1861 Vice-Admiral Page destroyed the fortifications on the banks of the Mekong. Admiral Bonard, who had taken over the command in December, 1861, won a victory on January 19th, 1862, at Monglap, conquered the whole province of Saigon, and captured several important towns in Cambodia. Tuduk was forced to conclude



DUY-TAN, THE BOY KING OF ANNAM, who succeeded to the throne in 1907, on the abdication of his father, Thanh-Tai. The portrait above was taken at his Coronation. A French resident administers the country, and Duy-Tan's sovereignty is quite nominal.



GROUP OF ANNAMESE SOLDIERS

peace on June 15th, at the price of the cession of the three provinces of Saigon, Bienhoa, and Mytho.

Disturbances broke out in December, leading to fresh negotiations, and a definite peace was not concluded until July 15th, 1864. France then returned the above-named provinces, retaining Saigon, and, in spite of the protestations of Siam, undertook a protectorate over Cambodia, a tie which was drawn closer by the convention of June 17th, 1884. The actual ruler is not the king, but the French Resident in Pnom Penh. Fresh outbreaks in Annam necessitated further military operations on the part of France in 1867. The result was the definite loss of those three provinces which now form French Cochin-China.

Meanwhile, a descendant of the Le dynasty, Le Phung, had made himself master of Eastern Tonquin, and of the province of Vac Nigne. However, when Tuduk found himself free to act in 1864, he was cruelly put to death. Even then Tonquin was not pacified. From 1850



War mandarin



A group of soldiers



Civil mandarin

TYPES OF THE SOLDIERS AND OFFICIALS OF COCHIN-CHINA

the great neighbouring empire in the north had been shaken by the Taipings, and it was not until 1865 that the rebels in the southern provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung were overpowered. Many of the rebels fled into the province of Annam under Ua Tsong, where, under the " black flag," they disturbed the peace of this much-tried country as banditti and river pirates.

When France established herself in Annam she had other views than the mere extension of her empire. Reports had long previously been in circulation concerning the fabulous natural wealth of the southern provinces of China and of Yunnan in particular. The British and the French were striving to intercept one another in the race for these treasures. Upon the incorporation of Burma, Great Britain gained a water-way, enabling her to advance into the immediate neighbourhood



NATIVE VILLAGE AND TYPICAL LANDSCAPE IN COCHIN-CHINA

of Yunnan. The French were now in possession of the mouth of a great river coming from the north to the Mekong, and proceeded to investigate the possibility of its navigation. For this purpose it proved impracticable. Captain Dontard de Lagrée, from 1866 to 1868, established the fact that the rapids in the immediate neighbourhood of the river mouth formed an impassable obstacle. The Songka, or Red River, in Tonquin offered better prospects. Dupuis, an enterprising Frenchman, fitted out an expedition to this stream at his own expense. In 1870 he advanced up the river in ships as far as Yunnan, and entered into relations with the Chinese mandarins. Hostilities on the part of the Annamese made it necessary to despatch Lieutenant Garnier, in 1873, who, with less than two hundred French troops, subdued in a few months in Tonquin a country populated by a million of inhabitants and twice the size of Belgium.

The French Parliament declined, however, to sanction the results of those successes in Tonquin. The troops were withdrawn, Garnier having been killed on December 31st, 1873, by a treacherous attack of the pirates, and France contented herself with the conclusion of a treaty on March 15th, 1874, obliging Annam to throw open to European trade three additional harbours—Ninh hai at Hai phong, Hanoi, and Thinai or Qui nhon—to grant full religious tolerance, and to apply to France alone for help in suppressing revolts. A commercial treaty was also concluded on August 31st, which, however, was not kept by Annam in spite of its confirmation by that country.

Annam displayed an unvarying spirit of hostility to France, until that Power lost patience. Hanoi was bombarded in 1882, and the French again advanced into Tonquin, where the pirates caused a great deal of trouble, Major Henri Laurent Rivière being killed by an ambuscade on May 19th, 1883. By degrees one fortress after another was captured by Rear-Admiral A. A. P. Courbet, including Sontay, which had been occupied by the Chinese. Vao Nigne was also taken by General Charles Theodore Millot in March, 1884. Tuduk, the ruler of Annam, had died in July, 1883, and had been succeeded by his brother, Hiephoa. On August 21st, 1883, by a treaty which was ratified and extended on June 6th, 1884, he was forced to cede further provinces, to recognise the protectorate of France, and to renounce all political connection with other Powers, China included, which had declared in Paris, through the Marquis Tseng in 1882, its refusal to acknowledge the convention of 1874.



THE KING OF CAMBODIA IN 1907
King Sisowath, the nominal monarch of Cambodia, but the virtual vassal of France, in full state dress.

In the convention of Tientsin, dated May, 1884, China, which had seriously entertained the project of armed interference in Tonquin, fully recognised the French demands, including the protectorate of Annam and Tonquin. Still she did not withdraw her troops from Langson in Tonquin, and the struggle continued with varying success for some time, the French suffering considerable losses at the hands of the pirates. Ultimately, British mediation brought about the Peace of London on April 4th, 1885—confirmed at Tientsin on June 9th—whereby China withdrew all her troops from Tonquin and recognised the French protectorate over these states, which she had ruled, or at any rate claimed, for thousands of years. In May, 1886, the power of the pirates, who were no longer supported by China, was finally shattered. Since April 12th, 1888, Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, and Tonquin, to which Laos was added in 1893, have formed practically a single protectorate as "French Indo-China." From that date they cease to have an independent existence, and are absorbed in the French colonial dominion.



BLESSING VASCO DA GAMA'S EXPEDITION TO THE INDIAN OCEAN

Before the great Portuguese navigator sailed for the South Seas his enterprise was blessed at an imposing ceremony in the Basilica de Santa Maria, the Cathedral of Lisbon, his royal patron gracing the occasion by his presence.

1416

INDIAN OCEAN IN HISTORY

THE DRAMA OF A WORLD OF WATERS AND THE NATIONS ON ITS SHORES

THE INDIAN OCEAN IN EARLY TIMES

THE PRIMITIVE MIGRATIONS

OF all parts of the mighty ocean which encircles the earth, none, unless it be the Mediterranean, seems by its position and shape more adapted to play a part in the history of the world than the Indian Ocean. Just as the Mediterranean basin, so important for the course of the history of the human race, parts the immense mass of the Old World on the west and breaks it up into numerous sections, so the Indian Ocean penetrates the same land mass from the south in the shape of an incomparably vaster and crescent-like gulf, having the continents of Africa and Australia on its two sides, while directly opposite its northern extremity lies the giant Asia. In the number, therefore, of the continents surrounding it, the Indian Ocean is inferior to none of the larger sea-basins—neither to its two great companion oceans in the east and west, nor to the diminutive Mediterranean in the north; each of them is bounded by three continents.

The frame in which the Indian Ocean is set shows a rich variety of configuration. Only the west side—the east coast, that is, of Africa—is massy and unbroken, except for the huge island of Madagascar and some groups of coastal islands. By contrast, the eastern and northern coasts appear all the more indented; and yet they are absolutely different in their kind. The east side terminates to the south in the Australian continent, which for long ages was able to pass in lonely tranquillity an existence unknown to history, until modern times finally brought it within the range of politics. But Australia is directly connected on the north with a region that has no parallel on the face of the globe for the rich variety of its configuration—the island world, that is, of Indonesia—the Indian Archipelago. This has been the natural " bridge of nations " toward the east from the earliest times to the present day.

Limits of the Indian Ocean

The northern shore, also, from its bulk, is unique in its conformation. Southern Asia, as indeed the whole continent, is a land of vast distances. Three immense peninsulas, on a scale of size that recurs nowhere else, jut out into the sea, and the ocean penetrates the land in gulfs of corresponding breadth and length which attain the dimensions of fair-sized seas. The formation seems at first sight almost too colossal to guarantee to the adjoining part of the sea an active rôle. But on this point we must always bear in mind that the two most important offshoots of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, approach to within a short distance of the Mediterranean, the centre of Western civilisation, like two feelers, virtually becoming the eastern continuation of the Mediterranean.

The Three Great Peninsulas

The geometrical axis of the Indian Ocean runs, like that of the other two great oceans, from north to south; it thus follows a direction which at no time and in no place has been strongly marked in the history of mankind. It was by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf that the Mediterranean peoples approached the Indian Ocean. Thence their path lay south-east to Indonesia, or south-west to the coast of Africa. Similarly, then, the historical axis of the Indian Ocean runs in the direction of the circles of latitude. It is therefore parallel to the great routes by which communications have been maintained between Central Asia and Europe on the one hand, and between Oceania and the Malay Archipelago on the other.

The Indian Ocean is, physically, not a true ocean. It is unbounded only in the direction towards the Antarctic, to which it exposes its full breadth. On the north

it is enclosed like an inland sea. The development, therefore, of oceanic phenomena is one-sided and incomplete; and thus the farther one goes to the north the more apparent is the transition to the character of an inland sea.

The Great Barriers of Water

The unbridged and unbroken expanse of the Pacific, and still more that of the Atlantic, have made them both until a quite late epoch, insuperable barriers to mankind. It is only when the means of communication have been highly perfected that, by connecting the nations, they have, to a degree unsuspected before, encouraged the impulse of the human race to expand. The Indian Ocean, from its shape, which is closed on the one side, has never proved a barrier. Its two corner pillars on the south, Australia and South Africa, have never felt the need to form relations one with the other, and for the countries lying to the north it has always been easier to avoid it, or to cross it by hugging the coast or by cautiously creeping from cape to cape. In this way the thoroughfares of the Indian Ocean are strangely unlike those of other seas.

These thoroughfares, so far as they are confined to the sea, resemble chords drawn from point to point of a great semicircle. They cut the circumference of the ocean at the points where the population clusters most densely on the coasts. A regular sheaf of rays issues from Eastern Africa; one line to Arabia and the Red Sea, a second to India, a third diagonally through the semicircle from Madagascar to the Malay Archipelago. A fourth line connects Ceylon with Indonesia; another, the Indonesian medley of islands with Australia. But far more important than all these is that great chord which intersects the semicircle, almost parallel to the base, between the Red Sea and the Sunda Sea, and thus cuts all other lines. It is chiefly on this route that the history of the Indian Ocean has been made. Both the ancient and the modern world have used this path. The land routes also which border upon this ocean form a comparatively simple system, although they are naturally less subject to general laws than the maritime routes. In Eastern Africa, in Arabia, and in the Malay Archipelago, the chief land routes have followed the coasts; it is only in India and the Malay Peninsula that they strike inland. But there are many routes of minor importance, and these run in the most diverse directions. This is only what must be expected in countries of such widely different character as those which enclose the Indian Ocean.

Ocean Routes That Have Made History

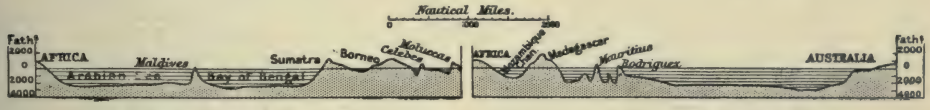
It might be expected that the two deep indentations of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf would make coast routes inconvenient. But this is not the case. Both have entrances so narrow as to be crossed with ease by entire nations and races, and it is easy for the land traveller to pass round the head of either. But in the south the conformation of the land masses is such as to make many parts of them inaccessible. Both Africa and Australia possess a comparatively small coast line, and there are no natural highways to connect the interior of either continent with the sea. The north, however, with the exception of the Arabian peninsula, is somewhat more favourably situated. It is true that the vast peninsula of the Deccan lacks any access to the sea; but to its base, where India proper lies in its full breadth, the Indus and the Ganges and their enormous river basins form the best international highways in the world. If fortune had ever smiled on these river basins sufficiently to allow them to be inhabited by energetic peoples, skilled in seamanship, nothing could have hindered them from making India predominant in the politics of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, and impressing Indian civilisation upon the whole of that vast area.

Value of Great Indian Rivers

This brings us to the salient point in the history of the Indian Ocean generally. The preliminary conditions to historical greatness are already existent, but the adjacent peoples have shown only local and spasmodic inclinations to make full use of them. The native races of this area have contributed little to history in comparison with the foreigners who at one time and another have invaded it. From millennium to millennium this condition has become worse. The importance of the Indian Ocean has declined, while that of the Atlantic and the Pacific has increased. In these last the white race has triumphed over Nature and the inferiors of its own species; but in the Indian Ocean white men have met, at the best of times, with only a qualified success. They have found the peoples by which this ocean is bordered too immense and too inert for any permanent conquest.



The sea between the coast and the 100 fathom line is called the "Continental Shelf."



A Section along the Equator **A Section along 20° South Lat.**

THE BED OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AND CHINA SEA, SHOWING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF

The remote past of the Indian Ocean is wrapped in the same obscurity as that of most parts of the earth's surface. We are tempted to dwell on the enigma in this case because more than one investigator has been inclined to look for the earliest home of primitive man in one part or another of this ocean. But it is idle to speculate when we have no materials for a conclusion. We must rather take as our starting-point the moment when pressure, exerted from the heart of Asia, drove out the inhabitants of its southern coasts to find a refuge and a new home on the ocean. Supposing this expelled people not to have already inhabited Ceylon, it could only diverge from the direction in which it was pushed, as far as this easily accessible island; any further advance over the surface of the ocean was barred at once by the want of a bridge of islands leading out to it.

On the other hand, the exiles might roam for vast distances toward the south-west or the south-east without let or hindrance, for neither the road to the south-western part of the Old World nor the bridge of islands to the Pacific offered any appreciable obstacles, even for migrating peoples who possessed little knowledge of seamanship. Both paths, indeed, had been trodden by that dark race on its retreat before the wave of Asiatic nations rolling from north to south. Even at the present day we find scanty remnants of it on Ceylon, as in Southern India itself. We find additional traces in Further India or Malacca; indeed, with some certainty,

even in Southern Arabia. But it is far more strongly represented in the Indian Archipelago as far as the Philippines and Melanesia, and even still further in the east. We find it on the largest scale, however, on the continent of Africa, where it forms the chief component element of the population. These migrations gave the dark-skinned peoples hardly any occasion for great achievements in seamanship. The passage to Ceylon was simple enough; and the easterly path with its thickly sown clusters of islands did not require any pretensions to navigation. It is impossible to ascertain whether the early ancestors of the African negroes crossed the ocean on its lateral arms, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, or whether they went round them. Even if the negroes on their march to the new home chose the sea route, the few miles of the passage over those narrow arms of the sea were no more able to turn them into a nation of seafarers than their old homes on the coasts of Asia had served to lure them out on to the open sea. Even in their new home they remained aloof from the ocean and averse from it. Was it the vastness of the spaces in Africa in which they lost themselves, or were nautical skill and love of the sea foreign to the race? The last alternative would seem to be the true one, for at no time and in no place have members of the negro race performed noteworthy feats at sea. In Africa their efforts were exhausted by the occupation of Madagascar, which was close at hand, and of the coast islands from the mainland.

The Early Race Movements

In the island world of Indonesia and Melanesia even the admixture of Malay blood did not raise the dark-skinned man above the level of coasting navigation. We have, therefore, little to do with him in what follows; in the sphere of the Indian Ocean he is as unimportant a factor in the history of the world as we shall afterward find him in the Atlantic Ocean. The lands which he inhabits may still play a part in history; but he has shown little or no ambition to share in the life of the outer world.

Historical Value of Black Races

In spite of the small historical importance of the black race, its diffusion over the countries round the Indian Ocean is an event of great significance; it creates in the island realm of South-east Asia the preliminary conditions for those intricate mixtures and blendings the result of which we see in the motley conditions of the population of Indonesia and the Pacific world at the present day. The dark-coloured races have never been numerous enough there to constitute any noticeable check on a wave of nations as it presses on.

Thus, when the Malay stream of nations, giving way before a pressure from north to south, was forced out to the sea from the south-east of the Asiatic continent, it did not touch the zone of Indonesia-Melanesia without influencing the negroid race which it found there; and it did not leave the country without carrying with it the traces of this probably prolonged contact over the entire breadth of the Pacific to the east. The results of this contact vary according to the respective locality and the duration of the reciprocal action. Melanesians and Polynesians are the two ends of the scale: the former is the product of a complete fusion of the two races, the latter seems to have only a negroid tinge. The intermediate steps are numerous and varied—Micronesians, Alfurs, and Negritos mark only sharply outlined groups in the medley. Indirectly the Australian may be reckoned in, for, in addition to Polynesian influences, Melanesian are not to be rejected.

Contact of Primitive Nations

The Pacific and the Atlantic have each in their turn contributed to develop these ethnic types. If we retain the customary division of the Malay race into an eastern and a western branch, the classification coincides more or less with the region of the two oceans. But while the eastern branch saw its historical task discharged by the occupation of the vast Pacific world, and made hardly any perceptible advances into the turmoil of the history of mankind, notwithstanding a skill in seamanship which approached the miraculous, the Western Malays, firmly planted on their native soil of Indonesia, and from the very first efficient and able seamen, presented a different picture. Not only did they advance over the Indian Ocean to Ceylon and Madagascar, but in the majority of the homes which they permanently occupied played a part whose significance is far greater than that of their eastern kinsmen and of nearly all the inhabitants of the Indian Ocean.

They set foot nowhere on the mainland except in the peninsula of Malacca, and are the true children of the ocean; if they did not succeed in raising themselves to be its acknowledged masters, that is perhaps due less to deficiencies of character and natural ability than to the division and subdivision of their homes over so many islands, and to the position of the Malay Archipelago at the meeting point of two such mighty civilisations as the Chinese and the Indian. It is true that the influence of China was mainly confined to the field of commercial politics; but this only made the influence of India the wider in its day. This latter reacted with quite unprecedented vigour upon the culture and the spiritual life of the Western Archipelago; and, although it could not bring the Malay, who was by temperament far keener, under the yoke of religious ideas, and thus bind him to the native soil in the way in which the Hindus were bound, still, under the burning rays of Indian philosophy, the political energy of the insular people was more prejudicially influenced than we are ordinarily accustomed to suppose. The modest share of the Indian Ocean in the history of mankind goes back to distant ages, about which we shall probably never be able to express a definite opinion. It is in its length and breadth prehistoric. Long ages must have passed before the historically authenticated relations of the West and the East were formed through the instrumentality of those same Hamitic peoples who formerly had barred the movement from the East to the West.

Duration of Ocean History

THE HISTORIC PERIOD DOWN TO ISLAM

THE Indian Ocean has sent out mighty armies of peoples eastward and westward; but those which went westward have mostly remained strangers to it and kept aloof; the others, in the east, passed rapidly from its dominion. It has certainly created nations; where this task faced it on a large scale, as in the Archipelago and in Australia, it has had to share it with its larger neighbours; while where the task appealed to it on a small scale, as on the coasts of East Africa and on Madagascar, there the result is not commensurate with the dignity and size of the ocean. Again, the political activity of the Indian Ocean has never been prominent. Where growing nations live, as in the western archipelago, on Madagascar, and on the coasts of South and East Arabia, there the great far-reaching empires are wanting; and where these exist, as in the whole of Southern Asia from the Euphrates on the west to the Brahmaputra on the east, there is no nautical efficiency or liking for the open sea. What life and movement there has been on the highways of the Indian Ocean is due mainly to commerce. All the nations which ventured out on to the Indian Ocean in times known to history were induced chiefly by commercial objects to make such voyages. The historical rôle of the Indian Ocean must therefore be regarded predominantly from the standpoint of the history of trade. The range of view is only apparently limited; in reality it discloses prospects of remarkable depth and reveals glimpses of the rise and fall of nations, such as we never find on an equal scale in the far wider and more richly diversified fields of view presented by the two other great oceans.

Voyages for Trade Purposes

It is impossible to picture to oneself the historical significance of the Indian Ocean without thinking primarily of the weighty part which the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf have been called on to play within this area. These two north-westerly lateral arms of the ocean are the natural canals and the obvious connecting links between east and west. But even more than the southern approach to the great Mesopotamian plain, whose value would be more clearly realised by us if we possessed greater details about the trade of the Elamites, the ditch-like Red Sea, which reaches close up to the Mediterranean world, has facilitated and maintained this connection. Although in the course of human history there was a long period during which the Red Sea relapsed into a profound tranquillity, yet no proof of its historical value is clearer than the fact that an occurrence so simple as its union with the Mediterranean, which was accomplished between 1859 and 1869, restored to it at one blow its old rôle. Its busy waters even now, when the East has been opened to the widest extent, are the great link of connection between the eastern and the western worlds.

The commerce in the north-west of the Indian Ocean goes back far into remote antiquity. Although the ancient Egyptians, with their invincible predilection for seclusion, never maintained a permanent fleet on the Red Sea, yet they repeatedly tried at the most different periods to bring themselves into direct communication with the countries producing the spices which they used so much and valued so highly—that is to say, with Southern Arabia and the eastern horn of Africa. The last king of the eleventh dynasty, Seanchkara, commissioned Henu to fit out an expedition from Coptos to "Punt"; a similar task was entrusted to the fleet of Queen Hathepfut about 1490 B.C. on its voyage south. We must certainly regard the Egyptians as the earliest authenticated navigators of the Red Sea and the adjoining parts of the Indian Ocean. Although those isolated expeditions, and even the fleet maintained by Rameses III. (1200–1168), can hardly have served to point out the way to their Punic successors, they are noteworthy as evidence of a nautical spirit in a people which otherwise was so firmly rooted to its own soil.

History of Ocean Commerce

The magnet, however, which chiefly attracted navigators into this ocean was the peninsula of India. India and the Indian Ocean are two inseparable ideas, as is shown by the two names. And yet this close relationship holds good only in a limited sense. The peninsula to the south of the Himalayas is by its geographical position fitted to rule the surrounding seas more than any other country which bounds the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless, during the course of its history it has never attained a commanding position, from its own unaided strength, at any rate. Yet the peninsula is not so vast as to hinder the thorough development of its latent strength, represented by an excessively dense population; and the unfavourable configuration of its coast line is not the cause of the amazing dearth of historical influence. The fault lies simply and solely in the ethnographical conditions of India.

India the Magnet of the Nations

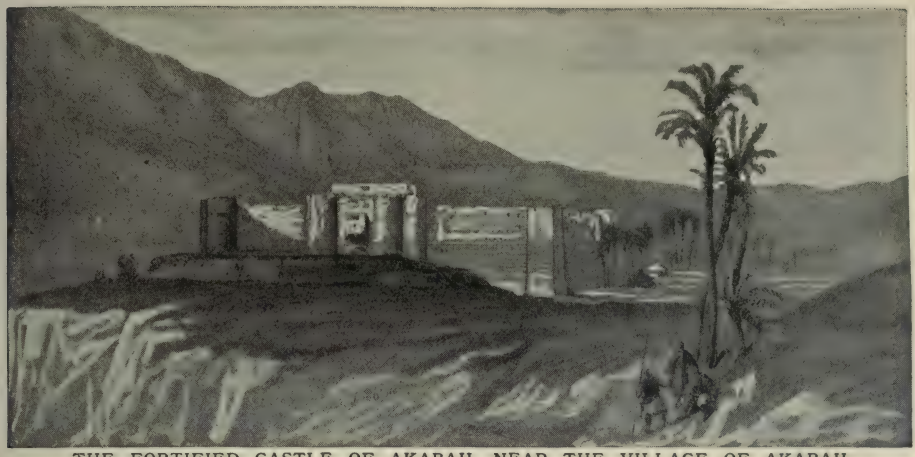
The Indian Aryans never made a permanent habit of navigation. India never felt the need of seeking the outside world; but it always was destined to be the goal for the other nations, by land as well as by sea. From its vast treasures it has given to the world more than any other country of the earth, but the world has had to fetch these treasures for itself.

The first attempts at direct maritime communication with India from the west were certainly made by the Phœnicians. Even if we put aside the accounts given by Strabo of their early settlements on the Persian Gulf, and of their emporia on Tylos and Arados, yet their trading voyages on the north-western Indian Ocean go back to the second millennium B.C.; since at the time of the expedition sent by Hiram and Solomon to Ophir from Eziongeber and Elath, the route to that mysterious land of gold was well known and regularly frequented.

The advance of the Hebrews toward the Indian Ocean is, however, more noteworthy from the historical standpoint. Though at that early period, and down to the Babylonian captivity, they were far from being a commercial nation, and though their political fabric was barely consolidated by the end of that millennium, yet under their keen-sighted King David they already with set purpose secured Edom, the northern extremity of the Red Sea. The brilliant success which attended the friendly alliance of his son Solomon with Hiram, king of Tyre, owing to the above-mentioned expeditions, was only the natural consequences of David's policy.

The Hebrews in Indian Ocean History

There is no better proof of the value which the Hebrews placed on the access to the Indian Ocean than the eagerness with which a whole series of subsequent sovereigns attempted to keep it open. As often as the kingdom of Judah was hard pressed and cut off from the sea, it was always one of the first tasks of its princes to subdue afresh the insubordinate Edomites, or Idumæans, to rebuild the repeatedly destroyed town of Elath, and thus to command the Gulf of Akabah. Judah, humiliated and hemmed in by Sheshonk I., or Shishak, of Egypt during the reign of Rehoboam, showed once more a vigorous expansion in 860 B.C. under Jehoshaphat, who restored Elath and fitted out a new fleet. Then under Jehoram the Idumæans regained their independence, until Uzziah, or Azariah, in the first half of the eighth century, subjugated them for the third time, and rebuilt Elath. Under Ahaz, about 730,



THE FORTIFIED CASTLE OF AKABAH, NEAR THE VILLAGE OF AKABAH

The castle and village of Akabah are 2¼ miles from the head of the Gulf of Akabah, and are supposed to be the site of the Elath of Scripture, the ancient commercial city whence the Jews carried on their trade with India and the East.

the star of Judah on the Indian Ocean paled for ever; the Idumæans henceforth permanently occupied their ancestral homes.

The loss by the Hebrew nation of its position on the Indian Ocean marks an important epoch in the history of both. In the history of the development of the policy and civilisation of Judah, it signifies the close of the first and only age of united, conscious, and willing efforts at expansion in the direction of the ocean. Being driven back into the interior, Judah was deprived for all succeeding time of the possibility of winning a position in the world as a political unity. For the Indian Ocean, however, that forced retreat of the Jewish people meant the conclusion of a period when for the first time a nation to which no seaman-like qualities could be attributed learnt and recognised with full consciousness its own value to the history of the world.

With the Phœnicians the case was altogether different. Aiming always at commercial profit without political power, they were deterred by no obstacles from opening up new spheres. Never trusting to force for success, they were past masters of the art of reaching their goal, not by opposing an enemy or a rival, but by utilising him. They had made full use of the Hebrews for this end so long as these latter held a position on the Gulf



THE ISLAND OF GRAIA IN THE GULF OF AKABAH

The Gulf of Akabah is the eastern bifurcation of the northern end of the Red Sea, and is the centre of scenes in sacred history, with Mount Sinai 29 miles from its western shore; its waters are said to have overwhelmed Pharaoh and his hosts.

of Akabah, and they did not hesitate then for a moment, although from a purely political point of view they were not entirely free agents, to lend the Egyptians the support of their commercial policy. The results of this alliance culminated in the celebrated circumnavigation of Africa under Necho II. in 608 B.C., a feat which throws the most vivid light on the boldness and skill of the Phœnician mariners. The trade, which in the last six centuries before the beginning of our present era never completely ceased, either on the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf or the adjacent parts of the Indian Ocean, at no time went beyond that stage of transit trade which it had reached at an early time. Transmitted by the most varied nationalities, it remained for that reason insignificant, being carried on from one intermediate station to another. No change was effected in this respect when Darius, son of Hystaspes, completed the canal begun by Rameses II., from the Delta to the Red Sea, or when Ptolemy II., Philadelphos (284–247), restored the work which had meantime fallen into ruin. What difference did it make that Nebuchadnezzar II. founded Teredon at the mouth of the Euphrates, primarily for trading purposes, and improved the channels of the Euphrates and Tigris for navigation by the construction of numerous windings? His improvements were ruined by the rulers of the family of the Achæmenids. Besides this, since one world empire after another enslaved Western Asia as far as the Nile, the Phœnicians had disappeared from the Indian Ocean, thus inflicting a loss to the wholesale commerce which the inhabitants of Southern Arabia, with their still very deficient means of navigation, were, in spite of all their efforts, quite unable to replace. Even the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great, vast as is its historical importance, did not immediately bear the fruits, so far as maritime trade went, which the conqueror had endeavoured to obtain. Egyptian Alexandria itself developed only some centuries after his death into that which it ought to have become immediately after its foundation—the focus, that is, for the trade between India and the Mediterranean, and consequently the emporium for the combined trade of the ancient world. But Alexander's own short maritime excursion into the regions of the mouths of the Indus, which symbolised his annexation of the ocean; further, the celebrated expedition of Nearchus from the Indus to the mouths of the Euphrates; then the attempt of the king to open once more the long-neglected route from the Persian Gulf round Arabia; his plan for the circumnavigation of Africa; finally, the improvement which he made in the navigation up to Babylon, and the founding of the port of Charax at the mouth of the Tigris—all this bears eloquent testimony to the importance which Alexander attributed to the Indian Ocean, and to the part which the newly opened-up sea was intended to play in the future schemes of the conqueror. The early death of the monarch brought these plans to an abrupt end.

Phœnician Voyage Round Africa

Greek Invasion of India

Nevertheless, the magnificently displayed activity of the Macedonian ruler was not altogether barren of the results which had been expected from it; on the contrary, its subsequent effects drew India and the Indian Ocean out from the gloom of Oriental seclusion into the full light of Hellenistic culture. Babylon, indeed, which, after the removal of the Seleucid capital to Antioch rapidly succumbed to the newly found rival, Seleuceia or Ctesiphon, did not become the political, intellectual, or commercial centre of the civilised world at that time. But while, before Alexander, India was known to the Greeks from the meagre accounts of a few travellers, after that brilliant epoch the maritime communication with the East continued uninterruptedly for nearly a thousand years. Favoured by the far-seeing policy of the Ptolemies, which culminated in the construction of the canal to the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, in the founding of ports on the Red Sea, and in securing the old route to Coptos, the intercourse of the West with India now rose above the stage of transit trade practised for so many centuries: it became direct, and in its still modest dimensions formed the intermediate step to international commerce on a larger scale. The year 30 B.C., when Egypt was proclaimed a Roman province, introduced quite new conditions of communication over the Indian Ocean. The way to India, so rich in treasures, now lay open and free

Results of Alexander's Expedition

to a nation whose material requirements, in spite of all politic self-restraint, had increased enormously. The Romans therefore made full and comprehensive use of the newly opened road. Yet even under these altered circumstances their intercourse with the East would not have gone far beyond the earlier stage had not the new rulers by the utilisation of the monsoons profitably employed a new power which at once enabled them to renounce for ever the hitherto traditional coasting navigation.

The discovery of this phenomenon, peculiar to the northern Indian Ocean, which was made about the middle of the first century A.D., is ascribed to the Greek navigator Hippalus, after whom, indeed, the south-west monsoon has been called. On the one hand, this for the first time rendered real voyages on the high seas possible, and, on the other hand, the regular alternation of the two opposite winds compelled the traders to adopt a regulated system of navigation, which, besides, was too convenient to be abandoned.

Indian Envoys in Rome

In the succeeding period Indian embassies are no longer a rarity in Rome, and the Arabian Sea was traversed to a degree hitherto unknown. Alexandria also now realised the intentions of its founder. One fact alone filled the hearts of the Roman economists with deep concern—that this brisk trade did not swell the national revenue. Even then the Indian trade displayed the characteristic peculiarity that the exports were not balanced by any imports. Pliny, besides Strabo, makes the observation, and under Tiberius the Senate seriously considered by what measures it could stem the constant outflow of Roman gold to the East.

From the earliest times of which we have any authentic information the Indian Ocean has never served any purpose other than that of being a road to India, the eagerly sought-for goal of the West. As might be expected from the scanty resources, the results were meagre, and they did not become important until coasting navigation was abandoned. From that moment the aspect of the Indian Ocean changed. India ceased to be the goal of navigators and explorers alternately.

Ceylon and the Golden Chersonese, or Malacca, were now reached from the West, and after the second half of the first century A.D. the merchants of the Roman Empire penetrated as far as Kattigara. Whether we are to identify this place, as Von Richthofen supposes, with Tonquin, or, as others maintain, with Canton, there is no doubt that the Romans who reached Kattigara came into contact with the Chinese. So, for the first time in the period of authenticated history, this people is drawn into the affairs of the Indian Ocean, where it was afterwards to play so prominent a rôle.

Coming of the Chinese

The efforts of the Chinese people at sea have already been discussed. Chinese navigation, so far as it touched the Indian Ocean, presents the peculiar feature of always advancing toward the west, until it came into contact with that of the western peoples. This contact is what it required, but it avoided any further progress or overlapping. Accordingly, in the fourteen to eighteen centuries during which we have to consider the Chinese intercourse on the Indian Ocean, that ocean has witnessed a drama such as no other sea can show.

If the western nations limit the area of their voyages, the Chinese, in conformity with their undeniable commercial spirit, follow them with their merchantmen into more western regions; but if enterprising captains of Western Asia or Europe push further toward the east, the son of the Middle Kingdom gives way without demur. This was the case in the first centuries of the relations between West and East, and the dawn of modern times has seen the same course of events.

These movements take place almost rhythmically. They follow one another with a regularity which tempts one to arrange in harmony with them the relations of the Chinese toward the Indian Ocean. The whole character of the Chinese deterred them from navigating it on their own initiative. They required the stimulus given by the circumstance that the mariners of Western Asia, about the year 250 A.D. at the latest, gradually discontinued voyages to Kattigara and contented themselves with seeking nearer ports. The threatened loss of trade compelled the Chinese to follow the barbarians to the West. In the middle of the fourth century A.D. we find them at Penang in the Malacca Straits. Toward the end of that century they reached for the first time Ceylon, the only point outside

Chinese Commercial Voyages

the region of their native ocean which had any great attraction for them. In Ceylon, however, they saw the germs of that Buddhist doctrine which exercised the most powerful formative influence on their own civilisation. Not content with this goal, which they again and again strove to reach, they came by the middle of the fifth century as far as the Persian Gulf and the town of Hira on the Euphrates; later, we find them, if we may believe Edrisi, even at Aden and other ports of the Red Sea. The expeditions of the Chinese to Persia and Mesopotamia ended about the year 700, while their ships did not withdraw from Ceylon, which, in this interval, had developed into a flourishing emporium between East and West, until the middle of the eighth century.

Extent of Chinese Voyages

The seven centuries in which we first notice the pendulum-like oscillations of Chinese maritime enterprise saw considerable changes in the powers of Western Asia, by whom the trade with China was conducted. Here, too, as always in history, the Chinese were the permanent factor. Apart from the people known in later times under the name of the Malays, who, by sharing in the voyages to Ceylon, became important competitors with them in the second period, the Chinese were for the whole time the undisputed bearers of the trade directed toward the West. But in the West there were far-reaching revolutions. There the Greco-Roman trader was being ousted more and more by nations which, although long settled on the borders of the Indian Ocean, had only just turned their attention to sea traffic.

In the first place we must here mention the Indians themselves, who then, perhaps for the first time in the course of their history, so uneventful in foreign policy, ventured to any large extent upon the sea. We may form our own opinions as to their share in the expeditions to Malacca and the Archipelago, but there is no doubt that they did not regard passively the splendid development of Western trade which was taking place at their own gates.

Attitude of the Indians

By far the greater part of this trade passed into the hands of Persia, after the powerful dynasty of the Sassanids (227–651) had raised that kingdom to the rank of a great Power. But Persia commanded only one of the two sea routes leading from India to the West—that across the Persian Gulf. Of this it soon gained absolute possession; and the monopoly remained for a long time in its hands, for neither the Indians nor the vigorous inhabitants of the kingdom of Hira (210–614) had any other route available.

Like the Persian ships themselves, the Indian and Arabian merchantmen sailed to Ceylon, where they received the wares brought there by Chinese junks, more especially silk, cloves, aloes-wood, and sandal-wood, in order to carry them directly across the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, the Persian dominion did not extend, either at the time of the Sassanids or later, over the second route to the West, that of the Red Sea. The traces, therefore, of Rome's former command of the seas were preserved here the longest. The far-famed city of Berenice Troglodytice flourished down to the fourth century; and even in the days of Justinian the ships of the East Roman Empire sailed yearly from Klisma and the ancient Elath to India. Owing to the unusually firm position of the Persians in the Euphrates valley all attempts to break through their monopoly of the maritime trade on this, the shortest, route were always futile. The Red Sea presented itself as the only avenue of approach to the Far East. The small shipping industry of Klisma and Elath was quite unable to meet the immense requirements of the luxurious Byzantine court as well as those of the civilised world of the Mediterranean. Justinian looked for and found allies geographically more favoured in the Ethiopians of the friendly Axumitic kingdom, whose position at the entrance of the Indian Ocean as well as at that of the Red Sea naturally suggested the transit trade.

Strength of Persian Trade

The attempt, nevertheless, failed. Many Greek merchants, indeed, went down to Adulis, and actually crossed over to India in Ethiopian ships; yet they did not succeed in impairing the Persian monopoly to any appreciable extent. The Persians in the course of centuries had established themselves too firmly in the Indian ports to be ousted by the competition of an unadventurous and uninfluential people from the position which they had laboriously acquired. So far as the Indian Ocean is concerned, the Persians seem rather to have derived fresh strength for further advances from every attack.

FROM MAHOMET TO VASCO DA GAMA

WHAT the western voyage of Columbus was for the Atlantic, or the descent of Balboa and the expedition of Magalhaes for the Pacific, the eastern voyage of Vasco da Gama was for the Indian Ocean—an event, that is, of the most telling importance for all succeeding time. But while those events in the history of the first two oceans are unmatched for their far-reaching influence, the discovery of the way round the Cape does not stand alone in its importance for the Indian Ocean.

The pioneers of Europe found that they had been anticipated by Islam, which in its whole life and being belongs to the Indian Ocean. On a victorious march of incomparable swiftness it bore the flag of the Prophet to the shores of the Atlantic, and it touched the Pacific with its most eastern offshoots; but only in the region of the Indian Ocean did it attain a vigorous and unhindered development of its strength and, more important still, only there was it able to spread itself over the surface of the ocean.



VESSEL OF THE TIME OF VASCO DA GAMA

It is not to be assumed that the Arabs sailed the sea for the first time after the Hegira. Such a view is contradicted not only by the migration by sea of the Ge-ez nations of South Arabia to the highlands of Abyssinia, but by the navigation of the peoples of Hira and Aden, and by many other facts. But at no period before Mahomet do we find in them even an inclination to that deliberate oversea policy which is so characteristic of the Arabian world during the whole age of the caliphs and later.

Four years after the Prophet's death the Neo-Persian kingdom lay shattered on the ground, struck down by the powerful hand of Omar. It seemed almost as if, under the new conditions and in the warlike turmoil of that time, the Indian Ocean would relapse into that state of insignificance from which it had only slowly emerged in the course of the last few centuries; for at this same time, 641, the rest of Nearer Asia and even Egypt fell a victim to the Mohammedans.

The Indian Ocean thus had become an Arabian Sea; from Suez and Massowah on the west as far as the Indus delta on the east its waves, at the time of the Ommeiads and the Abbassids, beat on shores over which the caliphs ruled. In this way the whole commerce of West with East, the world commerce of that day, lay in the hands of the Arabs alone. For the first time since the Indian Ocean has played a part in the authenticated history of mankind, the appearance of the Arabs on the scene compels the observer to divide his field of view. In addition to the route from west to east, which hitherto has been exclusively treated, one of the routes which passes through the northern part of the ocean from north to south now claims serious consideration. We have, in fact, to deal with the encroachment of the Arabs on the coast of East Africa. It is on this particular region that the Arab people has longest asserted its capacity to resist the world powers of modern times.

The expansion of the Arabs toward the East during the age of the Caliphate must still be regarded entirely from the standpoint of the reciprocal relations between Eastern and Western Asia. Possessing a large number of the best

harbours of the Indian Ocean, among them those which commanded the East Indian trade, the Arabs saw themselves compelled to turn their attention more and more to the sea, and primarily to the eastern ocean. We find Arab fleets on the west coasts of India as early as 637; but then it was imperatively necessary to deprive the Persians, who even after the fall of the Sassanids were a formidable naval power, of the supremacy in the Indian Ocean. The Arabs did not conquer India by the sea route, and failed to drive out of the field the competition of the Persians, in spite of the founding of Basra, or Bassora, and Bagdad, which testifies to their political foresight and their knowledge of the geographical requirements of commerce. For more than two centuries their fleets ploughed the waters of the Indian Ocean in peaceful harmony with the Persian merchantmen. During the first decades of the Caliphate era, this navigation kept to the paths which had been followed from the Sassanid age. It did not go beyond Ceylon; at that time, indeed, the voyages of the Chinese still extended to the Persian Gulf.

Arabian Traders in India

About the year 700, Arabs and Persians, encouraged by improvements in shipbuilding and the knowledge of the compass which they then probably acquired, advanced boldly over the Bay of Bengal and reached the shores of China. In correspondence to this forward movement, and true to their custom of penetrating only so far as was requisite for the maintenance of commercial intercourse, the Chinese at once proceeded to narrow the extent of their voyages more and more.

Although the Chinese held aloof, the Indian Ocean by no means became deserted. For even if the Pacific was closed to the Persians and Arabs in the ensuing period, yet they found in Kalah, on the Strait of Malacca, a place where the trade with the Chinese could be transacted until these latter once more sought out the old route to Ceylon and the ports of Malabar. This renewed advance of the Chinese is the last of their rhythmic movements on the surface of the Indian Ocean. It began in the second half of the thirteenth century, when Kublai Khan gave a great stimulus to navigation. The ponderous junks of the Chinese, just as in the second age, whose beginnings lay some 900 years back, once more sailed in large fleets toward the west. Ceylon remained their terminus, as of old, but the powerful and flourishing ports of Calicut and Ormuz became also the objects of their voyages. These were primarily intended for trade, without, however, excluding other enterprises. The Chinese then attempted what they had never previously done on the waters of the Indian Ocean—they actually undertook one voyage of discovery as far as Makdishu, in East Africa, and in the first half of the fifteenth century the monarchs of the Ming dynasty subjugated Ceylon. This was the culminating point of Chinese activity in the Indian Ocean.

Revival of Chinese Voyages

By the middle of the fifteenth century China disappeared again from the Indian Ocean, and this time permanently. The attempts repeatedly made by the Chinese during a period of more than one thousand years to remain in touch with the nations of the West bore but little fruit, either for the West or for the East.

On the other hand, the Malay people, which is characterised more than any other in the Eastern Hemisphere by nautical spirit and capacity, began at this time to emerge from its previous obscurity. The voyages which the Malays had undertaken at that early period, when the Chinese for the first time advanced far beyond the Straits of Malacca towards the west, were certainly not the first in their history; but we possess no exact information on the subject. We can, however, trace with tolerable clearness how the Western Archipelago, and Java in particular, early came into certain relations with India. Thither Brahmanism and Buddhism had both found their way.

Malays the Sailors of the East

It was only at the moment when the Malays, from a correct appreciation of the narrowness of their political and economic basis, withdrew from the island-world to the long since abandoned mainland that they acquired strength and opportunity to affect the destinies of their seas. The founding of Singapore from the old empire of Menangkabau in 1160 is in fact the starting-point of their power, which, in the course of the next centuries, extended to a large part of Indonesia, and found its most conspicuous expression in the prosperity of Malacca, founded in 1252, through which for many centuries

the whole commerce from west to east passed.

An unkind dispensation ordained that the Malays should not succeed in developing on a larger scale their hereditary nautical abilities. Hardly were they prepared for a more comprehensive oversea policy, when the era dawned which revolutionised all the existing conditions on the Indian Ocean—the era of its opening up by the Europeans from west to east. Even before this, piracy had been greatly esteemed by the Malays, and it became henceforth their almost exclusive occupation; by this involuntary step the Malays relinquished any historical rôle in the higher sense.

Only one feat on a larger scale was performed by the Malays within the limits of the Indian Ocean; this was their settlement of the large island of Madagascar. This migration from their original homes in the Indian Archipelago is mainly prehistoric; the dates assigned to it vary between the first and the twelfth centuries A.D. The western coasts of the ocean even at this gloomy period did not share the fate of the east side, which continued to be a complete blank so far as history is concerned. Although the Greek traders finally kept aloof, yet the Arabs, who had early sailed from their emporiums in Yemen to the south, did not cease until past the second century A.D. to navigate energetically the east coast of Africa, even far below the equator. Before the advent of the Prophet their voyages were directed exclusively to commercial objects. But fully a century after the Hegira the connection with the south, which was formerly only loose, was drawn tighter; where previously simple factories had existed, one fortified town after another now sprang up. Round these towns were grouped kingdoms, of small size, it is true, but nevertheless able largely to influence and change the nationality and customs, the religion and type, of the settled population. Madishu and Barawa, Malindi and Mombasa, but especially Kilwa-Kisiwani, which flourished for many years, were the centres of these states, by whose maintenance for fully nine hundred years the Arab nation has given the most brilliant proof of historical strength and permanence.

Settlement of Africa by Arabs

Down to modern times the shape of the Indian Ocean was completely misrepresented. It was imagined to be an inland sea, a long, narrow channel, which, joining the Red Sea, formed, as it were, a prolongation of the Mediterranean turned toward the south. While the north shore of this marvellous basin is represented by the south coast of Asia, it was supposed that the boundary on the south was supplied by the continent of Africa. The east coast of Africa was twisted round in early maps, and made to run due east and west at its southern extremity, and to join the south of Asia somewhere in the Far East.

Mistakes of Early Cartographers

This erroneous conception became momentous for the history of mankind when it was perpetuated by Ptolemy, whose cosmographic system was the main source of the geographical knowledge of the early Middle Ages. The Arabs, the direct heirs of the great geographer, adopted without criticism his facts and his blunders, and thus accepted the tradition that the Indian Ocean was an inland sea, although the direction of the Somali and Zanzibar coast must have been familiar to them.

The Indian Ocean in this Ptolemaic shape became important for the history of the human race in two ways. The one part of its rôle ended in the political achievements of the Arabs on the east coast of Africa, of which the extent was perhaps conditioned not only by the causes already mentioned, but also by the very natural desire of the conquerors to keep in touch with the mother country. Apart from these settlements the Indian Ocean is important for the fable of the "Terra Australis," the unknown southern land, with which it was associated. The idea of this continent, mainly derived from Ptolemy, who gave the name of the Ethiopian Australia to the supposed southern shore of his land-girdled Indian Ocean, was taken up by the Arabs, who gave the unknown land the name of the Sendsh coast. Then, partly through the agency of the Arabs, partly directly, the myth was adopted into the geography of the scholastics, and at the close of a troublous, but in many respects sterile, period remained as a problem which the Middle Ages had acquired no claim to solve.

Misled by Ptolemy's Mistake

Although it was a mere fancy to think of the Indian Ocean as an inland sea, still its influence in history has practically

corresponded to its imagined character. It proved an insuperable barrier between the imperfect civilisations which bordered on it. In early times, it was simply avoided by a détour; later, men sailed along the coasts from harbour to harbour, or let themselves be driven by the monsoon eastward or westward. The direction of the circles of latitude is almost the only historical axis of the ancient Indian Ocean which comes before us. With the exception of the voyages to Sendsh and Sofala, the whole intercourse takes this direction, from the enterprises of the Phœnicians in the second millennium B.C., down past the Greeks and Romans, the Persians and the Arabs, to the last expeditions of the Chinese, whose aim was Ceylon, in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. One-sided as was this intercourse—except for a few journeys undertaken by the Chinese from religious motives and the warlike expeditions of the Arabs against India, which stand by themselves, it was invariably devoted to purposes of trade—it showed itself important for the development of the civilisation of mankind.

Paths of Trade

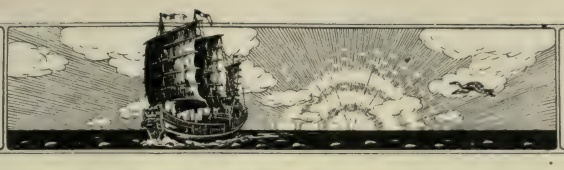
In this exchange of the products of civilisation between the East and the West the latter was always the recipient, the former the giver. And for the last third of the period which we have surveyed the exchange was effected merely by the agency of West Asiatic peoples, by the Persians, and more particularly by the Arabs. At the moment when the latter swept forward from insignificance into the position of a political and intellectual world-power, the old direct connection between the sphere of Mediterranean culture and that of South and East Asia was snapped. Whether it is a question of obtaining rare spices, dyes, or luxuries, or of the introduction of the Indian system of numerals, or of the widening of the knowledge of medicine and mathematics, of geography and astronomy, the result is always the same; the nations that command the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf are inevitably the agents. The Indian Ocean after the seventh or eighth century bears the stamp of a purely Asiatic sea, with possibly a faint African admixture.

Like the Pacific, the Indian Ocean was entirely removed from the field of vision of the western civilised nations; it required to be rediscovered and opened up no less than its great and virgin neighbours. That the opening up of the two oceans took place about the same time, simultaneously also with the lifting of the gloom which rested on the Atlantic, was partly the result of accidents, but was much more due to the internal development of the western nations. But in each of the oceans the work of exploration ran a different course; for this diversity the facts of physical geography are responsible.

Indian Ocean Re-discovered by White Races



A SCENE ON THE SHORES OF THE RED SEA



THE INDIAN OCEAN IN MODERN TIMES

THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

TO the men of to-day the difference between the physical and the historical ocean is no longer familiar. As the waves of the one ocean mingle freely with those of the other, so the currents of world commerce, and also of world history, flow unchecked from one to the other. Both, indeed, move on specially favoured paths, but these paths encircle the whole globe; they cross the sea in the direction which each man chooses, the essential feature of true international commerce.

Four hundred years have sped since this change in the character of the oceans—not in men's ideas about them—was completed; a short span of time compared with the millenniums that preceded. They have brought infinitely much to the Atlantic as well as to the Pacific, to each certainly more than to the Indian Ocean; nevertheless, the sum total of the historical importance of the two former is not greater than that of the latter. In their case also, a new era begins with the European voyages of discovery. One is tempted at first sight to say that the opposition of the maritime nations to the white invader has been more determined than that of nations living inland or neglecting the use of the sea. But such a generalisation must be qualified by exceptions so important as to rob it of nearly all its value. It is true that the Aztecs and Peruvians succumbed to the onslaught of the whites still more feebly than the Indians; but China, in spite of many storms, still stands unshaken in any respect. On the other side, the opposition was nowhere slighter than from the Polynesians; the distribution of a sparse population over an immense area from the very first prevented any war being waged. Again, the geographical conditions of India and Indonesia are similar on both the east and west; yet their dealings with the white races have been of the most different description. So far as the Indies are concerned, we must abandon the idea of treating the ocean as an important influence on the course of history. It is in the facts of religious and political development that we must seek for the reason why, in India proper, native civilisation succumbed to the slightest shock from without, while in Indonesia it found a safe refuge. The Arabs at the time when Vasco da Gama, after his memorable voyage to Calicut, set foot on the soil of India, represented the dominant religion of the Indian Ocean, and possessed the monopoly of commercial intercourse so far as it connected the Indian world with the West. Not merely did the fabulous prosperity of Cairo and Alexandria, the power of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, of Barcelona and Florence, the splendour, in short, of the Mediterranean world of those times, rise and fall with this trade, but the economic life of Northern Europe as far as Germany and Flanders was materially affected by it. The whole West, indeed, between 1200 and 1500 lay under the spell of the trade with India.

The Era of Oceanic Discovery

Allured by India's Riches

At the moment of the landing of Vasco da Gama, the Arabs recognised the desperate danger which threatened their supremacy. In the succeeding period their resistance to the intruders was more obstinate and lasting than that offered by the natives of India, who were unfamiliar with the sea. Even the Ottoman Turks, who in 1517 by the conquest of Egypt had entered upon the heritage of the Mamelukes, knew perfectly well that Egypt was worthless to them unless they possessed complete liberty of movement on the Indian Ocean. This truth was, however, first brought home to them by the Venetians and Genoese, who lost their main source of prosperity with the interruption of the Levantine trade. The attempts, accordingly, of the Turks to regain that liberty of movement were less persistent than would have been desirable in the interests of all the Mediterranean states.

The Orient Against the Occident

Far from overthrowing the power of the Portuguese, they were unable even to break through the blockade of the Red Sea, which the new-comers maintained for some decades. The Red Sea, therefore, relapsed temporarily into the condition of a backwater; at the same time the heavy hand of the Turk, spreading death everywhere, fell on its northern exit.

The Turk's Destroying Hand

From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century the Indian Ocean by no means served the purpose of a common thoroughfare. The Portuguese for more than a century regarded it as their own sea. For while the famous Bull of Alexander VI., limiting Spanish enterprise to the lands and seas west of the Azores, had been withdrawn in the very year when it was issued, still Portugal and Spain had, within a few years of this abortive attempt at demarcation, come to an agreement in which the principle of the Papal judgment was recognised; and the New World was partitioned between these, the two greatest maritime and colonising Powers of the age, by the tracing of an imaginary frontier to the west of the Cape Verde Islands.

The post-Columbian age did away with this, as with so many other ideas. In colonial history between 1600 and 1850 we hear of no considerable region, except the sea of Central America, which was more obstinately contested than the border lands and islands of the Indian Ocean. And as if it were not enough that the European nations should rush forward to secure for themselves the heritage of Portugal, the Arabs from Maskat stepped vigorously on the scene after 1660, and after eighty years of war wrested once more the central coast of East Africa from the detested European.

This international competition ends at the moment when the political equilibrium was disturbed in favour of England, under whose dominion it was now destined to pass for the whole succeeding period. This disturbance was produced by an event which in its later developments has controlled the whole subsequent history of the ocean and the surrounding countries—the first acquisition of territory in India by Britain. If we bear in mind that from 1498 to past the middle of the eighteenth century the political activity of the European Powers was spent on the founding of mere factory colonies, which could not secure to any of the participating nations a broad economic basis or any supremacy, we may see in Robert Clive's decisive victory at Plassey, on June 23rd, 1757, the beginning of a new era both for India and for the Indian Ocean.

THE BRITISH ASCENDANCY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

THE age which started with the victory of Plassey was inaugurated, first by the Peace of Paris of February 10th, 1763, when that very France, to which a Dupleix had opened out such glittering prospects, renounced for ever the possession of India and consequently the supremacy in the Indian Ocean; and next by the dissolution of the French East India Company in 1770. In this way the only European rival whom England had then to consider was finally driven from the field. England could now look to the realisation of her aim, which was to impress on the Indian Ocean the stamp of a British sea—of a central sea, that is, round which the Asiatic, African, and Australian branches of the British world-empire might cluster. Gigantic as this conception must have appeared to the eighteenth century, yet it was actually realised a hundred years after the withdrawal of the French from India. Immediately before the opening of the Suez Canal England did not, it is true, possess all the shores of the Indian Ocean; but there was no power which could dispute her supremacy single-handed.

The historical importance of the Indian Ocean culminates during those hundred years from the fact that then it was mainly sought and won for its own sake; it was only after the opening up of East Asia that it sank more and more into the position of a thoroughfare. The activity of its indigenous population, although it was not less vigorous than in the foregoing age, recedes into the background compared with that of the invaders from outside. The theatre of events lay now, as earlier, exclusively on the west coast of the ocean, and it ended in the founding and growth of the sultanate of Zanzibar, the keystone to the fabric of politics and civilisation raised by the Arabs in the Indian Ocean. Hardly was the structure completed, when it cracked in every

Indian Ocean Highway

joint. While the ocean previously had been a remote gulf, with one single approach far down at the Cape, it was brought, through the artificial strait of Suez, far nearer to the section of mankind which required expansion; and in place of the Latin nations, which, dogged as they were, had grown weary from the colonising work of centuries, the fresh and resolute Teutonic races stepped forward. The Moslem bulwark, laboriously reared by the work of a thousand years at the eastern entrance to the Dark Continent, rapidly fell to the ground.

The establishment of her position in India has marked out for Great Britain a definite road by which to maintain communications with her Australian colonies; she must endeavour to protect the approach at all possible points, as well as to command the surface of the adjacent sea. The Portuguese and Dutch, even the French, had already tried to do so. The Portuguese had laid their hands on numerous parts of the west coast of Africa, from Madeira and Arguin in the north as far as Benguela in the south, and had also made bases on the east coast from Sofala to Makdishu and Socotra. The Dutch, with better discernment, made the southern extremities of Africa and India, the Cape of Good Hope (1602 and 1652), and Ceylon (1602–1796) the centre of their system of defence, and at the same time took care to occupy Mauritius (1598–1710) and Delagoa Bay (1721). For France finally the islands, Madagascar and its neighbours, were intended to protect the road to India, at least in the south of the Indian Ocean.

Guarding the Road to India

The British were far from following in these steps directly after the beginning of their Indian sovereignty; on the contrary, for decades St. Helena was still reckoned as a sufficient base on the long route round the Cape. Even the first occupation of Cape Colony (1795–1802), which was merely the result of jealousy of the French, had not yet opened the eyes of English Ministers to the value of South Africa for the Indian Ocean; they would hardly otherwise have given it back to the Batavian Republic. It was only the agitation of keen-sighted politicians like Lord Wellesley, who as far back as 1798 had clearly expressed his opinion that India was untenable without the Cape, and still more the attacks on the British colonial empire executed or planned by Napoleon I., which brought about the resolution to secure it.

Great Britain, therefore, in 1806, rapidly anticipating Napoleon's intention of occupying the Cape, planted her foot once more, and this time finally, on South Africa. This step decided the whole further course of events on the Indian Ocean. Great Britain is now supreme not only at the apex of the great inland sea, but also at the corner pillars at its base. In this way she has not only acquired an impregnable defensive position, but she, beyond all other nations, is in the position to guide the destinies of the Indian Ocean.

Britain's Premier Position

Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, which undoubtedly would have attained the desired end had France been a match for England by sea, must be considered as comparatively the most eventful of these operations. But its results were very different from what had been anticipated. It reminded England of the vulnerable point in her position; and from this time British policy was naturally guided by the hope of securing the Red Sea.

Great events cast their shadows before even in the history of the seas. The plan of cutting the isthmus of Suez was mooted during Napoleon's stay in Egypt, and was never again allowed to drop. The repose in which the Red Sea had been left for three hundred years was rudely shattered now that the interest of Europe was concentrated on it. It became apparent that direct communications were to be reopened between the Mediterranean and the Far East. Once more the attention of the colonial Powers was concentrated on the north-west corner of the Indian Ocean. In 1839 the British occupied Aden, the emporium at the entrance of the Red Sea which had flourished in the old days of sailing-ships. At the moment when the construction of the canal could no longer be prevented, she firmly planted herself on Perim in the straits of Bab el Mandeb in 1857, and almost at the same time included in her dominion the Persian Gulf.

Influence of the Suez Canal

The expedition of Napoleon had shown Great Britain how insecure her Indian possessions were, so soon as France or any other Power set foot in Egypt. Accordingly, after the battle of the Pyramids, on July 21st, 1798, the chief object of her



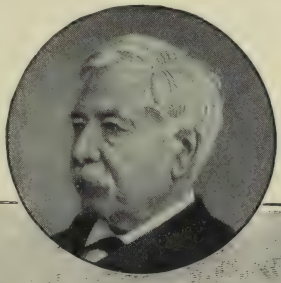
MAP OF THE SUEZ CANAL

Indian policy was necessarily to prevent such a contingency, or even any political and economic strengthening of the country. There was no difficulty in carrying out this purpose so long as the plan of the Suez Canal was still only in the germ, and the British continued to hold the undisputed sovereignty of the seas which they had won during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

But later, as the plan of the canal assumed more definite shape, and the other Powers, who had gained strength in the interval, once more advanced on the seas, this sovereignty became more difficult, but at the same time more important. Lord Ellenborough was therefore justified in saying that England, if she wished to secure the supremacy of the world, must stand with one foot in India and the other in Egypt. Lord Palmerston privately informed Count Ferdinand de Lesseps that if England was allowed to occupy Egypt permanently with an army and to superintend the traffic in the canal, he and England would be willing to aid the enterprise in every way; but it was found possible to complete the canal in 1869 without this great concession. British policy, however, soon found the means of making the canal a source of strength instead of weakness to her Colonial Empire. In 1875, Lord Beaconsfield seized the opportunity of the Khedive Ismail's pecuniary embarrassments to purchase his shares in the canal. The rebellion of Arabi Pasha afforded an unexpected opportunity of taking a still further step. Half against the will of the Ministry of the moment, the British crushed the revolt and, in 1882, effected the occupation of Egypt. The great problem was thus solved; the way to the Indian Ocean as well as to the Pacific had become a British road. But at the same time the occupation of the old country of the Pharaohs brought Great Britain face to face with a new task, that of flanking the Indian Ocean by an Africa which should be British from Cape Town to the Nile.

The opening of the new waterway brought with it also a mass of new results for mankind in general and for the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean in particular. This latter now not only developed itself into one of the most crowded thoroughfares, but awoke slowly to a new life of its own, which in its most vigorous form stirred the Italians to oversea expansion.

But still more wide were the effects of the completion of the Suez Canal on the Indian Ocean and the commerce of the world. The numerous routes which ran from the Cape of Good Hope to the north and north-west were suddenly deserted, except by a few sailing-ships. On the other hand, the few routes which traversed the new commercial highway in the first years after its opening have been multiplied and differentiated; there are, at the present day, numbers of trunk lines which converge upon Port Said and diverge again from Aden eastward.





PORT SAID AT THE MEDITERRANEAN ENTRANCE OF THE SUEZ CANAL

Inset is a portrait of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the distinguished Frenchman, to whom we owe the great artificial waterway that shortens the road to India and the East. Photo of De Lesseps by Elliot & Fry.

provinces must naturally have forced itself upon men's minds, especially since between them, on the south coast of the Gulf of Aden, on the Zambesi, on the Nyassa, and in the important Zanzibar Archipelago, at the same time or a little later, opportunities were offered for the expansion of the British power. The magnificent idea of an Africa which, on its eastern side at all events, shall be British from the Cape to the mouths of the Nile loses some of its audacity under these circumstances; but it has been keenly taken up, and has already approached its realisation. This idea played its part in causing the masters of Egypt to give Mahdism its well-deserved quietus on September 2nd, 1898, before Omdurman. In realising it, the British have crushed the Matabele empire, and have moved their frontiers far beyond the Zambesi to the north. For its sake they are constructing through Africa a railroad system which not only testifies to economic sagacity, but by means of its northern branches—the Nile Valley and the Uganda railways—makes England independent of

The opening up of Australia and Madagascar has done something to restore the importance of the older routes. But old and new alike have the Pacific for their ultimate objective. The Indian Ocean at the present day has again become an anteroom to its larger neighbour.

Great Britain endeavoured in other ways to retrieve the losses which she had thus sustained. In 1866 she acquired British East Africa, a territory precisely equidistant between Cape Colony and Egypt. The idea of a junction of these three

the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf in the event of these being blocked by a hostile fleet. In fact, combined with other motives, it led also to the defeat of the Boers. The Boers, it is true, were more African than the negroes, since they have struggled, like these at least, to reach the sea, and so far could not disturb Great Britain by sea; but as a land power she was bound to remain defective on the Indian Ocean so long as the Boer states existed.

During the last thirty or fifty years the north and north-west of the Indian Ocean have also attained an increased importance as the thoroughfare to the East at the moment when East Asia, violently roused from its lengthened seclusion, was opened to the enterprise of the European. Here, too, Britain was victorious. At the first dawn of this period—1824—she laid her grasp upon the Straits of Malacca, with Singapore, Malacca, and Pulo Penang. Since that time the Indian Ocean so far as it comes into the question of modern world commerce, bears in that part, notwithstanding the extensive possessions of the Dutch, a British stamp.

In conclusion, the last act of this drama lies mostly in the womb of time. It brings us into contact with a nation which has often occupied our attention on the Pacific, but which apparently has no right to meet us here—the Russians. And yet their appearance on the Pacific implies their movement toward the Indian Ocean. If Russia wishes not to be stifled in the enormous expanse of her Asiatic possessions, if she wishes to guide the unwieldy mass, she must force a way to the nearest sea; her East Asiatic coast is in every respect insufficient, and, above all, too remote. Hence comes that onward movement, during the last decades, toward the south, towards Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, which in our days so often assumes tangible form in the question of the Western Asiatic railways and of a Russian harbour on that gulf. The British have here a far more difficult position than anywhere else on the coasts of the Indian Ocean. In the Archipelago the power of Holland is broken up over infinite islands great and small; in East Africa England's colonial possessions lie firmly riveted round and behind the territories of the Portuguese, Germans, and Italians. But here she sees herself confined between the sea and an antagonist whose ponderous mass presses slowly, but with irresistible power, toward the south. For the moment, the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 has recognised the British position; but it may be that a struggle is only deferred.

KARL WEULE



Photochrome Co.

THE SUEZ CANAL WHERE IT OPENS INTO THE GREAT BITTER LAKE



THE SPRING CARNIVAL AT A TIBETAN MONASTERY: MONKS IMPERSONATING DEMONS OF THEIR MYTHOLOGY



CENTRAL ASIA

TURKESTAN, TIBET, AFGHANISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN

THE COUNTRIES AND THE PEOPLES

NATURE OF THE LAND

IN comparatively recent times the vast highlands of Asia, with their glittering ramparts of eternal snow, their pasture grounds, their bleak deserts and verdant oases, were regarded with awe by the civilised nations of Europe. It seemed that science, in harmony with the religion and the myths of so many peoples, had succeeded in demonstrating by almost irrefragable proofs that Central Asia was the primitive home of mankind, the cradle whence even our own forefathers were sent out in the pride of youth to find eventually a new home in Europe, while other brothers of our race descended into India, that sun-steeped land of marvels. The truth is still to seek, but it has been shown that Central Asia possesses, so far as we know, no better claim than many other regions of the earth to be considered the cradle of the human race. But Central Asia deserves, even at the present day, the most serious attention of scientific inquirers. Around this citadel of the world lay clustered in a wide semicircle the ancient countries of civilisation, Babylonia, China, and India; even the beginnings of Egyptian culture point to Asia. All who believe in a common fountain-head of these higher civilisations must look for it in Middle Asia, or must assume that the germs of higher forms of life were carried through that region in consequence of migrations or of trading expeditions.

Asia the Fountain of Civilisation

Central Asia is the most continental region of the world. In a geographical sense Middle or Central Asia comprises the self-contained interior of Asia; in a historical sense Siberia and the plains of Western Asia and Europe form an appendage of this vast expanse. Central Asia, in the more restricted sense, is the arid plateau, without any outlet, which is divided by immense chains of mountains stretching from east to west into distinct regions—Tibet, Turkestan, and Mongolia.

The World's Greatest Plateau

But this bleak and desolate region has not remained unaltered in the course of thousands of years. In the Tertiary Period, which perhaps saw man develop into the most distinctive form of living creature on the earth, a sea was rolling where now the barren wastes of the Gobi desert and the basin of the Tarim extend: new mountains were upraised and mighty masses subsided. When the sea disappeared, and Central Asia acquired its present configuration, a long time must have elapsed before the land was changed into the sterile steppe which we know at the present day. The Ice Age, which filled Siberia with immense glaciers, hardly affected that transformation. The



THE GREAT MOUNTAINS OF TIBET: "THE ROOF OF THE WORLD"

The illustration conveys some idea of the grandeur of Tibet's scenery; in the distance is a permanent barrier of ice-bound mountain tops high in the region of eternal snows, and in the foreground is a natural stone Hindu temple.

inhabitants of Central Asia, therefore, at the close of the Glacial Period, which must provisionally form the starting-point of historical investigation in this field, were still living in a comparatively well-watered and favoured region, which later became by slow degrees mere steppe and desert. On the other hand, the elevated character of the country has not changed; and this produces even in the southern parts a temperate and almost cold climate, and has in this way exercised a lasting influence on the inhabitants.

The Great Mountain Chains

Central Asia in the restricted sense is partly bounded, partly intersected, by numerous chains of mountains, which by their trend from east to west are of great importance for the character and history of the country, and divide it into several distinct sections. On the south, the immense wall of the Himalayas divides the cold plateau of Tibet so sharply from the sultry plains of India that the two countries, notwithstanding their close proximity, have exercised little influence on each other and have never entered into close political relations. Farther to the north the Kuen Lun, with its offshoots, divides Tibet from the desolate plain of the Tarim, which in its turn is cut off on the north by the Tian Shan. All three ranges meet toward the west in an immense group of mountains, the centre of which is formed by the Pamirs, so that on this side Central Asia is quite separated from the Turanian lowlands.

Even the rest of the high plateau of Central Asia, the Gobi desert with the surrounding steppes, is bounded by a vast circle of mountain ranges, of which the most important are the Altai on the west, and the Sayansk and Yablonoi Mountains on the north. Beyond the Altai stretch the lowlands of Siberia, which are separated from the plains of Eastern Europe only by the Ural range. On the north-east, however, a chaos of mountains bars the way and fills up the greater part of Eastern Siberia. In this direction, therefore, the migratory spirit of Central Asiatic tribes found least scope. The mountain ranges on the west were never any permanent check on the movements of the nomads, who found in the plains of Turkestan and Western Siberia room for expansion and growth of power. Toward the south the Himalayas blocked

their advance; but on the east, China, although partially protected by highlands, lay open to the attacks of the peoples of the steppes.

Thus the trend due east and west, which characterises the lie of the mountain ranges, is clearly noticeable in the migratory movements of the nations.

It is thus a most significant fact that the chain of the Kuen Lun, which runs right through the heart of Central Asia, stretches with its offshoots and parallel ranges, the Altyn Tagh and Nanshan, as far as the middle Hoangho—that is to say, into the most fertile districts of China. Along these lines of mountains, especially on the north side, extends a strip of fertile and more or less well-watered land, which enables the husbandman to make a home there and opens a road to the basin of the Tarim through the horrors of the desert. The importance of this district, the modern province of Kansu, for the civilisation and history of the country is incalculable. It was here that the persevering and stolid Chinaman first waged war with the nomads, built a rampart of fortified towns and agricultural colonies across the pasture lands of the unruly Central Asiatics, and thus discovered the key to the political supremacy over the whole interior of Asia; but this road must have been taken in far earlier times by those who first brought the manners and customs of the West and East into contact, even if the people which first introduced civilisation into China did not follow that course in their migration. An advance to Tibet or to Northern Siberia was difficult or impossible for the nomad hordes of Central Asia; their movements, from economic reasons, had to be directed mainly eastward or westward; they followed, therefore, the same paths as trade. It was not until a late period that Buddhism by its pilgrimages produced in Central Asia an important movement from north to south. If the history of the surrounding countries is unintelligible without a clear knowledge of Central Asia and its peoples, that of the region of the steppes in the interior of Asia is still more so without reference to the civilised countries which border it, to China on the east, the area

The Paths of Early Settlement



A TYPICAL SCENE IN BARREN AND INHOSPITABLE TIBET

Sterility and ruggedness are the chief characteristics of a great part of Tibet, the mountains barring passage and the soil supporting with difficulty the sparse animal life that tries to win sustenance from its vegetation.

of Mediterranean civilisation on the west, and India on the south.

India, which was repeatedly overrun by hordes of Central Asiatic nomads, for a long period exercised little influence generally on the steppe region, and almost none politically, since the barrier of the Himalayas was a deterrent from military enterprises, and, apart from this, the natural features of Tibet offered no attraction to a conqueror. The attempt made in 1337 by Mohammed Shah Tughlak to push on victoriously from India to China was foiled by the Himalayas and was not subsequently imitated. But here, as in so many cases, the spirit has been mightier than the sword. Northern India, that great seminary of religious and philosophic thought, gradually made its influence felt in Central Asia, and by Buddhist propaganda revolutionised the lives and opinions of the nomads. It was, of course, a case of scattered seeds, which were carried across the mountains and struck root independently, and we must not imagine any permanent union of Indian philosophy with the nomad culture of the steppes.

Religion Stronger than Warfare

China stood in a quite different position towards Central Asia. The highlands of Western China offered, it is true, some protection against the inroads of the nomads; but it did not always prove sufficient. The policy, which the Chinese often adopted, of playing off the nomads one against the other, and of settling various tribes as border-guards within the natural ramparts of the empire, sometimes led to the result that these guardians asserted their independence or made common cause with their kinsmen of Central Asia. The weapons with which China fought the peoples of the steppes were, at all times, not so much the warlike spirit of her sons or the inaccessibility of the country as the highly advanced civilisation which rendered it possible for an extremely dense population to live on the fertile soil. The country might submit, partially or altogether, but the bands of the conquerors soon disappeared among the overwhelming numbers of the conquered, and their barbarian strength could not withstand the example of a higher culture. The civilised countries of Western Asia were better protected than China against the tide of restless nomads. Between the Caspian Sea and the Hiamlayas rise the mountains of Chorasan and Afghanistan. Eastward of these, the fertile districts of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, where agricultural colonies and fortified towns could grow up, formed a vanguard of civilisation. But between the Caspian and the Black Sea the Caucasus rises like a bulwark built for the purpose, and cuts off Western Asia from the steppes of Southern Russia, that ancient arena of nomadic hordes. So long as the natural boundaries were maintained, the fertile plains of Western Asia were safe from the raids and invasions of the nomads. But the people of Iran, which guarded civilisation there, succumbed at length to the attack. The nomads found homes to their liking in the steppes which abound in Iran, Syria, and Asia Minor, and consequently preserved their individuality far longer than in China, and were only partially absorbed by the peoples they had conquered. We have thus an explanation of the great difference between East and West. China was never more than nominally subject to the nomads, and it finally crippled their power by a systematic colonisation of the steppes; while the ancient civilisation of Western Asia sank beneath the repeated onslaught of the nomad horsemen, and the country became for a long time an appendage of Central Asia.

Victory of China's Culture

Central Asiatic Influence

Europe, the eastern steppes of which merge into those of South-west Siberia without any well-defined boundaries, was never able to ward off the attacks made from Central Asia. The Huns advanced to the Atlantic, the Avars and Magyars invaded France, the Mongols reached Eastern Germany, and the Ottoman wave spent itself against the walls of Vienna. Europe still harbours in the Magyars, the Turks, and numerous Finnish and Mongolian tribes the remnants of these inhabitants of the heart of Asia. Western Europe, however, with its moist climate, its deficiency in wide tracts of pasture ground, and its national strength and civilisation, suffered no permanent injury, but was able to accept the inheritance of West Asiatic culture.



NATIVES OF THE COUNTRY OF THE KHAIBAR PASS



WIVES OF A TARTAR GOVERNOR



A WOMAN OF YARKAND



A CAMP OF NOMADS ON A MOUNTAIN PLATEAU IN TIBET



MONGOLS OF THE GOBI DESERT



WEALTHY MONGOL TRADER



TARTAR TRADING-WOMEN FROM THE PLAINS OF TIBET



KIRGHIZ NOMADS: 1, FAMILY OF A SULTAN; 2, WEDDING PARTY



INDOOR AND OUTDOOR COSTUMES OF LADIES OF KABUL



TAJIKS, PERSIAN-SPEAKING VILLAGERS OF EASTERN AFGHANISTAN



GHILZAI CHIEFTAIN, WITH TRIBESMEN AND HAZARA PEASANTS OF GHAZNI



Frith

BALUCHIS, A PEOPLE OF MIXED ARYAN AND TARTAR DESCENT



PREDATORY TRIBESMEN OF THE BOLAN PASS IN BALUCHISTAN

THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA

IF we suppose that the original home of mankind lay somewhere in the south-east of Asia, as the discovery of the supposed "missing link" by E. Dubois in Java in 1892 rendered probable, then the rest of the globe may have been early populated from this source. But we cannot speak definitely on this point. It has been shown that man was a contemporary of the mammoth in Siberia. An attempt at a connected historical account must start provisionally with the end of the Glacial Period, since from that time onward no extensive changes of climate or of the earth's surface have taken place. The increasing desiccation of Central Asia is, for instance, important in itself, but cannot be compared with the stupendous phenomenon of the Ice Age.

Two main types, which recur in Europe, are represented among the peoples of Central Asia and Siberia in varying combinations. There is a dolichocephalic, or long-skulled, race, which was perhaps originally allied to the negro, but has acquired in the north a light complexion and partly also fair hair, and a short-skulled or brachycephalic race, also comparatively light-complexioned, whose purest representatives we may at present find among the Mongols and Northern Chinese. Besides these, a pigmy race may have been sparsely distributed, as prehistoric discoveries in Europe and early accounts from China and Japan attest; but this gradually disappeared among the others, and attained no importance for civilisation. The relation of the long-headed tribes to the short-headed has become all the more important. At the present day the short head is predominant in Central Asia; but that is a result which has been preceded by many stages of evolution.

Where the Short-heads Predominate

According to all appearances, long-headed races filled the North of Europe and Asia at the close of the Ice Age, and they certainly predominated in both continents, with the exception of certain regions of Central Asia. The remnants of these dolichocephalic peoples in Asia are probably the Ainos in Yezo and Saghalin, the Yenissei-Ostiaks who have preserved their ancient tongue in the midst of tribes speaking a Mongolian and Finno-Ugrian language, and other fragments of nationalities in Siberia. In the south the long-heads are again predominant in the mixed population of Tibet. Many of these primitive dolichocephalic nations have developed in Northern Europe, and partly in Northern Asia, under the influence of the climate, into fair-haired and blue-eyed men; among the Siberians and the inhabitants of Central Asia large numbers of these can still be found. Probably long heads and also a dark skin are the peculiarities common to primitive man.

Distribution of the Early Races

Granted that the fair-skinned races were developed under the influence of the climate, the short-headed race is perhaps a variety which is explicable by the relaxation of the struggle for existence which growing civilisation induced. We may find parallels in the domestic animals, in which the same fundamental cause leads to all sorts of changes—to gigantic or diminutive growth, to wool-like hair or different coloured hair, and so on. A short-headed race developed in Asia in early times, and in the course of history occupied the greater part of that continent as well as large districts of Europe. Innermost Asia may possibly have been the primitive home of this race. It cannot at present be definitely settled whether it grew up in Tibet, or in Mongolia, or, lastly, farther west in Turkestan and even Iran. The beginnings of a higher civilisation seem to start from this race. The first gleam of credible historical knowledge shows to us in the west and east of Asia, in Babylonia and China respectively, a brachycephalic people as the representatives of civilisations which are so closely related in their main features that they

The Home of Primitive Mankind

suggest with almost overwhelming force a former connection between these peoples, or, at least, their manners and customs. That civilisation was based on agriculture by means of the plough, and on stock-breeding; that is, on the same foundation as our modern farming. These are by no means obvious achievements which must necessarily have been made by every progressive people. The contrary is proved by the instance of the civilised nations of America, who were ignorant of the plough or beasts of draught, and adhered to the use of the mattock, although in other respects their husbandry stood on a high level. In Eastern as well as Western Asia wheat was originally the chief cereal.

Civilisation and Early Husbandry

Even stock-breeding, which at first was almost exclusively cattle-breeding, shows similar features in both regions. In ancient Babylonia, as in China even to-day, cattle were used exclusively for drawing burdens and for food, and no use was made of their milk. In this respect the two civilised peoples are sharply differentiated from the nomads, who later interrupted the connection between East and West, for the existence of the wandering herdsman depended mainly on the milk of his herds. Horse-breeding appears to have been already practised at the time when the two civilisations were still in contact or arose in a common original home. Here, again, a peculiarity appears. The horse is not ridden, but is used only for draught, and nothing is known of the value of mare's milk, the favourite drink of the Scythians and Mongols.

Another peculiarity common to both the ancient civilised peoples is their acquaintance with copper and bronze, so that we may regard the short-headed races as inventors of metal-working. This fact is important for Europe. There also short-headed tribes, following the range of the Alps, migrated in early times from the East, and spread the knowledge of casting bronze as far as Britain. Another similar stream of civilisation reached Southern Siberia, where the rich copper mines and gold mines of the Altai favoured the growth of a peculiar bronze culture.

Ancient Knowledge of Metals

Supposing that the original home of civilisation did not lie in Central Asia, still the union of the two most ancient civilisations must somehow have been produced by this region.

This much, therefore, can be stated with tolerable certainty, that an ancient civilisation depending on agriculture, stock-breeding, and the knowledge of bronze, whose representatives were peoples of a short-headed race, developed in Central Asia or its western frontiers. Under the influence of this civilisation the population increased, so that emigration and colonisation were possible in various directions. In this way tribes of the northern as well as of the southern long-headed race may have been influenced and won over to this higher civilisation. This first period ends roughly with the close of the fourth millennium B.C.

The view that agriculture is older than nomadism contradicts the traditional idea which makes the stages of subsistence by natural products, of cattle-breeding, and of agriculture, follow one after another as regular steps in development. But this theory, which so long stood in the way of a sound comprehension of the most ancient questions of civilisation, is now no longer accepted. The oldest agricultural peoples, who broke up the ground with the plough, were also the first cattle-breeders. This does not imply that men tamed oxen and horses from the very first with the conscious intention of using them as beasts of draught. Comparative ethnology teaches us that even now primitive peoples, who tame all sorts of animals, first do so to make pets or companions of them before they think of turning the animals to any profitable use. This does not exclude the possibility that religious conceptions may have first prompted them to domesticate animals.

The First Domestication of Animals

So long as the breeding of cattle and subsequently of horses continued to be closely bound up with agriculture, and so long as the milk of the female animals was not used there could be no idea of nomadism. It was the use of milk that first enabled whole nations to depend on the possession of flocks and herds for their existence, without reducing their stock by excessive slaughtering. This food first made the arid tracts of steppe habitable and actual sources of prosperity and power. But the nature of their homes and pastures forces these people to make continual and systematic migrations, and thus stamps on the whole sphere of

their material civilisation a trait of mobility and uncertainty, while it marks their character with a mixture of unrest and aggressiveness which from time to time recurs prominently in history. This new economic form of nomadism cannot have arisen suddenly; it assumes the breeding of such animals as secrete a continuous and large quantity of milk. This is, again, a result of long custom; for the female animals of themselves give only as much milk as is necessary for the early nourishment of their young ones, after which time the supply dries up.

The laborious and tedious breeding of milk-giving breeds of cows and soon afterwards of mares, was not accomplished by the short-headed civilised nations—among whom the Chinese to the present day despise milk—but apparently by long-headed tribes. We now see Aryan-speaking nomads in the north and Semitic-speaking nomads in the south appear on the scene as economic and political powers. The civilisation of China still remained uninfluenced by them; from which it seems to follow that nomadism originated on the steppes of Western Asia and Eastern Europe, not in Central Asia. In Babylonia, the old empire of Sumerian civilisation had been overthrown by Semitic nomads before the year 3000 B.C. After that date the conquerors and conquered gradually amalgamated and appeared next in history as Babylonians. Other Semites as migratory herdsmen kept to that way of life, of which the oldest narratives in the Bible draw so pleasing a picture.

The Rise of Early Nomadism

Still more momentous was the first appearance in history of the Aryan nomads. The old dispute as to the origin of the Aryans cannot be answered, because the whole problem has been put so wrongly. Two totally distinct questions have been jumbled together—namely, what was the origin of the blond, or at least light-coloured, dolichocephalic peoples, the majority of whom now employ Aryan dialects, and what was the starting-point of the Aryan language? Of the first question we have already spoken. The fair-skinned, dolichocephalic peoples are a race of men which has developed under the influence of the cool climate out of the long-headed tribes originally spread over the whole of Europe and the greater part of Asia. The original Aryan language, on the other hand, may have begun, as some good linguists maintain, in the lowlands of Eastern Europe. It is easy to draw the inference that precisely this beginning of a nomadic way of life, and the necessary migrations, go far to explain the extraordinary dissemination of Aryan dialects.

The great historical events with which the Aryan nomads appear on the scene are the conquest and the Aryanisation of Iran and India. The wave of nations may have rolled in the third millennium B.C. from Eastern Europe over the Turanian steppe to the south and have first flooded Eastern Iran, until an outlet was made through the valley of Kabul, through which a part of the Aryans flowed into India.

Wave of Nomad Migration

A large number of the nomads remained behind in the steppes of Eastern Europe and Western Siberia, where they were known to the earliest Greek authorities as Scythians. Probably all the nomad tribes of the great lowlands of Asia and Europe were comprised under the name "Scythians" in the wider sense, and among them probably were represented peoples speaking a non-Aryan language.

The Scythians long showed no wish to penetrate into the mountainous civilised country of the Balkan peninsula, or to push on over the Caucasus into the region of the Assyrio-Babylonian civilisation. Iran was protected by their own kinsmen, who gradually settled there. On the other hand, they certainly spread widely toward the east, perhaps beyond the Altai, where other tribes gradually imitated them in their way of life. Numerous blond nomads are found at a subsequent period in West-Central Asia.

The horse was employed at first by the nomads to draw their waggons, until they acquired the art of riding, and by that means enormously increased their mobility. It cannot yet be decided with complete certainty whether the Aryans of India on their migrations were acquainted with riding. It is indisputable that the Scythians by Homeric times were a nation of horsemen. The nomad tribes became acquainted with iron at a later period than the settled civilised nations. The Iranian Massagetæ in the modern Turkestan, when they fought their battles against the Persians in the time of Cyrus, were familiar with only copper and gold.

Place of the Horse in History

Both these metals were obtained from the mines in the Altai, and probably also from the old mining district of the Caucasus. The great Aryan migrations completely interrupted the connection between the old civilisations of the East and West, if such connection still existed. The Chinese nation has continued its independent development, although it has by no means remained quite stiff and impervious to external influences. Any stimulus that reached China later on the long and dangerous road through the nomad regions of Central Asia, or by sea round Further India, was far too weak to produce deep results. The Chinese nation had to concentrate all its energies on external policy, to keep off the nomads who thronged round its frontiers, or to absorb them, and finally to separate them and pacify them by a well-devised system of throwing out agricultural colonies.

The Parting of Two Civilisations

The men with whom the Chinese had to struggle were not migratory herdsmen of Aryan language, but members of the short-headed race or the Mongolian stock, as it is called, after a victorious people which appeared late on the scene. The earliest history of China records nothing as yet of struggles with nomads, but only of the conquest of the forces of Nature and at most of collisions with aborigines, who were at the early hunting stage. However incredible and indefinite in detail these earliest traditions may be, yet the absence of all accounts of nomad invasions, which subsequently were every-day occurrences, and could hardly have been forgotten in an artificial construction of history, is a very significant feature.

It cannot yet be shown whether the nomads of Central Asia had a Bronze Age of a duration worth mentioning, or whether they passed immediately from the Stone Age to the Iron Age. The latter alternative is more probable in the case of most tribes of Central Asia, apart from the old Bronze region in Southern Siberia and its adjoining districts. In Central Asia itself the growth of nomadism with its warlike propensities and its mobility greatly favoured the mixture of nationalities. We find a proof of this in the language. While in earlier times the Aryan language spread in the west under the influence of nomad life, at a later period the Mongolian and Finnish-Ugrian group of languages prevailed in Central Asia and far in the direction of Siberia and Europe. The characteristics of the boundless plains, in which the nations combine and blend like clouds of dust, are reflected in the facts of history. In the gorges of the few mountains a people may possibly preserve its individuality. But any nations that have developed without disturbance for a time will at last inevitably be dislodged, destroyed, and absorbed in another nationality, only to share with this in its turn a similar fate. Small tribes carry others along with them, increase like an avalanche, and finally give their name to an enormous nationality composed of most heterogeneous elements. Peoples before whom the world trembled burst like soap-bubbles, and disappear from the pages of history without leaving a trace behind.

Blending of Nationality and Language

The result is that the population of Central Asia becomes more and more homogeneous from the point of view of language and ethnology, and that the national names designate less and less distinct groups of humanity. New differences are created only by the degree of civilisation and by the mixture with other races on the edge of the steppe region of Central Asia. Such racial mixtures were naturally formed first where the Aryan nomads adjoined the Mongolian, and where subsequently Iranian agriculturists gained a footing on the pasture lands of Turkestan. The Aryan race lost much ground here from the point of view of language, but from that of anthropology it exercised great influence on the Mongolian peoples. The old long-skulled race is often mixed with the Mongolian in Siberia. On the other hand, the linguistic affinity of the Mongols with the Tibetans and with the inhabitants of Further India has nothing to do with these more recent occurrences, but may point to a very early connection, which cannot for the moment be more accurately determined. A significant trace of this connection is the name of heaven and the god of heaven—Chinese, *tien*, Bureyatic, *tengri*, Altaic, *tengere*, which crops up as *tangaroa* in Polynesia, and was clearly brought there by the Malayan wave of nations from Southern Asia.

Fusion of Races in Central Asia



EARLY HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

ANCIENT TURKESTAN AND THE EARLY NOMADS

THE nation of Mongolian nomads which first formed a constitutional unit, and harassed Eastern Asia for many centuries, were known to Chinese authorities as the Hiung nu. The similarity of this name with that of the Huns, who later flooded Europe and heralded the great migration of nations, has long been noticed, and Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800), the first real student of the history of Central Asia, declared the Huns to be kinsmen or descendants of the Hiung nu. This conjecture has in recent times been corroborated by convincing proofs. We may therefore designate the old Hiung nu by the indisputably more correct name of Huns. They appear in the Indian epics as Huna, in the Avesta as Hunavo, in Greek accounts as Phunoi and Unoi. Linguistically the nation was most akin to the later Turks. The kingdom of the Huns

The First Hun Kingdom

was formed in the modern Mongolia about 1200 B.C., apparently under the influence of a Chinese exile of high rank, who created out of the scattered hordes the beginnings of constitutional unity on the model of his own country. In the preceding century some of these hordes had made inroads on China, but were unable to achieve great results. After the unification of the Huns, and especially after the beginning of the Chau dynasty in China in 1122 B.C., which marks the beginning of the Chinese feudal system, the danger became greater. The scantiness of our sources of information prevents us from deciding whether any connection existed between the wars against the nomads and the growth of the feudal system of partitioning the land.

The first ruler of the Chau dynasty, Wu Wang, had still maintained friendly relations with the Huns, who certainly feared the power of the empire, which had gained fresh strength under his government, and tried to buy his goodwill by presents. As the imperial power decayed, the attacks were renewed with increased vigour. Northern Shansi was laid waste in 910. Some decades later the Huns must have been driven out from the heart of Shansi, where they had established themselves, by an army under

Invasion of China by the Huns

the personal command of the emperor. There was a recurrence of similar events. There was apparently pasture land enough in China at that time to attract the nomads to a long sojourn, just as afterwards small hordes of nomads frequently settled in the interior of China.

About 700 B.C. the Huns advanced to Shantung; in 650 B.C. they devastated Pechili, and there was a succession of attacks on the country, disintegrated by feudalism, and incapable of any combined resistance, until at last the ruler of the Chin Empire, known as Shih Huang-ti (246–210 B.C.), once more transformed, in 220 B.C., China into a real united state, enormously increased his power by the conquest of Southern China, and proceeded to take prompt and decided steps against the nomads. A powerful army drove out the Huns from the country of Ordo within the northern bend of the Hoang-ho, which was an important position as the rendezvous for nomad invaders. The new possessions were protected by military colonies, and China proper was defended against the attacks of predatory hordes by the

The Great Wall of China

gigantic rampart of the Great Wall. Portions of the Great Wall already existed on the frontiers of some earlier feudal states. Shih Huang-ti connected them so as to form a continuous line of defence, which stretched from the shore of the Yellow Sea to the port of Kansu; if it had been kept in repair and efficiently defended, it would certainly have checked the inroads of the Huns. During the

first period it served its purpose to some extent. It was due to the Great Wall that the attacks of the Huns were now directed against another quarter, and remote regions of Asia indirectly felt the mighty shock. But the chaotic condition into which China relapsed immediately after the death of Shih Huang-ti soon spoilt the purpose of the stupendous erection. It was then that the power of the Huns was acquiring new strength under vigorous leaders. Our first comparatively accurate account of the constitution of the Huns dates from the period subsequent to the death of Shih Huang-ti. The eyes of the Chinese were then turned with anxious attention to the increasing power of their nomad neighbours.

Growth of Hun Power

The new growth of the Hun Empire began under the rule of Mete, whose father, Tuman or Deuman, had already extended his power from Northern Mongolia to Kansu. Mete, who would have been excluded from the legitimate succession, murdered his father with the help of a devoted army, and was soon able to reanimate the old warlike spirit of his people. He found the territory of the Huns shut in by powerful neighbours on two sides. On the east the Tunghu or Wu hwan, Tungusian tribes akin to the Koreans, had founded a powerful realm and felt themselves so superior to the Huns that they took advantage of the usurpation to claim a high price for their neutrality. On the south-west, on the Altyn in Tagh, were settled the Yue-tshi, a nomad people of Tibetan stock, who were the connecting link of the trade of China and the West, and were perhaps identical with the old Issedones. The Tunghu, deceived by the apparent compliance of Mete, were first attacked and dispersed in 209 B.C.; they withdrew to the highlands of modern Manchuria. A part of the Sien-pē Tartars, or Tungusians, a people living further to the east, who also suffered from the attacks of the Huns, migrated to Korea and Japan. On the east the sea fixed an impassable limit to further shiftings of the position of nations; but on the west, where the Huns now hurled themselves against the Yue-tshi, the movement had room to spread more widely. The Yue-tshi first retreated before the advance of their assailants only into more remote regions of their own country, to the basin of the Tarim, in 177 B.C. After the death of Mete, in 170, they attempted to recover their old territory, but suffered a second crushing defeat from his successor, which produced a division of the nation in 165 B.C. The smaller part found homes south of the Nanshan range; but the bulk of the people, the "Great Yue-tshi," did not turn southward, but followed the natural trend of the country westward. Driven out from the Tarim basin, they crossed the Tianshan Mountains and sought refuge in the pasture lands on the confines of Europe and Asia, the old arena of the Scythian nomads. On the Issik-kul they came across a shepherd people of Iranian stock, the She, who were compelled to fly before the overwhelming invasion into Ferghana.

Neighbours of the Early Huns

Meanwhile the Huns had succeeded in conquering a part of North-west China and East Siberia. The vanquished tribes were not dislodged or made tributary, but to some degree absorbed, since the women were distributed among the conquerors, and the young men were enrolled in the army. In their life and customs the Huns appear as a people who depended for their existence on cattle-breeding, hunting, and to some extent agriculture, but gave the fullest play to their warlike propensities. The place of honour was given to the young and efficient warriors, and old age was despised. No one was reckoned to have reached full manhood until he had slain at least one foe. The method of fighting which afterward decided the battles of the Western Huns and Mongols—the charge of mounted archers, the feigned flight, and the storm of arrows which laid low the unsuspecting pursuer—was already developed among the ancient Huns, as well as the division of the army into two wings. This military system was maintained in times of peace also. The ruler, or *Shenyu*, who to some degree commanded the centre, had two supreme officials, the Tuchi, or Duchi, under him, one of whom was over the eastern, the other over the western, wing or division of the army and the country. The trend from west to east in the geographical configuration of Asia is again recognisable in this arrangement, which was also adopted by the later great nomad empires. The Tuchi and a number of other high officials could be chosen only

Domestic Life of The Huns



A VIEW ON "THE ROOF OF THE WORLD": CHARACTERISTIC SCENERY IN THE PAMIR MOUNTAINS, CENTRAL ASIA

from the kinsmen of the Shenyu, who, with some few other families, had the virtual government of the empire in their hands.

After the death of Mete, in 170 B.C., the power of the Huns increased at first. The Yue-tshi were completely beaten, and the Usun, one of the fair-haired nomad tribes of Central Asia, were driven from their homes in Kansu to the west, where, following on the steps of the Yue-tshi, they caused these latter to fly before them from the Issik-Kul farther southward. The sphere of the Mongolian language and race was thus considerably extended by the Huns. The growing power of the Hun empire was most dangerous to China, the frontiers of which were perpetually ravaged, and seemed still more threatened, since the Tibetan nomads, who were settled in the western mountains, now began to form alliances with the Huns, and to undertake their raids on a mutual understanding.

Tibetans and Huns Unite

It was of no use merely to repel these attacks. If the Chinese wished to free themselves from their oppressors, they were compelled to advance along the old road from Kansu to the Tarim basin, take up strong positions there, separate the southern nomad countries from the northern, and at the same time obtain possession of the indispensable bases and halting-places of the Hun armies to the south of the desert of Gobi. In this way the Western trade also, which had previously depended for its prosperity on the caprice of the nomads, was certain to come under the influences of China. The energetic Emperor Wu Ti (140–87) staked everything on the execution of this colossal plan, entered into alliances with the Yue-tshi and Usun, by this means threatened the Huns in the rear, and finally forced them by successful engagements to retire to the north of Mongolia in 120 B.C. The first step in the advance westward was thus taken, and a new era inaugurated in the foreign policy of China.

Chinese Take the Offensive

The Hun empire still maintained its position in the north for some time, and even considerably extended its power toward the west, but the old sovereignty was a thing of the past. The attacks on the neighbouring peoples and disputes for the crown began to disorganise the constitution, until finally, about 50 B.C., the empire broke up into a southern and a northern part, of which the first recognised the Chinese suzerainty, while the northern still maintained its independence.

Transitory successes could no longer check the fall of the Hun power, for the Chinese could now play off the southern Huns successfully against the northern Huns, and instigate other nomad tribes against the northern empire, which was encircled by enemies. The northern Hun empire finally, in 84 A.D., succumbed to the attacks, in which even Siberian tribes, and especially the Sien pē Tartars, formerly the victims of the Huns, but now grown strong enough for a new conflict, took part. Some of the Huns fled westward, where they were destined yet to attain great prosperity; the rest were scattered, or were absorbed in the Sien pē, who now possessed the greater portion of Mongolia.

The southern Huns held out longer, at one time as subjects and allies of the Chinese, at another as their opponents, or as supporters of pretenders to the throne. But after 142 A.D. there was an end to the southern empire of the Huns, though not to the influence of the people on the destinies of China. The Huns, who had familiarised themselves with the Chinese civilisation, gradually began to exert a political influence, and finally emperors of Hun origin for a time sat on the throne of the Celestial Empire, or on those of the fragments into which it broke up. But they no longer ruled as nomad princes; they had become genuine Chinese in act and thought.

Division of the Hun Empire

The nomadic element in the west of Central Asia was of earlier origin than that in the east, and large migrations of nomad peoples had taken place far earlier there than elsewhere. Some thousand years before the founding of the empire of the Huns, migratory tribes of Aryans had occupied Iran and India. But there the movements met with a certain check. The Iranians did not succeed in penetrating westward into the lowlands of Babylonia; on the contrary, they saw themselves restricted to their new home, and by the influence of the inhabitants who had settled before them, as well as of the ancient civilisation of the country watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, they were gradually brought



ON THE GREAT RIVER OF WEST-CENTRAL ASIA: THE OXUS, OR AMU DARIA, LOOKING EAST, NEAR KHOJAILI

over to a settled life, without immediately losing the warlike virtues of their old pastoral existence.

The mixed Iranian people, which was formed from the Aryan immigrants and the aboriginal population, thus became a bulwark of Western Asia against any further inroads of nomads. The shock of invading hordes was checked by the resistance of a people clinging more closely to the soil. The Iranians were not pushed further toward Western Asia by vast bodies of men pressing after them, but the great movement of the nations came to a stop. When the Medes and the Persians obtained the sovereignty over the whole of Western Asia, they were already under the spell of the existing Western civilisation, and were unable to give any Iranian character to the newly conquered countries.

Checking the Wave of Invasion

It thus follows that the Aryan nomads of Western Asia generally are hardly spoken of for more than a thousand years. The Assyrio-Babylonian records know nothing of them, and no news of them has reached the Chinese. There were, no doubt, numerous battles and movements of nations, but these last were not on the imposing scale of the migration to India and Iran. The arrival of brachycephalic nomad tribes in Central Asia proper must gradually have made its influence felt, with the effect that the Scythian hordes—nomads of Aryan stock — which had pushed far toward the east, were partly absorbed, partly driven back upon the west, where the shocks of their attack continued, wave upon wave.

The last consequence of the mightiest onslaught was the invasion of Asia Minor by the Cimmerians about the year 700 B.C. These were a nomad people of Thracian stock, who pastured their flocks north of the Danube. After them pressed on the Scythians, who again were expelled by the Sarmatians. The first cause of the movement may perhaps be attributed to the westward advance of the Huns, who had long since founded an empire, and clearly pressed on not only against China, but also toward the west. The Cimmerians threatened Assyria from Asia Minor and Armenia, and by so doing came into contact with the Medes, who were pressing on from the east.

Asia Minor the Arena of Race Conflict

The period of more certain history, which begins with the founding of the Medo-Persian Empire, shows us at once the settled Iranians at war with the nomads. An incorrect idea, which is explained by the failure of the Greek historians to understand the conditions of Persia, and Eastern Persia in particular, represents the Persians as the aggressors, who coveted the territory of the nomad herdsmen. In reality, the half mythical expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetæ in 530 B.C., and the well-authenticated march of Darius against the Scythians in 515 B.C., were only attempts to attack the ever-restless neighbours in their own country, and by this means to secure the frontiers. The expedition of Darius in particular was probably based on the plan of attacking the nomad tribes by a sweeping flank movement, and of thus preventing their retreat and finally subjugating them.

The Persian Empire was too short-lived to complete so colossal an undertaking, which would have required the dogged patience of the Chinese. The attempt of Darius, which effectively secured the lower line of the Danube for the Persians, was not repeated. The Scythians, on the other hand, realised the weak points in the Persian Empire, as is proved by their somewhat later plan of attacking Persian territory by way of the Caucasian isthmus, for which they tried to obtain the aid of the Spartans, who were intended to make a simultaneous invasion of Asia Minor.

Brief Life of Persian Empire

The system of colonisation, which alone promised permanent results, seems to have been prosecuted all the more vigorously from Eastern Iran, and the fact that the majority of the nomads were of Iranian stock, like the Persians, facilitated the movement. It is probable that in quite early times on the Oxus and Jaxartes —that is to say, in Bactria and Sogdiana—states possessing an Iranian civilisation were developed, which were afterward politically united with Persia, although they can hardly have remained in permanent and complete dependence. By the expedition of Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. they were more closely united with the new world-empire of that monarch, and the foundation was laid for a Greco-Iranian civilised state, the Bactrian Empire, which was developed in the Seleucid period about 250 B.C. and showed a considerable vitality. This empire, like the ancient Iranian Bactria, was a bulwark against the onset of the nomads. It



THE GREAT MOUNTAIN SYSTEMS IN AND AROUND TIBET

showed itself a match for the migratory Iranian tribes, and it was only the impact of a non-Aryan shepherd people from Central Asia that for the first time shook once more the strong rampart which guarded Western Asia and India. This new tide of nations, which set in about 160 B.C., was certainly, even if indirectly, due to the Huns.

The nomad tribe of the Usun had abandoned its home on the borders of China and had retreated westward away from the sphere of the power of the Huns, as related above. Since it followed the roads which led away along the Tian Shan and finally crossed that range, it reached the Issik-Kul, where the Yue-tshi, its predecessors on the same path, had won homes for themselves. These latter were now compelled to give way; but they did not again advance westward, where warlike Scythian tribes barred the way, but turned southward against the Bactrian Empire, the internal disruption of which would have been well known to them as neighbours. The result was that Northern Bactria, the country on the Oxus and Jaxartes, fell easily into their hands, while the rest of the Greek state south of the Hindu Kush maintained its position for the time.

The Parthian kingdom, which successfully undertook the defence of the frontiers against the nomads, had grown up since 250 B.C. in Western and Central Iran. But if Iran was closed to the Yue-tshi, they did not allow the road to India, which from all time had possessed a magic attraction for every conquering people, to be permanently blocked. The southern part of the Bactrian Empire stood for some hundred years more. Then, about 25 B.C., Kozulo Kadphises, who had reunited the Yue-tshi after their division into five clans, subdued the modern Afghanistan. This immediately opened the road to the Indian possessions of the Bactrian Empire.

About the year 10 A.D. Kozulo's successor, Huemo Kadphises, or Kadaphes, advanced into North-western India, and thus laid the foundation of the Indo-Scythian Empire. The Yue-tshi now appear in history as Indo-Scythians. They have frequently been confused at a later date with the White Huns, or Ephtalites, with whom they are absolutely unconnected. Undeniably, the fact that Bactria as far as the borders of Central Asia was then united with large portions of India under one rule did much to make Indian influence, especially the Buddhism

then flourishing in India, felt far away northward. India generally entered into closer and more direct relations with Central Asia. Fifty years after the founding of the Indo-Scythian Empire the Buddhist propaganda had already reached China. This empire of the Yue-tshi showed a stubborn vitality, and broke up only in the year 579 A.D.

Relations of India with Central Asia

A large part of Central Asia first acquires importance for the history and culture of mankind on the appearance of nomad peoples, and as the fountain-head of a disintegrating force; on the other hand, the Tarim basin, which is also called East Turkestan or High Tartary, claims the attention of the historian much earlier and in another sense. By far the greater part of the plain lying between the Tian Shan, the Pamirs, and the Kuen Lun is emphatically a region of steppe and desert. But the mountain streams, the largest of which unite in the River Tarim and the Lob Nor, create a series of fertile oases, which support a considerable permanent population, and form a chain of trading posts along the foot of the mountains. In all probability the oases were more numerous in early times, and the intermediate barren stretches less desolate. The Tarim basin could thus form in ancient days the bridge between the civilisation of Eastern and Western Asia, even if it was not an international highway, and saw at the same time a higher civilisation develop in its fertile regions. The key to many problems of the prehistoric period lies under the burning sands of Eastern Turkestan.

The ancient trade communications through the Tarim basin are certainly to be regarded as a relic of the former connection with civilisation, which was maintained notwithstanding the increasing poverty of the soil and the appearance of barbarous nomad tribes. The nomad, as such, is not inclined to amass the heavy goods which the town merchant stores in his vaults. His chief wealth lies in his flocks and herds, which again depend for their numbers on the possession of the requisite pasture land. Even in the Tarim basin the real traders were thus always to be found among the settled inhabitants of the oases.

Wealth of the Nomad

The earliest recorded trade which passed through the Tarim basin and brought Eastern and Western Asia into some sort of communication was the silk trade. The breeding of silkworms, if Chinese tradition does not err, was practised by that people from very ancient times. The Chinese themselves seem to have attached no especial importance to the silk trade with the West, as is shown by the silence of the ancient accounts. The trade accordingly must have been conducted chiefly by foreigners, who were eager to obtain in exchange the highly valued product of China, while it was long a matter of indifference to the Chinese, who were aware that they could very well dispense with the goods received in return.

The imagination of the West was all the more excited by the mysterious Eastern land which produced the costly silk, and attempts to gain further information were made from early times. Herodotus was able to refer to a book of travels, which did not indeed throw light on China itself, but only on the route of the silk trade and the condition of things in the valley of Tarim; this was the Arimaspeia of Aristeas, which appeared in the seventh century B.C., soon after the Cimmerian irruption. This narrative, notwithstanding its romantic dress, was probably based on actual explorations and travels. The Issedones, whom Aristeas professes to have reached, were an actual people, and their homes probably lay in the Tarim basin. The western neighbours of the Issedones were the Massagetæ—that is, the Iranian nomads, who pastured their herds in Western Turkestan. The name of the Issedones may be of Iranian origin, and have been given to the people, who styled themselves otherwise, by the merchants, who were mainly Iranians. We thus see why Chinese records do not mention the name.

The Home of the Silk Trade

The Issedones were probably a branch of the Tibetan stock, which once spread further northward than now. They are possibly identical with, or at least allied to, the later Yue-tshi, who were expelled by the Huns from their homes in the Tarim basin. But the population of that region can hardly have been homogeneous at the time of Aristeas. The Tibetan Issedones, who are occasionally called Scythians, were far more probably a nomad people, who exercised sovereignty over the country of the oases; but the remnants of the representatives of an earlier civilisation may well have settled



ON THE GREAT TRADE ROUTE OF CENTRAL ASIA

The long commercial highway of Central Asia, running right across the southern part of Western Turkestan and through the Tarim basin in Eastern Turkestan, is a road unparalleled for its length and difficulties. It has changed its course many times in history as robber nomads gained supremacy in the various districts, and a laborious and difficult route has always been preferred to the best road if the latter involved risk of robberies, exorbitant tolls, and other vexatious imposts.

in these oases, precisely as in modern times the towns of Eastern Turkestan are inhabited by a very mixed population. Long-skulled Iranians, who came into the country as traders, or immigrated as agriculturists, may well have mixed here in early times with the permanently settled short-skulled inhabitants and with the tribes of the Tibetan nomads.

Battles of the Nomads

The Arimaspes, a warlike tribe of nomads who seem to have made frequent inroads into the Tarim basin, are mentioned by Aristeas as northern neighbours of the Issedones. By this title he undoubtedly means the Huns, whom we have already seen as invaders of China. In the second century B.C. they also fundamentally altered the conditions of Eastern Turkestan by driving the Yue-tshi westward. The settled population of the oases probably was little influenced by these movements. Aristeas gives noteworthy accounts of the battles of the Arimaspes with the "griffins," the guardians of the gold, who lived to the north of them. These "griffins" are certainly the nations on the Altai, the representatives of the old bronze culture of Southern Siberia, and the builders of those tombs in which great quantities of gold ornaments have recently been found.

Thus the picture of the activity of the warlike nation of the ancient Huns, that leaven of the nomad peoples, is complete on every side. On the east the indefatigable sons of the desert continually advanced against the rich plains of China; on the south they directed their raids against the representatives of the transit trade of Central Asia, the Tibetan nomads, and the inhabitants of the oases in the Tarim basin; and on the north they harassed the industrious tribes of the Altai with their expeditions. The great Hun campaign, which finally convulsed Europe to its centre, was only a gigantic continuation of these earlier struggles for power and booty. While Aristeas has exhaustively described the Issedones and Arimaspes, he appears to confound the Chinese with the Hyperboreans, the peaceful people on the uttermost border of the world; at any rate, his account of the Hyperboreans as reported by Herodotus almost coincides with the later descriptions of the Seres. The towns and trading settlements in the Tarim basin, which Aristeas mentions, can partially be identified with still existing modern localities. This is impossible in the case of many, as may be concluded from the great number of towns buried beneath the sand which have been recently explored by Sven Hedin. Further aids toward identification are supplied by the accounts of the Macedonian merchant Maës, or Titianus, who enables us to fix the stations on the East Asiatic trade route in the first century A.D. This road led from Samarkand to Ferghana, whence the "Stone Tower" and the valley of the Kisil Su were reached, at the entrance of which an important trading town lay in the territory of Kasia. This was certainly the modern Kashgar, for which natural advantages of situation have secured uninterruptedly since ancient times a foremost position among the cities of the Tarim basin. The "Scythian Issedon" may be represented by the modern Kuchar, the most important mart of the Turkish tribes settled to the north in the Tian Shan; Asmira may be the present Hami. The first Chinese trading town in the district of Kansu which was reached by the caravans coming from the west, the modern Su chau, is identified with the ancient Drosache.

Preludes to the Shock of Europe

Ancient Towns Under Modern Names

The larger centres of trade, from a political point of view, enjoyed certainly some share of independence, although they did not venture on any very stringent measures against the nomads from fear of interruption to commerce. The different vicissitudes in the relations of the nomads to the dwellers in the country and the towns will have been repeated on a small scale in the Tarim basin; at one time brute force, at another the refinements of civilisation, gained the day. The connection with India, the beginnings of which are obscure, was of great importance to this civilisation. In this way Eastern Turkestan became the bridge on which Indian manners and customs, and, above all, Indian religion, passed both to China and the rest of Central Asia, in order, in course of time, to work great revolutions in the character and habits of the Central Asiatic peoples.

The trade which moved on the long commercial highway of Central Asia, a road unparalleled for its length and difficulties, could not always be prosecuted with unvarying uniformity. External

influences and internal commotions produced the inevitable result that the traffic became brisker at one time, and at another flagged or almost died away, and that the character of the trade altered. In fact, so far as we can survey the conditions generally, we see continual changes occurring. The routes along which the main bulk of trade passes are changed, the customs of commerce are altered; and finally even the wares which East and West exchange are not always the same, but new ones are added to the old.

It is quite in accordance with the nature of commercial intercourse that it always seeks out paths for itself along the line of least resistance. A somewhat difficult and laborious route is preferred to the best road, if the latter involves risk and cost from repeated robberies, exorbitant tolls, and other vexatious imposts. In Central Asia, where, on the one hand, different routes were available for the trade between Eastern and Western Asia, and, on the other hand, the nomads were always ready to plunder the merchants directly by brigandage or indirectly by tolls, commerce clearly changed its roads more frequently than the extant accounts give us to understand. The supremacy of the Huns in the north doubtless largely contributed toward the result that the northern routes were deserted and the traffic restricted to the roads in the Tarim basin. The wars of the Arimaspes with the Issedones may well have partly aimed at securing to the former the monopoly of trade. After the expulsion of the Yue-tshi, who possibly are to be identified with the Issedones, the Huns had the northern highway through the Tarim basin in their power, while in the south Tibetan nomads, the Khiang, commanded the roads. It appears from the account furnished in the year 122 B.C. by Chang-kien to his emperor, Wu Ti, after an inquiry into the roads leading to the west and the possibilities of trade, that traffic then went quite in the south through Szechuen and Tsaidam to the southern border of the Tarim basin, while in the north the Huns and in the centre the Khiang barred the roads. These unfavourable conditions largely contributed to the result that the Chinese abandoned their former policy of indifference toward the peoples of the steppe

Shifting of the Paths of Commerce

Chinese Commercial Enquiry



GENERAL VIEW OF KASHGAR, THE CAPITAL OF EASTERN TURKESTAN

The old town of Kashgar, which dates from 1513, is surrounded by a high clay wall; the new town, of which the above is a view, is also surrounded by massive clay walls and dates from 1838. The population is about 50,000.

There must also have been changes in the customs of trade. Over vast distances trade can be prosecuted in two ways: either one tribe hands on the goods to another by a system of frontier trade, until they finally reach their farthest destination after various exchanges, or the members of one or more peoples adopt the carrying trade as a profession and traverse the whole distance with their wares. It is, of course, conceivable that for part of the distance caravan trade was usual, and for the other transit trade. On the Central Asiatic routes both methods may have been popular, according to circumstances. The transit trade is, however, certainly older than the caravan system on a large scale. Whether it actually in places, as early Western accounts report, took the simple form of

"dumb trade," or whether customs had been ascribed to the half mythical Seres which were observed elsewhere in intercourse with primitive nations, can no longer be ascertained.

Rise of Trade Centres

It is in accordance with the whole attitude of China to the outer world that the Chinese did not engage in the carrying trade until late, while, on the contrary, the merchants of Iranian stock were continually exerting themselves to obtain the caravan trade over the whole distance. The opponents of the direct traffic between east and west were naturally the nomads; above all, the Huns, who preferred to make the roads a desert rather than to lose the high profits obtainable from the transit trade. The laboriousness and insecurity of the traffic produced the result that large emporia grew up in different places, which served also as markets for the surrounding tribes; such were Samarkand in Western and Kashgar in Eastern Turkestan.

China, as we have seen, originally had little need for commerce with the outer world. Foreigners came to the Middle Kingdom in order to purchase the valued Chinese wares, but the Chinese themselves were quite satisfied to take in exchange all kinds of foreign products, with which they could easily dispense in case of need. The state of affairs could not permanently remain so favourable for China. The constant large exportations inevitably led to the growth of a sort of export industry; that is to say, silk, lacquer, etc., were produced in greater quantities than the home Chinese market required.

If the export trade suddenly stopped, the consequences to China were serious. Besides this, China became gradually accustomed to certain foreign commodities, with which it could not dispense, especially to the spices, drugs, etc., of India and Arabia. Thus any dislocation of trade was severely felt. Such a result ensued when the Huns overthrew the Yue-tshi and barred the valley of the Tarim, while uncivilised Tibetan hordes rendered the roads dangerous in the south. It was an intolerable situation that the Huns should be able to cut off trade communications entirely or to cripple them by excessively high tolls, and the Chinese were inevitably driven to reprisals so soon as an energetic ruler governed them.

Importance of China's Export Trade

Other considerations prompted an advance into the basin of the Tarim. It was recognised in China that the menacing growth of the power of the nomads could be checked only by the occupation of a strong position in their rear and the division of the steppe region into two sections by a strongly fortified military road. Even in this case the old trade route through the Tarim basin suggested itself as the natural line of direction for the advance, while the trading towns naturally formed suitable bases of operations.

The Emperor Wu Ti, about 125 B.C., tried, therefore, to reopen the trade route of Central Asia, and at the same time to crush the enormously increased power of the Huns. An effort was made to gain for this object the alliance of the hereditary enemies of the Huns, the Yue-tshi, who had just conquered Northern Bactria and Sogdiana, and thus were masters of the western extremity of the Tarim roads. Wu Ti sent to them his general, Chang kien; but, being taken prisoner on the way by the Huns, he did not reach the Yue-tshi until ten years later, and returned to China after an absence of thirteen years. He had been unable to accomplish his chief object of concluding an alliance with the Yue-tshi and arranging a combined attack on the Huns, since the successes of the Yue-tshi in Bactria had given a new, and for China an unfavourable, turn to the future policy of that people. In compensation he brought back to China a store of information about the Western countries and India. The consequent attempts of Wu Ti to establish communications with India through Tibet were a failure. On the other hand, the war against the Huns was now vigorously prosecuted, and the old trade road was intentionally made the base of operations. The Yumen Pass was occupied and secured by military colonies, while the power of the Huns was weakened by repeated blows and ousted from the Tarim basin. Trade revived, but with the difference that now even Chinese caravans and embassies went westward and there formed political connections, especially with the people of the An hsi or Ansi, probably the Parthians. The most easterly point of the Parthian Empire appears then to have been Margiana, or Merv, the Mu lu of Chinese accounts. The Chinese, therefore, certainly advanced so far. Many petty states of the Tarim basin,

Wars to Reopen Trade

and possibly of the countries lying farther to the west, entered into closer political union with the east, and partially recognised the suzerainty of China. It was not, however, before the year 108 B.C. that the immediate possessions of China were extended to the Lob Nor—that is to say, to the eastern boundary of the basin of the Tarim—and secured by fortifications. Chinese troops later advanced to Kashgar in 101 B.C. But the dominion of China in the Tarim basin was never firmly established, although alliances were frequently concluded with the Usun against the Huns. The power of the latter was still too strong to allow the petty states of Eastern Turkestan and the Uigurians any permanent connection with China. The



AN UNDERGROUND WATER-MILL NEAR BOKHARA IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN

influence of the Huns on the valley of the Tarim and the Western trade rose or fell according to their successes or reverses in their struggle with China.

But the other nomad tribes of Central Asia also interfered in the affairs of those parts. The childless sovereign of the small kingdom of Yarkand had destined a son of the king of the Usun to succeed him. The inhabitants of Yarkand, after the death of their monarch, with the consent of the Chinese Emperor Hsuan Ti, summoned this prince from China, where he was being educated, and in 64 B.C. placed him on the throne, thus hoping to secure for themselves the protection of the Usun and of the Chinese. But the brother of the late king, with the help of the Huns, deposed the new sovereign, who, rightly or not, was accused of cruel tyranny, and put him to death. A Chinese army then appeared, killed the usurper in turn, and placed on the throne a new monarch, approved by China, who appears also to have asserted his power. The influence of China in the Tarim valley gradually diminished. At the beginning of the first century A.D. the power of Yarkand grew so strong that its king, in 33 A.D., claimed the suzerainty of the entire basin of the Tarim, after his request to be recognised by China as Governor of Eastern Turkestan had been refused. The prayers of the other oppressed minor states and the commercial blockade maintained by the king of Yarkand ought to have forced Shi Tsu to take vigorous action. The war with Yarkand, however, was left mainly to the Huns, who harassed the new kingdom in the Tarim basin for decades, with varying success.

The second great advance of the Chinese towards the West did not begin until 72 A.D. The wish to open up communications with the West was then stimulated by the introduction of the Buddhist teaching, which had entered China through the Tarim basin. A deputation which Ming Ti, the second emperor of the later or Eastern Han dynasty, had himself sent to the Yue-tshi had returned in 65 A.D., and brought back detailed information about Buddhism. The emperor, in consequence, was induced to erect a statue of Buddha

in his capital, and to show peculiar favour to the new doctrine, without, however, giving it preference over the doctrines of Confucius. The chief cause, however, of the renewed advance westward was doubtless the circumstance that the South Huns had once more combined with the North Huns to block the traffic, and had completely disorganised the sufficiently unsatisfactory conditions already existing in the Tarim basin. Various Chinese armies marched against the Huns in the year 72, one of which, under the command of the general Pan Chau, followed the old trade route to the Tarim basin. The appearance of this renowned commander and diplomatist immediately secured the victory of Chinese influence among the petty states, which had all suffered under the insecurity of trade and the military policy of the Huns.

United Action by the Two Hun Nations

This time the Chinese were not content with the easily-acquired spoil. They had heard, meanwhile, that a mighty empire of Ta-tsin, the Roman world-empire, lay in the west. The remarkable magnetic force exercised on each other by great states, which lies at the root of their conditions of existence and compels them gradually to absorb all petty intervening states and to form a well-defined frontier, began to assert its power here, although its complete triumph was prevented by the immensity of the distance to be traversed. The Chinese never obtained accurate knowledge of the Roman Empire. Probably they were partly acquainted with the eastern half only, and thought Antioch the capital of the Empire. The name Fu lin for the Roman Empire, which subsequently occurs, seems to be derived from Bethlehem, and thus to point to the Christian faith of the later Romans.

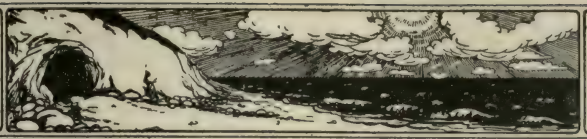
The campaign of Pan Chau, which took him nearly to the confines of Roman influence, dates some decades after the conquest of the Tarim basin. Pan Chau crossed the range of mountains to the west, traversed the territory of the Yue-tshi, and finally, in 102 A.D., reached the Caspian Sea, whence he sent explorers further to the west in order to prepare for an attack on the Roman Empire. The unfavourable report, however, which he received and his advanced age forced him to return to China, where he died shortly after.

The political importance of his conquest was considerable, but could hardly be lasting. The numerous petty states, which, at the sight of his army, had sought the protection of China, had no choice but to make terms with their other powerful neighbours, now that China ceased to lend them assistance. The revenue from tribute, gifts, and tolls which China drew from the western countries was far from being sufficient to cover the great outgoings. And the traditional Chinese policy, which would hear nothing of any expansion of the old boundaries and attached little importance to the promotion of trade, now reasserted itself. There was, as early as 120 A.D., a feeling in favour of abandoning all possessions beyond the Yumen Pass, and it was due to the advice of a son of Pan Chau that the military road, at least as far as the Tarim basin, was retained. The disorders which soon afterward broke out in China completely checked any vigorous foreign policy, while maritime commerce diminished the importance of the overland trade. The petty states in the Tarim basin for many years subsequently led a quiet existence, influenced by India more than by China.

Decay of Chinese Influence



SAND MOUNTAINS NEAR THE OASIS OF SA-CHAN IN CHINESE TURKESTAN



TURKESTAN IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

AND THE RISE AND FALL OF THE NOMAD NATIONS

THE advance of the Chinese toward the West, in spite of the bold plan of Pan Chau to attack the Roman Empire, inflicted no injury upon civilisation, but, on the whole, was beneficial to it. Far more momentous was the turn of events when the nomad hordes of Central Asia sought an outlet in Western Asia and Europe. Northern India had already fallen into the hands of the Yue-tshi, and the hour was approaching when a great part of Europe also would tremble beneath the scourge of the yellow races of the steppes. The main body of the Huns, when their star had set in Mongolia, hurled themselves against the civilised nations of the West. The consequences which the onslaught of the Huns, and, in close connection with it, the advance of other Asiatic nomads, had for Europe, do not come into the history of Central Asia; but it is worth our while to glance at the development of Asiatic affairs up to the emigration of the Huns. The western civilised world had long escaped any dangerous attacks from the nomad peoples of Asia and Europe, perhaps because the nomads of East Europe became gradually more settled and paid more attention to agriculture. The Alani, who are identical with the Aorsi of earlier accounts, seem to have been the most influential nation. Probably this is to be regarded only as a collective name for the nomad tribes, who occupied the region from the Black Sea to the Sea of Aral, and were composed partly of the remains of Irano-Scythians, partly of Ural-Altaians. The proper bearers of the name were settled in the first century B.C. to the north of the Caucasus, where they fought against Pompey in the year 65 B.C.; they then spread themselves further over the steppe, and appear to have ruled, for a time at least, over most of the nomad tribes of the region of Pontus and the Caspian. There were frequent but unimportant contests with the Romans. According to Chinese records, a part of the country of the Alani belonged for a time to Sogdiana, a fact which argues armed complications on that frontier. Attacks through the Caucasian gate on Persian and Roman territory occurred several times, but there was no immense migration until the advance of the Western Huns. The first march of Hun nomads towards the West took place about the middle of the first century B.C., when the Hun empire was thrown into the most violent confusion by internal seditions. Several rulers tried simultaneously to usurp the power, and waged bitter war on each other. When at last one of the pretenders, Huhanyé, appeared to be victorious, his own brother, the "Viceroy of the East," rose against him. This Chichi, as he now called himself, expelled his brother from the capital, but then turned to the west; and since he could not hold the whole empire, founded an independent power, which he gradually extended further westward. The circumstance that a prince in Sogdiana called in his help against the Usun enabled him to transfer the seat of his power to the region of the Sea of Aral. Part of the Alani in that district were perhaps already subject to the Huns. The wars with the Chinese in the Tarim basin ended with the death of Chichi, in 36 B.C., and greatly weakened the Hun power.

Progress Before the Hun Exodus

The First March of Hun Nomads

Their power did not revive until, in the year 90 A.D., another Hun prince with a large part of his people marched westward and joined the earlier emigrants. This migration was due to the complete collapse of the empire of the Eastern Huns. In both of these migrations it was the most warlike and strongest part of the population which turned westward. The West Huns, therefore, were the picked men of their traditionally war-loving and adventurous race. Their people can hardly have remained unmixed during its migrations, but it probably incorporated the bravest

Second Migration Westward

men from the conquered tribes. In this way a new nationality might well be developed, whose thirst for wars would prove fateful for even distant regions, so soon as an occasion should arise when this concentrated energy could find an outlet. The Chinese, after the advantages gained in the west by the advance of Pan Chau had been mostly relinquished, had, at the beginning of the second century A.D., to face new contests with the Huns and their Uigurian allies in the Tarim basin. After the middle of the century the West Huns disappear from the horizon of the Chinese, a fact which suggests that the warlike nomads, finally renouncing any plans for the reconquest of their old homes in Mongolia, turned their attention in other directions. For two centuries more they seem to have been content with minor hostilities, until at last, in 350 A.D., the avalanche began to roll. The Huns attacked the Alani first, killed their king, and brought the people partly under their power, and partly forced them in panic further to the west. The great steppe of Eastern Europe and Siberia was thus opened to the Huns and the direction of their further advance suggested. That the storm of conquest did not sweep down on Persia, the fertile plains of which certainly aroused the greed of the marauders, was due to the awe with which the still powerful Neo-Persian empire of the Sassanids inspired the nomads.

Conflict Between Huns and Chinese

The appearance of the Huns would not have had nearly so great an influence on Europe had it not been that the Roman Empire was already beginning to decay and that the Germanic races were in confusion and disorder. The convulsions which shook Europe when the Huns, under the leadership of Balamir, in 375, invaded the Danubian countries do not concern the history of Asia. It is unlikely that all the Huns and Alani took part in the movement toward the west; on the contrary, the Hun supremacy was still maintained in the region of Pontus and the Caspian. For when, after the death of Attila, in 453, their European empire broke up, the rest of the people withdrew once more to the east, and found a refuge there in the old homes of the Huns and Alani. The sovereignty of those regions devolved on Attila's favourite son Irnach. In the sixth century the empire gradually disintegrated into petty states, whose princes frequently interfered in the wars between Persia and Byzantium, or took up arms against each other. In 558 an army of Huns advanced to the gates of Constantinople. As the power of the Huns broke up, the separate elements of which this heterogeneous nation of warriors was composed recovered individual importance, until finally even the name of Huns disappeared from history.

The Huns Convulse Europe

The same fate befell another very mixed branch of the Hun nation, the White Huns, or Hephtalites, who had firmly planted themselves in the modern Khiva and, after 420, made vigorous attacks on Persia. The Sassanid king, Peroz, fell in battle against them in 484. The year 531 saw the last fights with these Huns, some of whom were destined to reappear under a new name and mixed with other nations as Kharismians.

After the disruption of the great Hun Empire in Central Asia and the retreat of most of the Huns to the west, the major part of Mongolia had fallen to the Sien pē, since the Chinese had neither the wish nor the power to hold the immense region of the steppes. This Tungusian nation came originally from the modern Manchuria, and, by its advance to the west, during which it probably absorbed the remnants of the Huns and other inhabitants of the steppes, it introduced a new ingredient into the hotch-potch of nations in the pasture-lands of Mongolia. Like all nomad peoples the Sien pē broke up into a number of petty states, which usually had their own political systems, but were occasionally united under an energetic ruler, and then constituted a formidable power, which soon made its influence felt in China and the Tarim basin.

Mongolia After the Hun Empire

Some such rapid rise of the Sien pē occurred about 150 A.D., when Tun shih huai placed himself at the head of one of their tribes and soon extended his power far over the adjacent peoples. This new nomad empire was hardly inferior in size to the earlier Hun empire, and comprised roughly the same countries, because then, as formerly, the line of least resistance lay due east and west. Even the division of their gigantic territory into a central kingdom with an eastern and a western province was once more adopted by the Sien pē.

Since it was virtually the personality of the ruler which kept the empire together, the power of the Sien pē was considerably diminished by the death of their first prince, in 190, and would certainly have given way to the influence of China had not this danger been averted by the overthrow of the Han dynasty in China in 220, and by the disorders which subsequently ensued. The Sien pē were thus able to realise for a moment the great ambition of the ruling nomad tribes—namely, to bring under their control the Western trade. Like the Huns before them, they had, for this purpose, to come to terms with the Tibetan nomads in the south of the Tarim basin.

During the civil wars in China several hordes of the Sien pē found a welcome opportunity of migrating into that country, where they either served as mercenaries or founded independent states. The most powerful of these tribes were the To ba. Between 338 and 376 the house of To ba ruled the state of Tai in Northern Shansi. In 386 Kuei, who belonged to that dynasty, founded there the Northern Wei, which expanded farther and farther over Northern China, until it practically covered the same area as the Wei of the Three Kingdoms. In 534 Pei Wei broke up into the Eastern Tung and the Western Wei, which were overthrown in 550 and 557. Wu ku, also a member of the house of To ba, Governor of Hohsi after 394, declared himself King of Hsi ping in 397, and formed the state of Nan Liang, which was conquered in 414 by the prince of Hsi Chin. The To ba had soon become Chinese in life and thought, and they were forced to confront their kinsmen, the nomads of the steppes, entirely in the spirit of the traditional policy of China.



A KURD OF TURKESTAN



KALMUCK WOMEN OF TURKESTAN

The condition of Mongolia had changed in the course of time. The empire of the Sien pē crumbled away after the strongest and most numerous hordes had migrated to China, and its place was taken by a new one under the rule of the Yen Yen, a mixed people, which apparently had incorporated fragments of primitive Siberian peoples, but linguistically belonged to the Turko-Tartar race. In the early stages of their history the Yen Yen appear to have acquired so invidious a reputation for barbarity and vice that they aroused disgust even among their nomad neighbours, who certainly were not fastidious in this respect. The emperors of the We dynasty long held this refractory people in check. The Yen Yen ultimately established their power at the close of the fourth century by the subjugation of the industrious tribes of the Altai range; they proceeded further to the west and obtained possession of the Central Asiatic trade

routes, and extended their influence over Mongolia as far as the frontiers of Korea. The ruler to whom they owed this rapid rise was Talun. From the name of his successor, Tatara, is said to be derived the designation "Tartars," which in time has become usual for the peoples of the Turko-Mongolian stock. The To ba in Northern China soon saw themselves involved in arduous wars with the new nomad empire, but in the end proved fully a match for it. After the Yen Yen, in 425 and on many subsequent occasions, had received heavy reverses in their attacks on China, and had been pursued into their own territory, the Pei Wei, according to the time-honoured Chinese policy, extended their influence once more along the old trade route to the west, and thus sapped the very foundations of the opposition of the nomads. Alliances with the two other empires, into which China was then divided, those of the Sung and the Liang, brought little advantage to the Yen Yen; they were repeatedly defeated, and were unable to regain the command of the trade routes, although in the year 471 they reduced the kingdoms of Kashgar and Khotan to great straits. The Yen Yen were not completely overthrown by the Chinese. It was not until the middle of the sixth century that their kingdom, weakened by internal dissensions, fell before the onslaught of the Turks. A great part of the people followed the example of the Huns and fled to the west. The Avars, who soon afterward appeared as conquerors in East Europe, are probably identical with the Yen Yen. Like the remnants of the Yen Yen in Central Asia, the Avars finally disappeared altogether, or were absorbed by the other nations.

Struggles for Trade Routes

When we see these nomad empires attaining such gigantic size and then completely disappearing, we may easily forget that Central Asia was not exclusively a region where wandering hordes fed their flocks and herds, but that it offered homes and food to more or less settled peoples. It has already been shown how flourishing and comparatively civilised settlements developed in the Tarim basin, owing to its favourable position for the trade between East and West, and became the centres of small states. But there were trade routes even further north which led to the west, and at the foot of the mountains lay districts which were adapted for agriculture. Still further away towered the Altai, with its rich mines, the focus of a primitive civilisation, which, in spite of countless raids by nomads, was still vigorous.

Before Central Asia Became a Desert

It is certain that numerous towns and permanently settled nations were to be found from the Tian Shan to the Altai. Political power, however, lay mostly in the hands of the nomads, who stamped their character on the constitution of the country, and thus do not appear even in the earliest records as true disseminators of culture. The Uigurians were long the most important nation of this region; they formed the nucleus of the nine Oghuz, or hordes, to which the Tongra, Sukit, Adiz, Sap, etc., belonged. A distinction was made between a northern branch of the Uigurians, which was settled on the Selenga and subsequently spread to the sources of the Yenissei, and a southern branch in the south and east of the Tian Shan. While the northern Uigurians, called by the Chinese Kao che, or Thin le, did not attain any high degree of civilisation, the southern Uigurians, whose country was touched or traversed by the most important trade routes from west to east, were not unaffected by the civilised nations. A remarkable mixture of civilisations, which had a momentous influence on the life of the other nomad peoples, was developed in the towns of the southern Uigurians.

Rise of Mixed Civilisations

The supremacy of the Yen Yen in Mongolia was broken by the Turks, a nation which significantly became powerful on the Altai. The Turks, it is true, do not belong at all to the old representatives of civilisation of Yenissean stock on the Altai; they were genuine nomads of Mongolian descent, probably one of those fragments of the great Hun people, which gradually increased again in numbers and importance. But the mineral wealth of the Altai doubtless furnished a source of power, which they knew how to use, whether they themselves mined and smelted, or entrusted this work to their subjects, the old settled inhabitants.

The term "our smiths" which the Yen Yen applied to the Turks on the outbreak of the war, was probably only a deliberate taunt, and not in accordance with facts. It must be observed, however, that among

the nomads of Central Asia the trade of the smith was held in high esteem, quite otherwise than, for example, among the nomad tribes of North Africa; and that in Mongolian tradition even the legendary national hero, Genghis Khan, appears as a smith. At any rate, the superior armament of breastplates, helmets, swords, and lances, and the marvellous "singing arrows," rendered possible by the rich mines, contributed greatly toward securing for the originally not very numerous Turks the victory over their opponents.

The national legend of the Turks traces the descent of the nation from a boy whom a she-wolf suckled. This tradition, which recalls the story of Romulus and Romus, refers, like it, to totemistic customs, for a golden wolf-head was the badge of Turkish warriors. The scanty Chinese accounts represent the Turks as a branch of the Aschin Huns, who, after their expulsion from China by the Wei dynasty, placed themselves under the protection of the Yen Yen, and were allotted in 439 settlements on the southern slopes of the Altai. Few traces of Chinese civilisation seem to have been retained by them; on the other hand, they appear to have acquired some culture from the Uigurians, to which fact the adoption of the Uigurian script points. The feuds of the northern Uigurians with the Yen Yen offered to the Turks a welcome opportunity of further advances. At the first contest of the two peoples, in 490, the Turks made no movement, but when, in the year 536, a Uigurian army marched eastward, and in so doing touched Turkish territory, the ruling chief of the Turks, Tu myn, attacked and conquered them, and incorporated into his people the whole tribe of 50,000 Yurtes. The ease with which this amalgamation was effected betokens the close affinity which existed between the peoples on the boundless steppes of Central Asia. Tu myn was now in a position to defy the Yen Yen, whose power had long been tottering, and he did so after the prince of the Yen Yen had contemptuously rejected him as a suitor for the hand of one of his daughters. In the year 552 the overthrow of the empire of the Yen Yen was complete, and the Turks now assumed the headship of the Central Asiatic nomads, whose conditions on the whole were little altered by this change of rulers.

Since the traditional policy of aggression against China was rendered hopeless by the now firmly-consolidated power of that state, the Turks turned toward the west, along the road which the Huns had pointed out to all succeeding peoples;



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REMNANT OF A PERISHED CIVILISATION IN THE SAND WASTES OF CENTRAL ASIA

Dr. Sven Hedin's excavations have thrown a flood of light upon the former prosperity of the Tarim basin. Where there are now wastes of sand, which can be traversed with difficulty by riding animals, once stood waving fields, green forests, and smiling villages. Under this clay ruin Dr. Hedin found cart-wheels, coins, and domestic vessels.

even Uigurian armies had penetrated to the Volga in 463. Their first success was the subjugation of Sogdiana, where the descendants of the Yue-tshi still maintained their supremacy, and an advance had been made toward the Tarim basin. By the year 437 nine states existed in Sogdiana which were ruled by princes of the dynasty of the Can-wu. The most important of them was Samarkand. In Tashkent, Ferghana, and Kharismia other dynasties occupied the thrones. The conquest of Sogdiana, the petty states of which, however, had hardly disappeared, gave the Turkish conquerors an interest in the Western trade, especially in the export of silk from Sogdiana, which was then hindered by the Persians, probably because in Persia itself the breeding of silkworms was a prevalent industry, and also because silk was obtained from China by the sea route. The attempt to win the desired object from the Persians by diplomacy led to a long series of hostile complications.

Campaigns of the Nomad Turks

The Turks then, in 569, determined to enter into direct communication with the Byzantines, who must have been equally interested in breaking the Persian trading monopoly. A Turkish embassy arrived at Constantinople, in consequence of which Zimarch went to the capital of the Turkish Great Khan in the Altai with a commission from Justin II., the Byzantine Emperor. We possess his detailed account of the journey, and of the battles of the Turks against the "White Huns" and the Persians, at some of which he was present. We learn from him also that the west of the Tarim basin then fell into the power of the Turks. Later, the Byzantines also, in spite of their cautious policy, were hard pressed by the Turks, since with the period of the Turkish power generally a fresh flood of Central Asiatic tribes poured over Western Asia and Europe. The Khazars, who advanced in 626 to East Europe, were a detached fragment of the Turkish nation. As might be expected, attacks were made on China so soon as any opportunity presented itself.

Turks in Touch with Byzantium

China now adopted her successful policy of sowing seeds of dissension among the nomads. The Turkish Empire, like the earlier empires, split up into three portions, an eastern and a western province, which were governed by a viceroy, and the centre, which, both in peace and war, was under the command of the supreme ruler. The Chinese, about the year 600, succeeded in weakening permanently the power of the Turks by dividing the empire into an eastern and a western part.

In the year 630 the Chinese armies won a brilliant victory over the eastern Turks, in which the khan, Kin Li, was captured; thus Chinese influence was again extended to Sogdiana. The eastern empire then broke up into a number of weak and petty states; but part of the Turks migrated to China, where settlements were assigned to them in order that they might serve as a frontier guard against other nomad tribes. The people, which had not forgotten its old fame, became in Chinese territory once more so strong that, in 681, under Qutluq, it was able to shake off the Chinese rule and spread its influence over Mongolia. The power of the Turks grew still stronger under Me chun, the brother and successor of Qutluq, who skilfully availed himself of the disputes for the Chinese throne. Once more the Turkish Empire became a mighty power. Even the western Turks seem temporarily to have been subjugated, and the Turkish supremacy was re-established in Sogdiana, where the petty states of the Yue-tshi still existed.

Turks Again in the Ascendant

After Me chun's death, Kultegin, the commander of the army, a nephew of the dead man, murdered the lawful heir, his cousin, and placed his own brother Me ki lien on the throne. We have accurate accounts of these events from the inscriptions on the grave-pillars of Orkhón. The east Turkish Empire still kept its position as a formidable power. But its decline began, and the end was produced by a coalition of the Uigurians and Chinese in the year 745. From that date the Turks almost disappear from the history of Central Asia. The fall of the Turkish power was hastened by the advance of the Arabs, who in the meantime had conquered Persia and penetrated to Sogdiana, where some of the princes sought help from the Turks and fought with chequered success against their new oppressors. In 712 the Arabs won a brilliant victory over the allied Sogdians and Turks, the latter probably being led by Kultegin. In the year 730, however, they met with a severe defeat at Samarkand from the same antagonists. The necessity of defending

themselves on different sides certainly helped to effect the rapid fall of the east Turkish Empire.

The western Turks, soon after their separation from the eastern empire, had been forced to acknowledge a sort of suzerainty of Persia. In 620, however, they felt themselves strong enough to extend their empire—which must have lain between the Altai and the Sea of Aral—and to invade Persia and Sogdiana. Turkish mercenaries or allies played a momentous part in the contests for the Persian throne at that time. All the conquered territory, indeed, was very loosely united, as is invariably the case with nomad empires, and when occasion offered it was the more easily broken up again, since the nomad is never so closely attached to his country as the agriculturist. Instances occur where entire nations crossed the steppes of Central Asia in their fullest extent, in order to escape the yoke of a hated conqueror and to seek protection perhaps on the Chinese frontier. The western Turks then had command of the northern trade routes of Central Asia so far as they passed through the Uigurian country. Since the Chinese favoured the southern roads through the Tarim basin, Turks and Uigurians combined and, in 639, invaded the petty states of that district, attacked Hami, which was occupied by the Chinese, and thus compelled China to act on the defensive. These disorders lasted for a long time, but finally ended in favour of the Chinese. Soon afterwards the advance of the Arabs through Persia was felt by the western Turks, while the Chinese armies pressed on threateningly from the east. The result was the almost complete fall of the power of the western Turks, whose inheritance passed for a short period to the Tibetans, who had become powerful in the interval.

Turks in Western Asia

It was not until the year 700 that the empire revived, only to find itself soon afterwards entangled in bitter wars with the Arabs. It was more affected by remarkable factions at the court and within the tribal federation, the true cause of which, whether ethnic, social, or political, cannot be discovered. There was a black and a yellow party, which often fought furiously together, and put forward their own candidates whenever the succession to the throne was disputed. The complete overthrow of the empire was effected in 760 by the Qarluk, a tribe of the Turko-Mongolian race living to the west of the Altai range. The remnants appear in later history as Ghuzes.

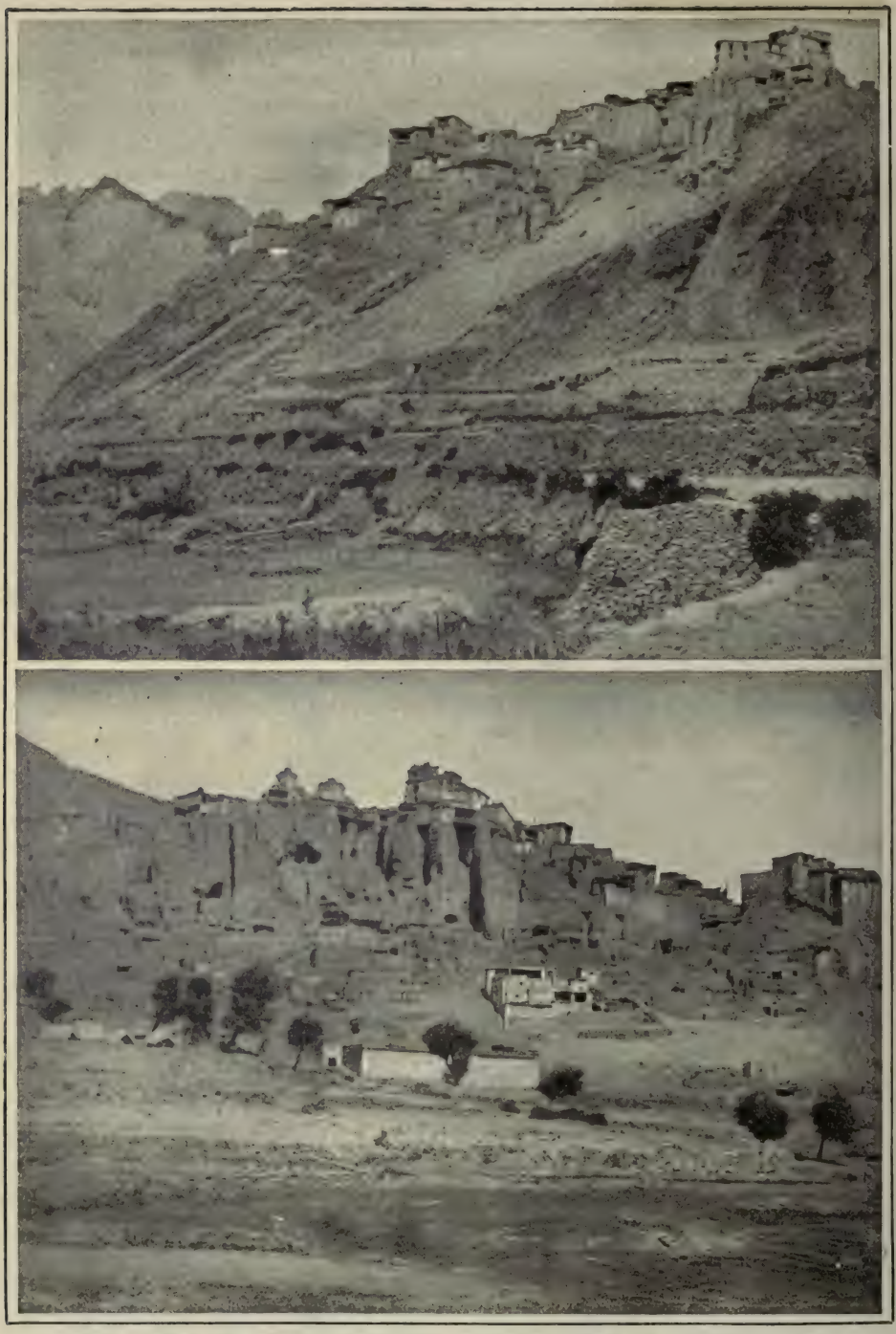
The Turks and Arabs at War

In Central Asia the place of the Turks as the dominant people was taken by the nomad Uigurians, who were then called Hoei He. Their chief opponents were the Kirghiz in South-western Siberia, who now for the first time came forward as a powerful people and tried to enter into direct relations with China. In alliance with the Chinese they shattered the Uigurian supremacy in the year 830. The question at issue seems once more to have been the command of the trading communications with the west. The Kirghiz then appeared as the connecting agents, who conducted Arabian caravans to China with armed escorts through the hostile Uigurian territory. The Kirghiz never founded an empire of equal extent with that of the Huns or Turks. The Uigurian empire was always restricted to a limited area.

Later, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the nation of the Khitan, which was mainly of Tungusian stock, extended its rule from Manchuria over a large part of the steppes of Central Asia, until the Mongols founded a new world-empire in that region.



ON THE GOBI DESERT, WHICH THE CHINESE APTLY TERM 'THE SEA OF SAND."



TWO VIEWS OF A CHARACTERISTIC TIBETAN TOWN OF ANCIENT DATE

These views of a Tibetan town show the general practice of building the Lamaite monasteries upon the crests of the ridges, while on the face of the hill-side are the cave-like dwellings in which the peasant laity find their homes.



RISE AND FALL OF THE OLD EMPIRE OF TIBET

TIBET for a long period was little affected by the enormous revolutions that convulsed Central Asia, and in any case it was only its frontier that felt them. These frontier tribes of Tibet were formerly further removed from the centre. On the south, the Himalayas always formed a strong barrier, but to the north Tibetans were settled as far as the Tarim basin, and even a great part of South-eastern China was filled with Tibetan tribes, which were only gradually absorbed by the Chinese population. Tibet proper lay completely off the main track. The routes of trade and culture did not traverse the country; and the desolate plateau, scorched by intolerable summer heats and lashed by winter snowstorms, did not allure the neighbouring nomads to daring raids, which might at least have interrupted the stereotyped monotony of existence, and have created movement and life. The achievements of civilisation were slow in permeating this region, and it was long before the seeds of progress sprang up from the barren ground.

The Slow Advance of Tibet

Originally all Tibetan peoples must have lived that life of mere hunters which appears to be the lowest grade of human existence. Tibet, in spite of its desolation, was adapted for this mode of life. However poor it might be in edible wild plants, it teemed with beasts of the chase, which even now cover the country in immense herds. The agricultural life, which originated with the short-skulled race, was followed only in the advanced posts of the Tibetan people, where they settled in the Tarim basin on the trading route, and found in the oases suitable tracts of country at their disposal. The reason why it did not spread further toward Tibet is mainly that the only districts at all adapted for agriculture lay far to the south, in the upper valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Indus. Any germs of culture that developed in these southern tracts were brought from India, and, naturally, not until the Aryan inhabitants of India had created a civilisation of their own. This circumstance helps to explain the slow advance of civilisation in Tibet as well as the far-reaching influence of India on what was once purely a Central Asiatic region.

What the inhabitants of Northern and Central Tibet derived from Central Asia was not the old agricultural life, but the newer social economy of the nomad tribes. It must remain a moot point whether Tibetans were in this mere recipients, or whether by the domestication of the yak they did not materially add to the number of useful animals. The wild yak is spread so far to the north that a tribe of Turko-Mongolian or even Aryan race may have made the first attempts at breeding them. In any case, the waggon was hardly known in Tibet as a means of transport, but animals, and especially the yak, were exclusively used to carry burdens. The introduction of nomadic habits gave the Tibetans, especially those of the north, a greater mobility, allowed an increase of population, and gradually taught them the warlike, marauding life peculiar to all nomads. It would seem that the bow also, which is not the national weapon in Tibet, was introduced from the north.

Lessons in Social Progress

The Tibetan tribes may have waged little wars on each other, and also on the nomad peoples of Mongolian race living to the north, but no historically important struggles took place until the growing power of Tibet sought its booty among the settled nations. The roads to the south and west were completely barred, but, in compensation, the great commercial route on the north, with its trading stations and oases, was exposed to attack, and on the north-east the riches of China itself presented a goal for profitable raids. In Mongolia the mighty empire of the Huns had already been formed out of small tribes, which combined for such marauding expeditions. In Tibet, where the conditions were far less favourable, the political unification

Growing Power of Tibet

of the separate hordes began far later and was less successful. Occasionally, indeed, some frontier tribes had an opportunity of interfering in the internal affairs of China. A doubtful account states that Tibetan auxiliaries appeared in the Chinese service in 1123 B.C., but no large empire appears to have been formed until the advent of Buddhism, which, with its proselytising power, levelled the barriers between rival tribes, and first stimulated national union.

Growth of Political Unity

The Tibetan history, the Book of the Kings, which appeared only comparatively late under the influence of Chinese models, contains a legendary account of the prehistoric period, which, naturally, is untrustworthy in its details, but shows the sources from which the Tibetans themselves derived their civilisation. According to this there appeared, in the first century B.C., in the country to the south of the modern Lhasa, a marvellously endowed child, whom the wild natives soon regarded as their heaven-sent leader. This child, an invention clearly on the model of the infant Dalai-Lamas of a later age, was a direct descendant of Buddha. He founded a kingdom, the subjects of which were gradually raised by his successors to higher grades of culture, precisely in the way in which Chinese legend traces the progress of civilisation. Under the seventh monarch, in the second century A.D., smelting, the use of the plough, and irrigation were discovered. In the fifth century the fields were enclosed, articles of clothing were made from leather, and walnut-trees were planted. Soon afterward the yak was crossed with the ox, and mules were bred.

Although the legend does not acknowledge any direct introduction of Indian civilisation into Tibet, still the fact that the centre of culture lay in the vicinity of the Indian frontier, and that the genealogy of the royal house was traced from Buddha, points unmistakably to this source. The widening dissemination of Buddhist doctrine in India had fired a missionary zeal there, which brought the new faith, and in its train a higher civilisation, over the dreaded barrier of the Himalayan snows. From the West, also, where the Buddhist doctrine spread as far as the Tarim basin, Tibet felt the same influence, and when the new faith struck root even in China, Tibet, as the connecting link between China and Central Asia on the one side, and India on the other, suddenly acquired a new importance; and finally, after the decay of Buddhism in the Indian mother country, Tibet became the peculiar home and sanctuary of the northern worshippers of Buddha.

Civilisation Inspired by India

While in Southern Tibet a small civilised state gradually developed, which depended for its power and prosperity on agriculture, the northern nomads had also begun to organise themselves, and in so doing may have been influenced by the example of the neighbouring Chinese constitution, and of the nomad kingdoms in Central Asia. The north-eastern tribes, called by the Chinese Ti. played, on a small scale, in the first century after the Christian era, the rôle of the Central Asiatics, since they figured at one time as enemies, at another as allies, of the Chinese kingdoms and their claimants. Tibetan chieftains even appear as rulers of small Chinese states in the same way as Hun and Turkish princes usurped the thrones of the isolated kingdoms. The Khiang, who lived to the south-east of the Tarim basin and menaced trade communications with the west, were another branch of the Tibetan race. No real empire was established until, in the course of the sixth century B.C., the civilised state in the south brought the northern nomads also under its influence. A power was created which had a large share in the further political development of Central Asia. Almost impregnable in its own country, it held a menacing position on the south-west frontier of China and on the trade routes which crossed the Tarim basin. The shifting fortunes of the Turkish empires offered ample opportunities of interference.

Rise of Tibetan Empire

The empire first aroused the attention of the Chinese in the year 589. With what deliberate purpose the Tibetan rulers endeavoured to advance their civilisation by Indian influence is shown by the embassy to India in 632, which resulted in a more accurate knowledge of the Buddhist religion and in the invention of a script formed after the Indian model. Even then Lhasa was the capital of the empire and the focus of religious life. The relations of the new empire

with China were friendly at first; but very soon the pretext for war was given by an incident of a kind not unusual in the history of Central Asiatic kingdoms: the request of the Tibetan monarch for the hand of a Chinese princess was insultingly refused. Since, however, the king obtained his wish in the end, the campaign cannot have resulted so favourably for the Chinese as their historians would have us believe. But the Tibetan preferred to turn his arms for the future against the Tarim basin, where there was a state of anarchy which offered greater prospects of successful conquest; and by the year 680 the power of Tibet extended as far as the Tian Shan. A combined attack of the Chinese and Turks in 692 had indeed the momentary effect of driving back the Tibetans; but they returned to the attack, and pressed on in 715 as far as Ferghana, after they had concluded an alliance with the Arabs. During the whole of the eighth century Tibet remained the leading power in the south of Central Asia, and a formidable enemy of China, the capital of which was actually stormed and plundered by the Tibetans in the year 763. It was not until 820 that a permanent peace was concluded between Tibet and China, and a pillar with an inscription was erected in Lhasa to commemorate the event.

Tibet at the Height of Its Power

In the course of the ninth century the power of Tibet rapidly diminished. The Uigurians seized the borderland on the north, and Hsia successfully took over the duty of guarding the frontier against the decaying empire. This kingdom—more accurately Hsi Hsia, or Western Hsia—had been formed in 884, at the time of the Tang dynasty, on the upper course of the Hoang-ho. The royal house was descended from the Toba dynasty of Pei We, which had been destroyed in North China in 557; but Tangutes, near kinsmen of the Tibetans, formed the picked warriors of the people. In 1032 the state made itself completely independent of the northern Sung dynasty, which ruled in Southern China, and subsequently maintained its position, since it allied itself at one time with the Sung, at another with the Khitan, and later with the Kin, who were supreme in Northern China. The independent position of the country was outwardly demonstrated—and this is a feature which frequently recurs in Central Asia—by the invention of a new script, which was mainly based on the ancient Chinese signs. We have only brief records of the wars of the Hsia kingdom. An invasion by the Tibetans, in 1076, ended in their precipitate retreat, the result, it is said, of a superstitious panic which seized the army. In 1227, the Hsia kingdom was annihilated by the Mongols. The fall of the political power of Tibet must be ultimately traced to the fact that Buddhism then permeated the country, crippled the secular power, and effected a thorough spiritual revolution in the minds of the people. Buddhism soon assumed a peculiar character in that isolated land. The priests of Tibet showed little appreciation of the more subtle theological and philosophical disputes and doctrines of their Indian or Chinese co-religionists. But all the more important was the influence of the originally Shamanistic national religion, which exalted the Buddhist clergy and monks into magicians and ascribed to them all the various arts of a degraded mysticism. This is the explanation of the commanding position which the Buddhist priesthood was able to acquire in Tibet, and of the chaos of superstitious ideas which gradually spread thence over Central Asia.

Enervating Influence of Buddhism

After the end of the ninth century Tibet led a quiet existence, which in no respect excited the attention of its neighbours. In the year 1015 alone an armed quarrel with China caused a short interruption of this tranquillity. Relations with China had again slightly improved the culture of the country. After the entry of the Chinese princess already mentioned, the knowledge had been acquired of making wine from rice or barley, of erecting water-mills, and of weaving stuffs. Chinese artisans also had come into the country, and the sons of the best families were frequently sent to China to be educated. Tibetan civilisation, which had been at first entirely subject to Indian influence, took more and more a Chinese stamp, until finally the storm of the Mongols swept over the land of Tibet, and brought the country into a still more intimate political union with China.

Under the Heel of China



LAMAS WORSHIPPING BEFORE THE HOLY OF HOLIES IN A TIBETAN TEMPLE

The monastery of Kum-Bum, in Tibet, once the residence of the Dalai-Lama, was founded in 1360, and now contains some three thousand monks. Before the Holy of Holies are six cloth-covered columns, each of which has on its upper part a "skirt" of pleated cloth, and the floor is covered with prayer-boards. These, having been in constant use for centuries, have been worn into deep grooves by the lamas doing penance. Before worshipping, the lama removes his outer garments and his shoes; then he bows, and throws himself prostrate on the praying-boards. The lama wearing the "Roman" helmet is of a higher caste than the others, and carries a prayer-bell in one hand.



EARLY CIVILISATION OF CENTRAL ASIA

THE example of Tibet shows how closely the progress of civilisation is connected with religious propaganda, and how the wish to spread their own peculiar creed can be the chief cause why members of a more highly civilised people venture to be the apostles of culture in the most remote and most uninviting regions of the world. But this is not a unique phenomenon in Central Asia. However greatly the trade between East and West promoted the civilisation of Central Asia, it cannot be disputed that the most strenuous work in the cause of culture was done by those who, as preachers of the different world-religions, penetrated into the heart of Asia, or marched toward the east on the great commercial roads. Religious zeal alone created that endurance and self-denial which all must possess who attempt to sow in backward nations the seeds of a higher culture and of nobler modes of life. It is an important fact that, among the civilised countries which border upon Central Asia, China alone produced no world-religion, properly so-called, and sent out no missionaries apart from Buddhists. In consequence of this, the Chinese never succeeded in firmly attaching the Central Asiatics to themselves until they finally found, in their encouragement of the Buddhist teaching, an inestimable aid in taming the wild nomad hordes.

Results of Mission Work

The original "religion" of the Central Asiatics was doubtless that simple mysticism which, under various forms, is to be found in all primitive peoples. The chief duties of the wizard priests, who are revered as possessors of mystic powers, consist in averting evil influences and in healing diseases. That belief in one supreme divinity, which is usually found in such cases, has only a subordinate significance and has little influence on the spiritual life. The characteristic form of lower mysticism among the Northern and Central Asiatics is Shamanism. The shaman, or sorcerer, works himself up to a frenzy by beating a drum or by other similar methods, and then enters into communication with the spirit world, about the nature of which very different ideas, partly influenced by the civilised religions, prevail among the various nations. Even where a higher form of religion has already penetrated, Shamanism usually remains for a long time as a popular national custom; in fact, it stamps a peculiar local character on these religions. In the eyes of the nomads of Central Asia, all priests were a kind of shamans, from whom cures, prophecies, and miracles might be expected. This led to perverted forms of the original religious doctrines, from which neither Buddhists nor Nestorians were exempt.

Perverted Forms of Religions

Every higher form of religion is based on written records and has its sacred books. It thus follows that writing, the first great step towards culture, spreads most quickly in the train of a religious propaganda. Art also follows in the steps of religion. Images of deities and saints, or temples erected in their honour, form part of the indispensable equipment of the missionaries, and announce the victory of the new doctrine. It is thus conceivable that the position of Central Asia between important spheres of civilisation and foci of religious doctrines must certainly have led to a marvellous mixture of influences, among which the original racial characteristics were still discernible.

We must not forget in this connection that the oases of Central Asia were themselves the sites of an ancient civilisation, but that this civilisation, after the irruption of warlike nomad peoples, rested on so narrow a foundation that it could not have made any continuous progress without the stimulating example of other civilisations. The blending of religions and civilisations was accelerated by the fact that rival doctrines did not make their appearances successively, but that the majority of them began to strike root in Central Asia side by side, during the centuries preceding and following the

Oases as Sites of Ancient Civilisation

Christian Era. Buddhism appeared the earliest on the scene, and also exercised the greatest influence on Central Asia. Zoroastrian sun-worship was not vigorously disseminated until 250 A.D., when, under the Sassanids, its priests were stimulated to undertake the work of missionaries by the renascence of Iranian life and thought; but concurrently Christianity began to enlist supporters. Neither of these religions was completely victorious until finally Islam gained the supremacy in one part of that region, while Buddhism, disseminated from Tibet, held the field in the east. The earlier Buddhism of Eastern Turkestan, which was directly connected with India, entirely disappeared.

Rivalry of Four Religions

We are tolerably well informed from literary sources as to the religious conditions of Central Asia. Our knowledge has been widened by recent archæological investigations in Central Asia, which have yielded a rich harvest of results, notably in the Tarim basin, and give us a vivid idea of the influence exercised by the various civilisations and doctrines. The British excavations in the western valley of the Tarim have brought to light, in addition to Indo-Buddhist, Chinese, and Persian antiquities and inscriptions, rude copper images, which probably served Shamanistic purposes, and may have come from the old civilised province of the Altai, where Shamanism exists even at the present day.

The importance of Buddhism for the west of Central Asia was felt chiefly before the Mongol period. The activity of Buddhist missionaries outside the confines of India could not be vigorously exerted until the new religion had taken firm root in its native country. The period of the great Asoka of Magadha (263–226 B.C.) marks both the victory of Buddhism in Northern India and the extension of the political and religious influences toward the north-west. Kashmir, the bridge to Central Asia, recognised the suzerainty of Asoka. Even though Buddhism was unable to gain a firm footing there, and was driven to wage frequent struggles with remnants of the old native snake-worship and a repressed Brahmanism, still access had been obtained to the civilised oases of the Tarim basin, where the new religion quickly found ready acceptance.

Foreign Missions of Buddhism

In externals this Buddhism was, it must be admitted, no result of purely Indian culture. In the first place, the Iranians had encroached upon India and left traces of their nationality on the manners and customs of the people; but after the age of Alexander the Great an offshoot of Hellenistic civilisation existed in Bactria, which exercised an effective influence on art and culture both in the Tarim basin and in North-western India. Where the missionary zeal of Buddhism appeared at this time, it was accompanied and permeated by the elements of Greek art. This Greco-Buddhist art and culture of North-west India found a new home in the Tarim basin. Here, too, the difference between the more ancient western form of Buddhism and the more modern eastern form, which took its shape in Tibet, is clearly defined. Generally speaking, Indians of pure race preached the new faith, and their labours led naturally enough to a wide diffusion of the Indian language, since a knowledge of Sanscrit was necessary for the comprehension of the sacred books. A large non-religious immigration also probably took place. The influence of India apparently first made itself felt in Khotan, where a son of Asoka is said to have founded a dynasty. Khotan, owing to its geographical position, has generally formed the connecting link between Central Asia and India, and shows in its civilisation abundant traces of Indian influences. A large number of Buddhist shrines and monasteries were to be found in Khotan. The densely populated oasis, helped by its religious importance, repeatedly obtained great power, although it could not keep it permanently, since, as the gate to the trade route from India and the southern road from the West to the East, it appeared a valuable prize to all conquering tribes of Central Asia. From Khotan Buddhism spread further over the Tarim basin and its northern boundary. The clearest proof of this is found in the numerous cave temples constructed on the Indian model, as well as in the products of Greco-Buddhist art, which modern explorations have brought to light, especially in the western part of Eastern Turkestan. It was certainly the settled portions of the nation, which were steeped in the ancient civilisation, that most eagerly adopted this higher form of religion. The nomads were

Connecting Link with India



ASSEMBLING OF THE GUESTS AT A NESTORIAN WEDDING PARTY

The Nestorians were the first Christian sect to make headway among the nations of Asia, and at one time they attained considerable importance, but, cut off from their headquarters. they and their doctrines became degraded.

less satisfied with it. The counsellor of a Turkish prince candidly stated his opinion that neither the building of towns nor of Buddhist temples was advantageous to the nomads, since it was opposed to their traditional mode of life and would break their spirit. This opinion was justified; for in reality it was Buddhism which, thanks to the crafty support of the Chinese, finally destroyed the savage bravery of the Central Asiatics.

The second great religion, Zoroastrianism, had naturally its chief sphere of expansion in Western Turkestan, which repeatedly stood completely under Iranian influence. Following the line of the trade routes, which were chiefly frequented by Persian merchants, it forced its way farther to the East, without being able to win for itself there any considerable position as compared with Buddhism. Zoroastrianism spread also among the western nomads, especially the Scythians of Iranian stock, and left some remarkable traces behind. The ancient Slavonic mythology, with its contrast between deities of light and deities of darkness, seems to have been influenced by the Iranian sun-worship; so, too, were the ideas of the heathen Turkish tribes on the Altai, according to which the human race held the middle place between the powers of light and of darkness. Among several nations, such as the Uigurians, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism for a time counterbalanced each other. We cannot now decide whether their domestic dissensions, which were numerous and important, especially among the Turks, had also a religious tinge. Even before the Iranian sun-worship acquired fresh powers of winning adherents at the beginning of the Sassanid period, the missionaries of Christianity had already traversed Iran and set foot in Central Asia. The revival of Zoroastrianism must partly be regarded as a reaction against the irresistible advance of Christianity, so unacceptable to the true Iranians. It was not indeed the great united Christian Church that broke down the Iranian barriers by her emissaries, but a branch separated from the parent stem, that of the Nestorians, whom we have already seen, in like manner, as the first introducers of the faith into China. That sect planted the seeds of Western civilisation far away toward the East, but in their isolation they soon became degenerate, since they were thrown upon their own resources, and were unable to keep up any constant communications with the West.

Religion of Zoroaster

Coming of Christianity

The Nestorian Church, nevertheless, attained for a time to great prosperity. At the beginning of the Mongol period, when the Western Church began to

concern herself about her estranged sister in the East, it did not appear hopeless to think of converting the Mongol rulers, and thus to assure the victory of Christianity over its rivals, of whom Islam had long been the most dangerous. There were Christian communities and even small states with Christian princes in China after the seventh century. Here, perhaps, lay originally the half-legendary realm of Prester John, the discovery of which was one of the motives for the Portuguese explorations, until it was thought to have been found in Abyssinia. Besides the Nestorians, missionaries of the Manichæans found their way to China about the year 1000.

Nestorian Power in Asia

The prospects of the older forms of religion in Western Central Asia were completely, even if not immediately, destroyed by the advance of Islam. It was its appearance late on the scene, full of fresh ideals, that secured it the victory over the other faiths which were honeycombed by Shamanist influences and had degenerated in their isolation. In the decisive contest for the conversion of the Mongolian chieftains, which secured spiritual supremacy for the successful religion, Islam was finally victorious in the West.

The struggle, nevertheless, lasted for centuries. At the beginning of the eighth century the Arabs had already become lords of Western Central Asia, and had then advanced on their victorious career to the Tarim basin. Khotan, the chief seat of the Buddhists, had resisted attacks for twenty-five years. Among the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan the traditions of these religious wars found a concrete expression in the legendary hero, Ordan Padjah, whose marvellous deeds are supposed to have decided the victory of Islam. The new doctrine did not triumph until, in the tenth century, Satuk, the Turkish ruler of Kashgar, adopted it, and conquered a large part of the Tarim basin and even of Western Turkestan. After his death, in 1037, the power of the new empire rapidly diminished.

Islam in Asia

Religious differences gradually acquired a certain ethnic importance, even for the nomad tribes of Central Asia. The Turko-Tartar branch now comprised mainly the Central Asiatics won over for Islam, while the Mongolian branch contained the adherents of the Buddhist creed; but originally both branches were quite closely related, or, more correctly speaking, were of common origin and only in part altered by admixture of foreign blood. Among the Uigurians in particular Islam found at a comparatively early period numerous believers, by the side of whom, however, the representatives of other religions long maintained their position.

The mixture of religions, to which, in the West, Hellenic mythology may have slightly contributed, corresponded to the mixture of civilisation, which found its most permanent expression in the native script and styles of art. Modern excavations in Turkestan have furnished more exact information on the point, especially as to the existence of a style which has grown up out of Indian, Greek, and Persian influences.

If this mixed style betrays the effort made to rise from mere imitation of foreign forms to a certain individuality, the tendency appears still more clearly in the fact that Central Asia produced, in addition to foreign methods of writing, a large number of peculiar scripts, which were naturally suggested by already existing models, but nevertheless possess distinctive features of their own. The Chinese script seems least of all to have served as a model, since its defects, as contrasted with the syllabic and alphabetic scripts of the other civilised nations, were too vividly prominent. The influence of the Indian scripts was greater, especially in the Tarim basin. On the other hand, the Persian Pehlevi script had been adopted by the Uigurians, probably through the medium of the Yue-tshi, and the Turkish tribes in their turn learnt it from them. After that, through the influence of the Nestorian missionaries, the use of the Syrian script was extended, and this soon served as a model for new native systems. The Mongols and the Manchus used varieties of the same script. The number of foreign and native scripts in Central Asia during the eighth and ninth centuries seems, as numerous discoveries prove, to have been unusually large. This circumstance points at once to a certain incoherency in the prevailing civilisation, and to the fact that the Central Asiatic culture was local, and at the same time highly susceptible to foreign influences.

Ancient Art and Writing



THE MEDIÆVAL HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

THE GREAT MONGOL EMPIRE

THE efforts of civilisation and religion to tame the barbarous people of Central Asia continued for many centuries. Temples of Buddha, Zoroastrian seats of culture, Christian churches, and Moslem mosques arose in the oases; industries flourished, trade brought foreign merchants into the country, and those who aimed at a refinement of manners and customs and a nobler standard of life were amply provided with brilliant models. Of the nomads a less favourable account must be given; and yet among many of them the higher forms of religion had struck root. Skilled writers were to be found among them, and the allurements of civilised life made considerable impression. The road which was destined to lead these tribes out of their ancient barbarism had already often been trodden;

Nomad Lust of Pillage

the forces of civilisation seemed pressing on victoriously in every direction. Then once more the nomad spirit rallied itself to strike a blow more formidable than any which had previously fallen. The effort was successful, and as the result of it a region once prosperous and progressive lay for generations at the mercy of races whose guiding instincts were the joy of battle and the lust of pillage. The world glowed with a blood-red light in the Mongol age. Twice—first under Genghis Khan and his immediate successors, and secondly under Timur—the hordes of horsemen burst over the civilised countries of Asia and Europe; twice they swept on like a storm-cloud, as if they wished to crush every country and convert it into pasture for their flocks. And so thoroughly was the work of ravage and murder done that to the present day desolate tracks show the traces of their destructive fury. These were the last great eruptions of the Central Asiatic volcano. Civilisation conquered, and the hordes of the wide steppes were no longer a danger at which it needed to tremble. That which now struck at the civilised world was once more the full power of the nomads of Central Asia welded together for a time by a master hand. The new people which suddenly appeared on the scene, and, although hardly known or noticed before, now advanced with gigantic armies, in reality dealt only the first blow, and represented the vanguard of hosts which grew larger and larger, like an avalanche. The vanguard gave its name to the hosts who followed, and rekindled in them the wild enthusiasm for war, which had died away, owing to the intercourse with civilisation. But the personality of some individual is always of paramount value.

Gigantic Armies of the Nomads

The Mongols play so small a part in the earlier history of Central Asia that we may fairly doubt whether in their case we are dealing with a race whose roots stretch far back into the past. The original home of the Mongols lay, so far as can be ascertained, on the northern edge of the Central Asiatic steppe, in the region of Lake Baikal. Now, it was this same northern edge which was the home of the most important nomad states, and was the true cradle of the conquering pastoral peoples. It was there that the Huns held their own until the last, and the centre of the Turkish power lay there. The nomad population of that region was mainly due to the disruption of the older nationalities, and contained remnants of all earlier inhabitants. The Mongols in particular rose from the remains of the Turkish people, which again was a mixture of Hun and other stocks.

The Death and Birth of Nations

It was no mere accident that this people rekindled the ancient nomad love

of war and rapine. In their remote homes they had been the least softened by civilisation or tamed by religious influence, and they had most stubbornly preserved their warlike traditions.

The Mongolian horde had begun to make a name for itself in Central Asia at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. The conditions of that period were favourable to its rise, as there was no great power in Central Asia at the time. The Kin, or Nu-chi, who in 1125 had conquered and dislodged the Khitan, were the most powerful in the eastern parts of the country; both peoples were of Tungusian stock, and a part of North China recognised their suzerainty. The Mongols seem to have been tributary to the Nu-chi. In the west the power of the Hakas had greatly weakened; the Uigurians and some Tartar hordes, such as the partially Christianised Kerait, led an independent life. Yesukai, the father of Genghis Khan, first brought a number of nomad tribes under his rule, and thus aroused the distrust of the Nu-chi, who, in 1135, and again in 1147, made futile efforts to nip in the bud the growing world-power.

Growth of New World Power

Little is known of the other exploits of Yesukai. His empire seemed ready to collapse as quickly as it had risen. On Yesukai's death, in 1175, his son Temujin was only twenty, or, according to some accounts, twelve years old. This was a sufficient reason for the subjugated hordes to revolt from him; so that the new ruler, who was under his mother's guardianship, had scarcely more left him than the original parent tribe. But an iron will animated the youth. He rallied his adherents and fought with Ong Khan, or Wang, the rival ruler chosen by the other hordes, a battle which at once put an end to any further spreading of the revolt, while a year later he won a brilliant victory over the insurgents, who renewed their attack. He thoroughly vindicated his power as a monarch by his barbarous punishment of the rebel leaders. Some tribes now sought the friendship of the conqueror, others plotted against him or openly attacked him; but, in the midst of unceasing wars, his power steadily increased. He defeated the Naiman, the Kerait, who were at first his allies, and other tribes, in a series of campaigns; until, in the year 1206, he was able to hold on the banks of the Onon, a tributary of the Amur, a great review and council, at which he saw the greater part of the nomad fighting strength collected round him. Here, at the wish of his followers, he assumed the name of Genghis Khan, or "perfect warrior." It now seemed time to adopt a bolder policy and to carry his victorious arms into the adjoining civilised countries. A pretext for further wars was afforded by the machinations of the Naiman prince Kushlek, who had dealt the deathblow to the empire of the Kara Khitai in 1201; he was compelled to fly for refuge to the Nu-chi. The Kirghiz, and after them the Uigurians, in 1209, voluntarily submitted in the meantime. The war with the Nu-chi, after some unimportant skirmishes, broke out in the year 1211; and in it the Khitans, who had been subjugated by the Nu-chi, lent valuable aid to the Mongols. Genghis Khan's chief object was to gain possession of Northern China, the best part of the Nu-chi Empire. Hsuan Tsung, the emperor of the Nu-chi, finally fled to the south in 1214, and was thus entirely cut off from his northern resources. Yen King, the capital, which roughly corresponds to the present Peking, now fell into the hands of the Mongols; but the war ended only in 1234 with the overthrow of the Kin dynasty, seven years after the death of Genghis Khan. It was fortunate for the Nu-chi that they could place in the field against the Mongols the forces of half of China, and could fall back on the strongly fortified Chinese towns. The Mongols learnt gradually in the school of necessity the art of conducting sieges, in which they were destined later to perform great feats at the cost of the civilised peoples who were hard pressed by them. The employment of gunpowder in siege warfare was already familiar to the Chinese, who could teach many other lessons in this branch of warfare, where scientific knowledge was more important than impetuous valour.

Founder of the Mongol Empire

Mongol Methods of Warfare

During the wars between the Mongols and the Nu-chi, the Khan Kushlek had journeyed to Turkestan, had formed an alliance there with Kutb ed-din Mohammed, the sultan of the Kharismians, and was on the point of building an empire in Western Central Asia with his help. The interference of the Kharismians on behalf of Kushlek may be attributed partly

to trade jealousy. Genghis Khan had certainly tried to bring the trade over the northern roads, but encountered the distinct opposition of the rulers of Turkestan, of whom the most powerful was the Sultan of Kharismia or Chwarizm. Mohammed, who was master of Kashgar, and therefore of the southern roads, had ordered the envoys of Genghis Khan, who wished to conclude a sort of commercial treaty, to be put to death on the spot. The prince of Turkestan could not but have been aware of his power. It seemed as if the Kharismians would be the successors of the enfeebled Seljuks in their dominion over Western Asia and in their protectorate over the Caliphs of Bagdad. As always happens in such cases, a considerable part of the Kharismian power rested on the wealth which they derived from the possession of the Central Asiatic and Indian trade roads. But now this power, and all the covetous dreams which were connected with it, received an overwhelming shock from the onslaught of the Mongols. First of all, Kushlek, who had raised a considerable army, was completely defeated and slain during the rout in 1218. The Mongol forces then swept on against Kharismia, which at that time comprised a great portion of Turkestan and Persia, besides the modern Khiva. Bokhara, the garrison of which offered only a feeble resistance, was plundered and burnt; Otrara, on the middle Syr Daria, the proper border fortress facing Central Asia, held out longer, but finally fell into the hands of Genghis Khan, as did Khojend, Uzgent, and other fortified towns. The main army turned toward Samarkand, which soon surrendered, but had to pay for the sins of its ruler by a terrible massacre.

The resistance of the Sultan Mohammed was now broken; he did not venture on a battle in the open field, but fled through Persia from town to town, continually pursued by the Mongol troops, only to die at last in misery on an island of the Caspian Sea. The greater part of Persia submitted to the Mongols in 1220. A counter-blow dealt by Mohammed's son, Jelal ed-din Mankburni, temporarily repulsed the troops of Genghis Khan. Nevertheless, the appearance of the Mongol sovereign in person forced the Kharismian to fly to India; various revolted towns, Herat among them, were relentlessly massacred and burnt. The Mongols pressed on toward the Indus and laid waste Peshawar, Lahore, and Malikpur.



MAIL-CLAD MONGOL WARRIOR
Showing chain armour and fighting weapons of a Mongol officer in Tamerlane's army.

Thus the old path of conquest to India had been already trodden when Genghis Khan took the first steps on the beaten road which leads from the plains of Western Siberia to Europe. Pretexts for a campaign, which was first directed against the nomad tribes in the north of the Caucasus, were soon forthcoming. When, therefore, the Russians from Kieff appeared in the field as allies of these peoples, Mongol and European troops for the first time, in 1233, faced each other in battle. The Russians, who were victorious at the outset, were finally beaten, and the Grand Duke of Kieff himself was taken prisoner. The Mongols, however, to guard against whose attacks even Constantinople had been more strongly fortified, did not follow up their victory. In the year 1224 Genghis Khan planned a campaign in person against India, but was induced by a portent, or more probably by the exhaustion of his war-worn army, to retire to Karakoram, the former capital of the Christian Kerait, which had now become the centre of the Mongol Empire. In the previous year he had organised in the steppe of South Siberia with his whole

army a gigantic battue, an enormously exaggerated example of the method of hunting familiar to the nomads of Central Asia, both as a sport and as a means of livelihood.

Death of Genghis Khan

In the meantime the war in China had continued. Even the West Chinese Empire of the Hsia, with its partly Tibetan population, had been drawn into the whirlpool, and had been wasted in the years 1209 and 1217. Now, after losing Ordos, its northern province, it suffered a still more sweeping devastation at the hands of the Mongols from 1223 to 1226, until in 1227 the last prince of the dynasty was captured and the country completely conquered by the generals of Genghis Khan. The Kin, or Nu-chi, in Northern China, on the other hand, still resisted, until 1234, the attacks of the Mongols, whose best general, Mogli, died in 1225. Genghis Khan survived his general only two years. He died in 1227 in a town on the Upper Hoang-ho, whether from natural causes or poisoned by one of his wives is uncertain. In his person passed away the most genuine representative of the wild, untameable nomads of Central Asia, who, in the old Hun fashion, had built up for himself a giant empire over dead bodies and ruined cities. A thirst for power and a savage joy in destruction were the guiding motives of his policy. The need of professing any nobler aims, even as a specious pretext for his campaigns, was absolutely unfelt by him. And yet he was not wanting in those traits of rough honesty and magnanimity which are redeeming points in the heroes of nomadism; indeed, a certain receptivity of civilisation is apparent in him. The lesson which all the savage commanders of Central Asia learned in the end was destined to be revealed in him, and, above all, in his descendants. Civilisation, downtrodden and bleeding from a thousand wounds, showed itself the stronger in the spiritual contest, and crushed the obstinate pride of the princes of the steppes, until at last they humbly did homage in chapels and temples to the ideals of the civilised world, and painfully accustomed their mail-clad hands to hold the pen.

Civilising Influence on The Mongols

It was the successors of Genghis Khan who submitted to these influences; but already by the side of the gloomy, blood-stained figure of the first Mongol monarch a man had appeared whom the powerful nomad prince seemed to have chosen as a representative and advocate of civilisation. This was Ili Chutsai, or Yeliu Chutsai, a scion of the royal house of the Kin, a Tungusian, acquainted with Chinese culture. The motive that induced Genghis Khan to bring this member of a hostile family to his court, and soon to entrust him with the complete internal administration, was certainly less the wish to promote the culture of his Mongol subjects than the effort to organise his empire, and especially his revenue, on the model of China.

This succeeded so well that Ili Chutsai continued to hold his high position under the successors of Genghis Khan until his death. But it reflects far more honour on him that he regarded himself at the same time as the advocate of an advanced civilisation, that he boldly opposed the cruel commands of the monarch, protected the oppressed, and, wherever he could, preserved the monuments of art from destruction. He devoted his own property to these objects, or employed it in collecting archives and inscriptions. A number of these latter and a few musical instruments composed the whole wealth which he was found to possess, when calumniators suspected his official administration. In Genghis Khan and his Minister we see the embodiment, side by side, of two great and antagonistic principles—barbarous despotism and civilised self-restraint. These two men seem an epitome of the whole history of Central Asia. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of the Mongol Empire on the death of Genghis Khan; it was still an incompleted structure. The steppes of Mongolia and South-West Siberia were the immediate possessions of the new ruling nation, or were governed, as the country of the Uigurians was, by native rulers in complete subjection to the conqueror. Turkestan might rank as conquered, whereas in Persia the Mongol power was still insecurely established, and North-West India had been raided rather than really subjugated. In China the empire of the Western Hsia was completely annexed; the Nu-chi, on the contrary, still offered stubborn resistance in the provinces on the Lower Hoang-ho. The extent of the Mongol influence towards the south is the most

Extent of the Mongol Empire

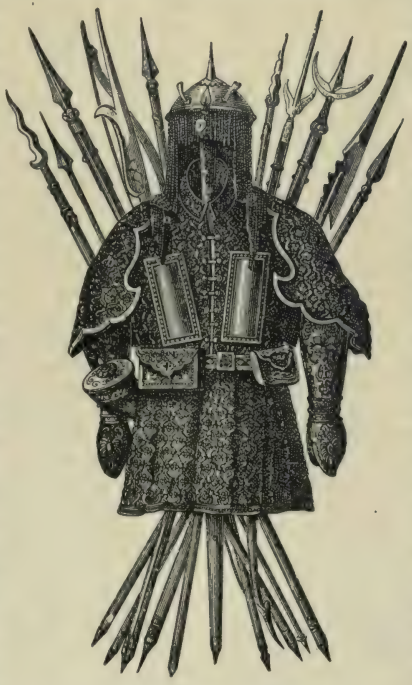
uncertain. No large campaigns were undertaken in the Tarim basin or in Tibet; but probably a number at least of the states in the oases of Eastern Turkestan voluntarily submitted. Many of these petty states were probably subject to the suzerainty of the Uigurians, the Kerait, and other nations, and shared their fate; others, like Kashgar, had been already conquered in the wars against the Kharismians.

The constitution of the Mongol Empire was organised throughout on a military footing, and, from this aspect, was a mere renewal of the ancient Central Asiatic system which obtained among the Huns and Turks. All men capable of bearing arms in the different tribes were enrolled by tens, hundreds, or thousands. The army recruited its ranks from the young men of the subjugated districts, who were distributed among the existing troops, or, if the country had voluntarily surrendered, formed distinct regiments. Standards of yak-tails or horse-tails, of which the most important were the nine-tailed Mongol ensign, and the banner of the Khan made of four black horse-tails, were equally in accordance with Central Asiatic custom. The nine-tailed flag denoted the nine great divisions, or army corps, into which the Mongol levies were distributed.

Genghis Khan regulated the internal affairs of his people by a series of laws, most of which were derived from traditions and earlier precedents, and were still suitable to the nomad life. The attitude which he maintained toward religion is noteworthy. On the one side there is the evident wish to elevate the traditional Shamanistic creed by laying greater stress on the belief in the existence of a divine being; on the other side it is recommended that consideration be shown to all other religions and to their priests. Public offices, however, were not to be entrusted to the priests. Generally speaking, the enactments of Genghis Khan are principally concerned with military matters: at the same time they regulate family life in a very simple fashion, define the close time for game, and make universal regulations of certain Mongol customs—such as, for instance, the slaughtering of animals by slitting up the body, the prohibition of bathing, and so on. In his latter days Genghis Khan displayed some leaning toward Buddhism, but showed otherwise that indifferent toleration of the various religions which is everywhere characteristic of the Mongols. Religious zeal, the excuse for so many cruelties, never prompted the massacres perpetrated by them.



MONGOL HELMET
A Mongolian helmet of the 14th century in the collection of the Tsar of Russia.



MONGOLIAN ARMS
Specimens of weapons, tunic, and helmet of the Mongolian period in the Russian Imperial collection.

The great nobles of the Mongol Empire met in solemn deliberation in 1227 on the banks of the River Kerulen, in the northern steppe. Genghis Khan by his will had nominated as his successor his third son, Ogdai, or Ogotai Khan, who soon afterwards, at a great imperial diet at Karakoram, received the homage of his subjects. Since Ogdai still conceded considerable powers to Ili Chutsai, his father's first

Minister, the latter was able to continue the internal development of the empire, to organise thoroughly the system of taxation, and to draw up lists of the men liable to military service; thus laying a firm foundation, which enabled the Mongol monarchs to extract the maximum of profit from the subjugated civilised countries without pursuing a policy of crushing them completely. The conquering power of the united nomad peoples made bold advance under Ogdai. Persia, where the Kharismian Jelal ed-din had recovered a part of his inheritance, was once more, in 1231, subjugated, and the unfortunate prince was compelled to seek refuge among the western mountains, where he was murdered by Kurdish robbers. Ogdai himself directed his attention against China, where the empire of the Kin was struggling for existence with failing strength. The provinces of Pechili, Shantung, Shansi, and Liaotung were then already in the possession of the Mongols. The Kin held their own only to the south of the Hoang-ho in Shensi and Honan. Tuli, the youngest brother of Ogdai, was commander-in-chief of the Mongols in most of the later battles. The siege of the capital, Kaifongfu, at which the beleaguered Chinese employed powder with great effect, was unsuccessfully attempted in the year 1232. But subsequently an alliance was negotiated between the Mongols and the Chinese Empire of the southern Sung, which quickly crushed the resistance of the Kin. In the year 1234 the last emperor of the Nu-chi was defeated by a combined army of Mongols and Chinese. Shensi fell to the Mongols, Honan principally to the Sung, although misunderstandings already arose between the allies which were premonitions of subsequent events.

Operations Against China and Persia

The conquest of North China was of paramount importance to the Mongols. Chinese civilisation was the first with which they had any lasting intercourse, and thus the political institutions of China served in many respects as models for the wild people of the steppes, while the Uigurian civilisation, which had originally been imitated, sank into the background. The ancient power of China in transforming and absorbing the peoples of the steppe gradually asserted itself more strongly. The further the Mongols penetrated into the Middle Kingdom, the more Chinese they became, until at last the disruption of the gigantic world-empire into the districts of Central Asia on the one side and of China on the other was inevitable.

Mongols Who Became Chinese

The forces which were set free by the overthrow of the Kin were destined to extend the Mongol Empire towards the west. The Mongol hordes under the command of Batu swept on after 1235 against Europe, where the protection of the frontiers lay in the hands of the Russian princes. Riazan was captured on December 21st, 1237, and on February 14th, 1238, fell Vladimir on the Kliasma. The Russian chiefs had to submit to the suzerainty of the Mongols, while Kieff was destroyed on December 6th, 1240. Poland was now ravaged, Duke Boleslav V., the Modest—or the Chaste—was forced by Sandomir to take refuge in Hungary, and a mixed army of Poles and Germans under Henry II. of Lower Silesia was annihilated at Liegnitz on April 9th, 1241.

There, at the edge of the steppe region, the western march of Paidar, or Peta, and his Mongols ended. They turned to Hungary, which Batu himself had already invaded in March, 1241. There was imminent danger that these Mongols would establish themselves firmly in the Hungarian steppe, and that Hungary would now, as on several previous occasions, become the nest of predatory swarms of nomads, who would perpetually harass Europe. The Magyars suffered the very fate which their forefathers had inflicted on so many prosperous countries. The Mongols seemed, in the summer and autumn of 1241, to have formed the intention of making room for themselves and of exterminating the inhabitants. However, on the tidings of the death of the Great Khan, Ogdai, which occurred at Karakoram on December 11th, 1241, they resolved, in the spring of 1242, to withdraw through Kumania to Russia.

Menace to Central Europe

The expansive power of the Mongol Empire was even then immense. While war was being waged in Europe, Ogdai's armies threatened Irak and Asia Minor. Like Turkish armies earlier and later, the Mongols used the road through Armenia, and repeatedly attempted to attack Bagdad. Simultaneously there began in China the attack on the kingdom of the southern Sung, whose princes, in blind infatuation, had helped to destroy the bulwark of their

power, the empire of the Kin. The troops of the Sung held for a long time the lines of the middle Hoang-ho and of the Wei-ho by dint of hard fighting; at the same time the contest was raging in Szechuen on the upper Yangtse Kiang, during which, at the siege of Lu-cheng, a strong Mongol army was almost totally destroyed. There also the death of Ogdai temporarily put an end to the operations. The Great Khan had bequeathed the empire to one of his grandsons, a minor; but in 1241 the first wife of Ogdai, Nai ma chen, or Jurakina, usurped the regency in his place. Ili Chutsai, the aged chancellor of the first two Great Khans, who wished to secure to the defrauded heir his rights, died suddenly. The empress now succeeded in carrying at a great imperial diet, or *kurultai*, the nomination of her son Kuyuk Khan as sovereign, in 1246. Thus ended an interregnum which had greatly impaired the aggressive powers of the Mongols. It is this which partly explains why in many places, especially when confronting the western states of Europe, the policy of conquest, notwithstanding all sorts of threatening preparations, was abandoned. Besides this, envoys of the Pope had appeared at the diet, in order to ask the Mongols to abstain from further expeditions against the Christians. It is true that they had irritated the self-conscious sovereigns of a world-empire. Nevertheless, the common hostility of the Christians and the Mongols to the Mohammedans seemed to offer the basis for an understanding, especially in Syria, where Crusaders and Mongols were forced to stand by one another. Indeed, finally there appeared some prospect of converting even the Mongol dynasty to Christianity, and of thus winning a mighty triumph for the Church.

Attempt to Christianise the Mongols

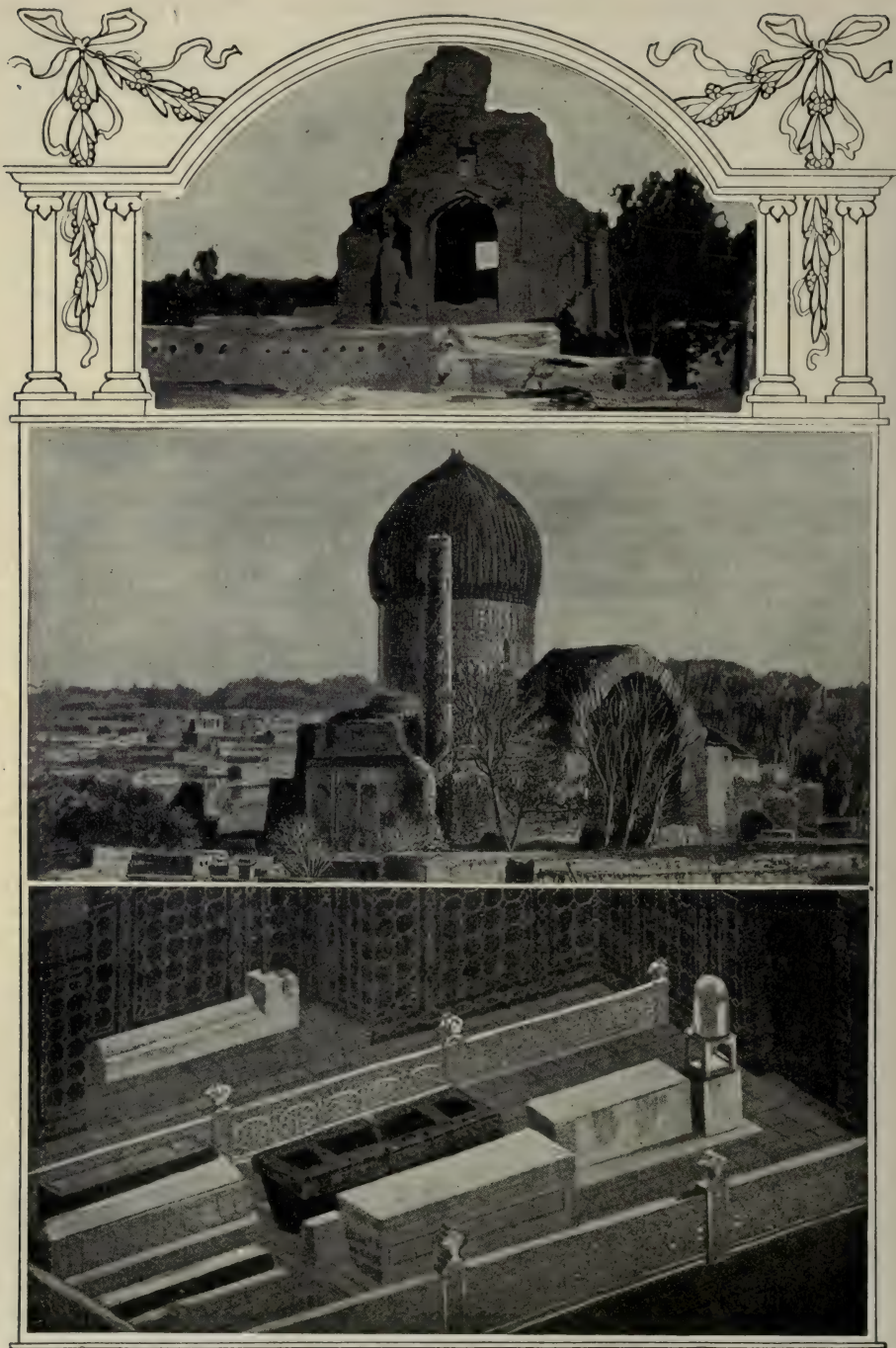
Kuyuk turned his attention principally to the east, and attacked Korea, which at the same time might form a bridge to Japan. He died, however, in the year 1248, and Mangu Khan, a son of Tuli and grandson of Genghis Khan, came to the throne in 1251, although only after long deliberations by the great nobles. The gigantic extent of the Mongol Empire of that day is shown by the length of time required to summon and assemble the great councils of the realm. The decay of the unwieldy structure was only a question of time. Mangu himself took the first step towards it when he nominated his brother Kublai Governor-General in China, and thus placed his destined successor under the immediate influence of Chinese civilisation. The Mongol dynasty was fated to become Chinese at no very distant date.

For the time being, however, the frontiers of the empire continued to expand under Mangu. Tibet, hitherto protected by its situation, was attacked, and, as Marco Polo testifies, was completely devastated. A second advance, under the leadership of Hulagu, against Irak and Syria was momentous in results. The war was first waged with the Assassins, whose eastern or Persian branch was almost exterminated. The Mongol arms were then turned against Bagdad, which the feeble resistance of the ruling caliph failed to save. A frightful massacre almost exterminated the whole population of this religious capital of the Islam world. The hostility then evinced by the Mongols to the Mohammedan faith strengthened the hope that the Mongols would let themselves be won over to Christianity. Christians did, indeed, obtain a favoured position at the Great Khan's court; but Mangu regarded baptism and other rites merely as a sort of convenient magic formula. The behaviour of the unorthodox Nestorian and Armenian priests could not but confirm him in this belief. The Mongol princes must have had very hazy notions as to the inner meaning of the various religions, the ceremonies of which they occasionally observed.

The Many Wars of the Mongols

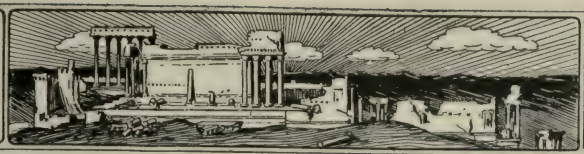
After a great part of Syria and Asia Minor had been ravaged, the attention of the Mongol sovereign was once more directed to the dominions of the southern Sung, which were now vigorously attacked for some successive years. Kublai, who had satisfactorily averted the disfavour which threatened him, conquered the western borderlands of the Chinese Empire, Szechuen and Yunnan, and, by advancing his armies as far as Tonquin and Cochin China, surrounded Southern China on all sides. Once more the death of the Great Khan temporarily brought the operations to a standstill. Mangu died in the year 1259, and all the Mongol leaders went off to the Tartar steppe to attend the imperial diet.

Death of Mangu Khan



The first of these pictures shows the ruins of the tomb of the wives of Timur, or Tamerlane, while the centre picture is that of the mosque at Samarkand containing the remains of the great emperor, and the third shows the tomb itself. Timur's sarcophagus is the dark one, cracked across the top, and is made from an immense block of jade.

MEMORIALS OF TAMERLANE IN HIS ANCIENT CAPITAL



THE LATER MONGOL EMPIRES

The fall of the gigantic empire could no longer be delayed. It was due not merely to the enormous size of the Mongol state, and the impossibility of preserving the unity of the realm in the face of such immense distances. Still more destructive was the influence of the different civilisations which everywhere forced their way, as it were, through the layer of sand spread over them by the storm-wind of the desert: a spiritual revolution was at work.

If Kublai was on the point of being transformed into a civilised Chinese, the western governors felt themselves surrounded by the civilisations of Western Asia and Europe, while the ancient and genuine Mongol spirit in its primitive barbarism was to be found only in the steppes of Central Asia. The force of the geographical position, which had first called to life the earlier states and civilisations, made itself again irresistibly felt; out of the provinces of the Mongol world-empire were formed once more national states under the rule of dynasties of Mongol origin. The way in which the fall would take place depended on the point to which the centre of gravity of the empire should be shifted. If toward the east, then the west would at once wrench itself free; if toward the civilised countries of the west, it would be a natural consequence that China should attain independence under a Mongol ruler.

Mongols in Touch with Civilisation

In 1260 the choice of the Mongols fell on Kublai Khan; by this election the centre of gravity was shifted toward the east. Kublai still, indeed, was reckoned the supreme lord of all Mongols; but in truth he ruled only the eastern steppe districts of Central Asia and the parts of China hitherto conquered. Iran and the possessions in Syria and Asia Minor fell to his brother Hulagu; in Kipchak, the steppe country of West Siberia and the adjoining European regions, the descendants of Batu ruled, and other Mongol dynasties were being formed in Turkestan.

Chinese civilisation now triumphed in the main eastern empire. What conquering energy still existed among the Mongol people was employed on the subjugation of the empire of the southern Sung and on futile attacks against Japan, after the disorders in Mongolia, which followed on the change of sovereigns, had been quieted. Serious operations against the Sung were not begun until the year 1267, and twelve years elapsed before the final resistance of the Southern Chinese was ended. But while Kublai thus won the dominion over the whole of China, he was threatened by the danger of losing his possessions in Central Asia through rebellious Mongol princes. At Karakoram, in the years 1260 to 1264, appeared a rival emperor, Alipuko, or Arikbuga. A grandson of Ogdai, Kaidu by name, rebelled, and held out till his death, in 1301. Baian, however, to whom the victory over the Sung is chiefly to be ascribed, brought Mongolia, with the old capital, Karakoram, once more into the possession of his master. Kublai himself resided from the first in Peking, and thus announced that he was more Chinese than Mongol. The histories of China have recognised this fact, since, after 1280, they treat the Mongol reigning house of Kublai as a genuine Chinese dynasty. The further destinies of this dynasty accordingly belong to the history of Central Asia in a very restricted degree, especially after the death, in 1294, of Kublai whose name had testified to some sort of imaginary cohesion between the various fragments of the Mongol Empire. Anyone who has tried to pass a fair judgment on the crumbling world-empire, and asks what its effect on the civilisation of mankind was, will, as he turns over the records of that blood-stained period, be filled first with a feeling of abhorrence, and of despair of any progress or of any results of higher culture. Is it always the destiny of the nations which are laboriously struggling forward to succumb

Dangers of Extended Empire

Crumbling World Power

to the onslaught of rude barbarians, whose dull senses are intoxicated with battle and booty until they are maddened with an aimless and hideous lust for murder ?

Compensaitons for War and Bloodshed

On no page of history does the old cruelty of nature and destiny stare us so derisively in the face. But it has been already stated that there existed counter influences to all that evil and mischief, which were able to mitigate the terrible impression. The storm did not only wreak destruction ; it purified the atmosphere. It was the Mongols who first put an end to the sect of murderers, the Assassins—a conspicuous but not an isolated example of this purifying power. Far higher value must be attached to the fact that once again, although for a brief period and under the supreme command of a barbarous people, all the civilised countries of the Old World enjoyed free intercourse with each other ; all the roads were temporarily open, and representatives of every nation appeared at the court of Karakoram. Chinese artisans were settled there ; Persian and Armenian merchants met the envoys of the Pope and other Western Powers ; a goldsmith from Paris constructed for Mangu the chief ornament of his court, a silver tree ; there were numerous Arabs in the service of the Khan, and Buddhist priests laid the civilisation of India at his feet. These representatives of different civilisations must have reacted on each other. For the isolated kingdom of China in particular the Mongol age marked the influx of new and stimulating ideas. Arabian writings were frequently translated into Chinese ; Persian astronomers and mathematicians came into the country ; daring European travellers also found many opportunities to communicate their knowledge. The keen zest for learning exhibited by the better part of the Mongols seemed to communicate itself to the Chinese, and for a period to overcome the stiff conservatism of the old self-centred civilised nation.

Mongol Patronage of Learning

While the history of the Eastern Mongol Empire was gradually becoming a chapter of Chinese history, an Iranian state was developing in the west under a Mongol dynasty, which it is usual henceforth to designate as the dynasty of the Ilkhans. Hulagu, who in Mangu's time had consolidated the conquest in Persia, and had added other parts of Western Asia to them, must be reckoned as an independent sovereign after the accession of Kublai, although a semblance of dependence was preserved. After the capture of Bagdad, Hulagu had conquered some of the petty Mohammedan princes, and thus put himself on good terms with the Christians in Armenia and Palestine. But when an Egyptian army inflicted a heavy defeat on his general, Ketboga, not far from Tiberias, in 1260, the Mongol advance was checked in that direction also. The attempts of Hulagu to reconquer Syria led to frightful massacres, but had not been crowned with any real success when he died, in 1265.

His successor, Abaka, was in consequence restricted to Persia and Irak, thus realising the idea of an Iranian empire under a Mongol dynasty. The irony of fate willed that Abaka should be forced immediately, according to the old Iranian policy, to take measures for protecting his realm against his own countrymen, the Mongols of Kipchak, who threatened to invade the land through the Caucasian gate from Derbend, and had already come to an understanding with the Egyptians, the arch foes of Abaka. Nothing shows more clearly how complete the fall of the Mongol Empire then was. War now began on the other frontier of Iran, towards Turkestan, which had long been threatened, since the Mongols of Jagatai invaded Khorasan, and were only driven out of Persia by Abaka's victory at Herat. A final attempt to recover Syria ended, however, in the defeat of Abaka at Emesa in 1281.

Mongol Against Mongol

In that same year Abaka died, and with his successor the transformation of the dynasty seemed to be completed. The prince, originally a baptised Christian, and brother of the deceased, openly adopted the Mohammedan religion under the name of Ahmed, and thus snapped the last bond of union with his unruly Central Asiatic brethren. This step was, however, premature. The Christians of Armenia and Georgia, the mainstay of the empire, were roused to ominous excitement, and the Mongols could not make up their minds so quickly to abandon their hatred of Islam and its followers. Rebellions ensued, the leaders of which called in the help of the far-off Great Khan, Kublai. Ahmed was deposed, and his

nephew Argun gained the sovereignty. Then followed a period of disturbances and renewed fighting in Syria, which was favourable to the Mongols, especially in the time of the Ilkhan Ghazan (1295–1304), but ended later in repeated disasters. Under Ghazan, who henceforward helped Islam to victory, the empire of the Ilkhans temporarily acquired new power; but a reconciliation with the Mohammedan world was not effected, and the zeal of the Christians for the Mongol dynasty soon cooled. Under the successors of Ghazan the empire became disorganised, but the semblance at least of unity was kept up until the death of the Ilkhan Abu Said Bahadur in 1335. The disruption then began which repeated on a small scale the fate of the Mongolian world-empire. The provinces became independent, and the Ilkhan retained a mere shadow of dignity without any real power. In 1336, round Bagdad, under sheikh Hasan Busurg, the emir of the Jelair, who died in 1356, was formed the empire of the Ilkhani, which acquired fresh power, but finally was destroyed in the struggle with the Mozaffarids and Timur between 1393 and 1405. In 1410 died the last of the Ilkhani but one, Ahmed ben Owais, as a prisoner of the Turkoman Prince Kara Yusuf. The dynasties which had been formed in the steppe regions of West Siberia and Turkestan were better able to maintain their individuality than the Mongol princes of China and Iran; it was from these districts that the second great advance of the Mongols under Timur started. In Turkestan arose the empire of Jagatai, which took its name from one of the sons of Genghis Khan, and at the time of its greatest prosperity comprised all the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes, as well as the greatest part of the Tarim basin. The prevailing religion in these regions was Islam; sectarians of that faith had there offered the Mongols in 1232 a more obstinate resistance than the native princes had previously done. At an early period one of the Mongol sovereigns had gone over to the teaching of Mahomet, although the bulk of the people had not followed his example.



THE GREAT TIMUR, OR TAMERLANE
The Mongol empire-builder who had the greater part of Asia at his feet at the end of the fourteenth century; but whose empire soon broke up.
From the miniature in the Bodleian Library.

Since there were no external enemies left, the natural effect was that the Mongols soon fought among themselves. Disputes as to the succession, and rebellions were endless; the legitimate reigning dynasty of the line of Genghis Khan sank into the background after 1358, and a government by a mayor of the palace took its place, which obviously could not remain uncontested in the hands of any one family. Some provinces became absolutely independent; for example, Kashgar, which was the most powerful state in those parts in 1369, when Timur first appeared on the scene. The Mongol dynasty of the Shaibanids, though temporarily overthrown, did not disappear; but after the fall of Timur's dynasty in 1494 soon raised itself again to the throne of Samarkand and Bokhara, which it held in the male line until 1599, and in the female until 1868. The kingdom of Kipchak—the Golden Horde—which, roughly speaking, comprised the lowlands of Western Siberia and Eastern Europe, showed greater stability than the Jagatai. A more vigorous foreign policy was both possible and necessary there, and helped to bind the Mongols closely together. The command of Russia, that land of constant ferment, the wars with Poland and Byzantium, and the raids over the Caucasus into Western Asia, kept alive the old warlike ardour of the conquest-loving nation. The countries which later formed

the kingdom of Kipchak were first partly subdued by Juji, the eldest son of Genghis Khan, and then were completely brought under the dominion of the Mongols by his son Batu.

The expedition of Batu to Central Europe ended the period of great conquests in the west. The Mongols were unable to hold their position in Hungary and Poland, which were both attacked again in 1254, and Russia alone remained completely in their hands. Batu, who died in 1256, had been practically an independent ruler. He was succeeded, without opposition from the Great Khan, Kublai, by his younger brother Berkai, who was soon involved in contests with the Iranian sovereign of the Mongols, Abaka.

Mongol Conquests in the West

The highest civilisation in the kingdom of Kipchak was then found in the Crimea. The towns of the Crimea had flourished since ancient times, and had increased in prosperity under the Mongols; the country had maintained its intercourse with Byzantium and Southern Europe. The influence of this advanced culture was noticeable in the Mongolian princes. Many of them, in spite of their soldier-like roughness, appreciated scientific pursuits, tried to draw learned men to their court, and showed towards the representatives of the different religions that tolerance which is perhaps the most pleasing trait in the Mongol character. It must be admitted that the hopes which were so often entertained of winning the Mongol princes completely over to one definite religion were long unrealised.

The history of the kingdom of Kipchak is full of constant wars against all neighbours on the west and the south, and of dynastic disputes and insurrections at home. Part of it belongs to the course of Russian history. The Mongol age does not imply for Russia a brief and bloody interlude, as it does for most other Western countries; on the contrary, the nomads of the steppes seem for a time to have associated so much with the native population that at the present day indelible traces of that affinity are left on the national Russian character. A still closer amalgamation was partly prevented by the circumstance that finally the dynasty of Kipchak in the time of Uzbeg, from 1312 to 1340, went over to Islam, and thus repelled the Christian Russians in the same way as the Persian Mongols offended the Armenians and Georgians.

Mongol Influence on Russia

After 1360 the kingdom was filled with disturbances, and it was only the union of the White and the Blue Hordes by Toktamish, in 1378, and the invasion of Timur, from 1391 to 1395, that temporarily restored order; but with the result that, after the death of Toktamish in 1406, the disorders increased and the power of the kingdom continually diminished. In the fifteenth century the Crimea, with the adjoining parts of Southern Russia, was all that remained of the once mighty realm of Kipchak. In the year 1502 the "Golden Horde" died out, and the kingdom completely broke up.

The Nogai, a branch of the Mongol Jujis, formed in 1466 a kingdom round Astrakhan, which fell before the attacks of the Grand Duke of Moscow. Further to the north arose in 1438 the Khanate of Kasan; and in the Crimea a small Mongol state, founded in 1420 with the help of Turkey, to which it agreed to pay tribute, held its own until its incorporation with Russia in the year 1783. With the split of the Mongol Empire in the time of Kublai the era of the great conquests was virtually closed, although raids and border wars still lasted for a long time. The subjugation of Southern China brought the eastern Mongols completely under the influence of Chinese civilisation. The more westerly of the Mongol states did not show any further power of similar expansion. The most striking proof of this stagnation is the fact that no attempt was made to conquer India, although the gates to this country, so alluring to every great Asiatic conqueror, were in Mongol hands, and although the Mongols had already traversed the Punjab in the time of Genghis Khan. A fresh and powerful impulse, which united a part of the ancient Mongol power once more under one ruler, was needed in order to reach this last goal.

Split of the Empire under Kublai Khan

It seems at first sight strange that the new tide of conquest flowed from Turkestan, from the kingdom of Jagatai; that is to say, from the Mongol state which was most rent by internal wars and showed the least energetic foreign policy. But these dissensions were actually a proof that the ancient Mongol love of fighting



ONE OF THE MANY BATTLES BETWEEN THE MONGOLS AND THE TURKS

This reproduction of an old woodcut illustrates the methods of warfare practised by Timur and his hordes; one Mongol warrior may be seen just after decapitating his fallen foe, and another is in the act of cutting off the nose of an enemy. The original inscription quaintly adds that "the man who had his nose cut off, lost it on the field."

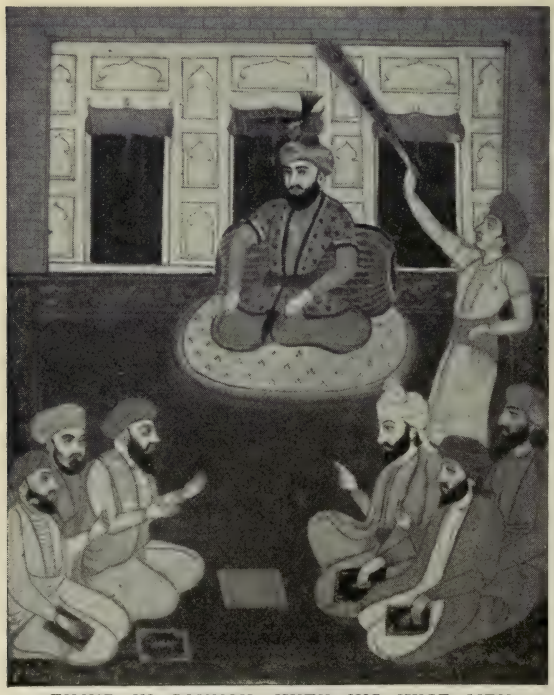
was all-powerful there, and that the forces and impulses of nomadism had remained there unimpaired. The nomad tribes of Turkestan, who, long before the time of Genghis Khan, had repeatedly made victorious inroads into Iran and India, supplied the most splendid material to a leader who knew how to mould them into a loyal and devoted army. While Mongolia proper, which had spread its armies over half the globe, was now poor in men and no longer a theatre for great enterprises, Turkestan had every claim to become the foremost power of the nomad world. All that was required was a master will. Civilisation may have tried her arts on the forefathers of Timur, that true child of the desert, who was born, the son of a Turki general, on April 8, 1336. They had lived for some hundred years or so as the feudal lords of the small district of Kash, in the very heart of the civilised world of Turkestan, to the south of the prosperous town of Samarkand. But Timur's character shows barely a trace of these influences. In his relations to his native soil he is true to the nomad bent. The little country of Kash served him indeed as a starting-point for his first operations, but he soon shook himself

free from it, and fought like a soldier of fortune, whose true home is among the moving tents of his camp—who to-day has under him a mighty army recruited or impressed from every nation, and to-morrow with a few faithful followers is seeking a precarious refuge in the mountain gorges or the desert. The vivid contrasts, so usual among nomads, between harshness and magnanimity, between cruel contempt for the life of strangers and desperate grief for his kinsmen and his friends, are repeated in Timur. Like a true Mongol, he was indifferent in religious questions; but—and this one evil trait he learnt from the civilised peoples—he could play the Mohammedan fanatic when it served his purpose.

Character of the Great Tamerlane

In the year 1358 the realm of Jagatai was in the most desperate disorder. The khan, Buyan Kuli, had become a mere puppet in the hands of his mayors of the palace; but even the family which ruled in his place saw itself in this same year deprived of all influence by a general revolt of the vassal princes, and the kingdom broke up into its separate provinces. In the wars which these new principalities continually waged on one another, Kutb ed-din Amir Timur, as a nephew of the reigning prince of Kash, found opportunities of gaining distinction, and used them to the full.

The first attempts to reconstitute the State under a different rule started in Kashgar, the prince of which, Toghluk Timur—descended from Jagatai in the sixth degree—appears to have extended his influence as far as the Altai Mountains. In the years 1359 and 1360 the armies of Kashgar advanced victoriously to Western Turkestan; Timur found it politic to join them, and he contrived that after the fall of his uncle the principality of Kash should come to his share. But it must have soon been obvious that there was not much to gain in this way. He soon reappeared in the field, but this time as an ally of the emir Hosain, who, as a descendant of the family of the mayors of the palace, had held out in Kabul and now reasserted his claims to the supreme power. In the year 1360 the two allies experienced the most strange vicissitudes, being at one time victors, at another fugitives and even prisoners. But after years of fighting, fortune inclined to their side; a change of sovereigns in Kashgar gave them breathing time, and in 1363 they were able to enthrone as khan at Samarkand a new puppet of the family of Jagatai, Kabul Sultan.



TIMUR IN COUNCIL WITH HIS WISE MEN
Reproduced from an original drawing by a Persian artist.

It is not surprising that Timur now tried to put aside his overlord Hosain; but he met with an overwhelming defeat in 1366. He contrived, however, to obtain the forgiveness of Hosain in 1367 and to regain his influence. After better preparations, another attempt succeeded in 1369. Hosain was captured and executed, and a council of the realm nominated Timur to be supreme Great Khan. The nominal sovereignty of the descendants of Genghis Khan was not terminated for some time. Suyurghatmish was succeeded in 1388–1397 by his son Mahmud as Khan of Transoxania.

The new "Lord of the World" began with West Turkestan for his sole possession, and even of that territory parts remained to be conquered. Yusuf Beg of Kharismia, which then comprised Khiva and Bokhara, defied Timur continually, and was not completely defeated

until 1379. Kamar ed-din of Kashgar, in spite of campaigns in 1375 and 1376, could never be completely vanquished. It was only when West Turkestan was entirely subjugated that the great wars and raids of Timur, fraught with such consequences for civilisation, began with an attack on Persia, which then, like Jagatai at an earlier time, was broken up into several independent principalities.

The separate states could not resist the united power of Turkestan. Khorasan and Herat, the ancient bulwarks of Iran against the nomads, were the first to succumb before the attack of Timur (1381). In the years 1386–7 the Mongol army fought with Armenia, the Turkomans, and the Ilkhani of Bagdad. The year 1388 saw the terrible overthrow of the Iranian national states of the Mozaffarids, which had been formed in Farsistan, the ancient Persis, Kirman, and Kurdistan, and the complete destruction of Ispahan, the capital of Persia. The invasion of Turkestan by the ungrateful Khan Toktamish of Kipchak called Timur away from Persia in 1388–91. He was then completely occupied with the subjugation of the Tarim basin. In 1392 he reappeared in Persia, and laid the country waste, since most of the dethroned princes, even the Mozaffarids, had partially regained their dominions. The race of the Mozaffarids was this time exterminated. In 1393 Armenia and Kurdistan were occupied once more.



TIMUR IN STATE, SEATED ON HIS THRONE

From the Persian illuminated manuscript Tuzuk-i Timur, or "Memoirs of Timur."

It was most unfortunate for the subjugated countries that Timur by his love of conquest was always allured from vanquished regions to other parts of his territories. The native princes then found opportunities to recover their dominions for a time; whereupon Timur would retaliate. Timur's imagination revelled in horrors; he aimed at striking terror far and wide. He delighted in raising towers of skulls or building gigantic monuments of corpses and living prisoners.

Delight in Barbaric Cruelty

A momentous campaign in India called Timur away from Persia on this particular occasion. The influence of the Mongols seems to have been asserted here and there in Northern India on the east side of the Indus. Independent border tribes impeded, as now, the communications between Afghanistan and the valley of the Indus. Beyond the Indus lay Mohammedan states. In 1398 part of the border tribes were conquered after a laborious campaign under the personal command of Timur. Meanwhile a grandson of Timur, Pir Mohammed, captured Multan after a six months' siege, and the combined forces then advanced before Delhi. The city fell into the hands of Timur after a bloody battle. The conqueror then marched beyond the Ganges, and returned to Samarkand in 1399 laden with immense booty.

The attacks on the West were now at once renewed. In 1399 Timur was in Georgia, which he cruelly devastated; but his eyes were already fixed on Asia Minor, where the Osmans—or Ottomans—had founded their empire, and on Syria, which

was under Egyptian rule. The Osman war began in the year 1400 with the siege of the city of Sivas, which resisted so long that Timur, after taking it, desisted for the time from further operations in that quarter. He advanced instead against the feebly-defended Syria, the northern part of which, including Damascus, fell into his hands. Bagdad also, where Ahmed ibn Owais had established himself, was captured. The storm then broke on the heads of the Osmans. In the middle of 1402, the Turkish army was defeated near Angora by the forces of Timur. Sultan Bajazet I. himself was taken prisoner, and Asia Minor totally laid waste. Faraj of Egypt, who feared a similar fate, acknowledged the supremacy of Timur.

Thus Tamerlane, the "lame" Timur, had again united the three chief western portions of the Mongol world-empire, Jagatai, Kipchak, and Persia, and widened their frontiers still more. When he once more convened a great council of the realm at Samarkand, in the year 1404, he explained to his magnates that only one great undertaking was left him, the conquest of China. But this time a kindly fate spared the prosperous Chinese Empire. An army of 200,000 men was already in the field, when death cut short the conqueror's plans on February 18th. He died of fever at the age of sixty-nine years. The spirit of boundless ambition and conquest was once more embodied in him; but it died with him, and the down-trodden seeds of culture were free to spring up again if life was still in them. The age of the great nomad empires definitely closed with Timur, but not before it had produced endless misery and had rent the ancient civilisation of Western Asia to shreds.

China Spared by the Death of Tamerlane



TIMUR IN AUDIENCE WITH A MONGOL PRINCE
After the original Persian drawing.

Timur's empire had been held together only by the personality of its ruler, and it crumbled away even in his hands so soon as his attention was too closely riveted in any one direction. The term empire is almost too pretentious for this political structure, which merits rather the name of military despotism. The national basis was almost entirely replaced by the purely military. The body that took the field was not a levy from defined districts, but recruited or impressed followers of the individual leaders. Every campaign was an undertaking at the common cost, the supreme command being in the hands of Timur. The troops were not paid by Timur, but by the generals, who looked to recoup themselves with interest. If by so doing they amassed excessive wealth, Timur simply ordained that all sections of the army should be strengthened. Every leader was then forced to employ his fortune in enlisting more soldiers. Such an army could naturally be kept on foot only so long as it was fighting. It would soon have eaten itself away in peace time. Thus, behind Timur's unbridled lust for war, which entirely corresponded to his character, there was a compelling force from which he could not, with safety to himself, withdraw. He possessed an army ready to hand only so long as he waged war and obtained booty, and, so long only as this army remained loyal to him, he

was lord of a gigantic empire. He was confronted by the national rulers, whose existence was more firmly rooted in the soil, but who were seldom able to face the rushing torrent of his enormous hosts.

With the death of Timur these opposing forces were certain soon to regain the upper hand. No course was left to the descendants of the mighty conqueror but to submit to them or to give a national tinge to their own policy, a course for which the earlier Mongol dynasties furnished a precedent. For the moment, indeed, the army, the invincible weapon of Timur, was still available, and its leaders were ready to continue the previous system, although there was no longer a master mind to lead them. Above all, it was intended that the expedition against China, which promised such ample booty, should be entrusted to a board of generals, and the question as to Timur's successor be left temporarily in abeyance. But the dispute about the inheritance, which at once broke out, brought these plans to an abrupt close.

The wars about the succession lasted four years. At first it seemed as if Timur's grandson, Khalil, would inherit the empire; but Shah Ruch, a son of the conqueror, born in 1378, asserted his claim in Persia. In 1409 the well-meaning and peaceful Khalil was deposed, and Timur's empire, which already seemed likely to break up into the two states of Turkestan and Persia, was again united under Shah Ruch. But it was no longer the old empire. The larger states, which had outwardly submitted to the scimitar of the lord of the world, Kipchak, Egypt, the Ottoman empire, the Turkoman states of Armenia, and the majority of the Indian possessions, were irretrievably lost now that Timur was dead. Only West Turkestan, the Iranian highlands, and a part of the Punjab were still retained by his successors. Shah Ruch was not the man to contemplate a continuance of the old policy of war and conquest. The only recourse left to him was to bring the national forces of his states into his service; in other words, to recognise the Iranian people with their culture and to help them. It was chiefly due to the prudence with which he pursued this object that he was able to maintain the remnant of the empire for many years until his death in 1447.

The Empire After the Death of Timur



TIMUR IN TIMES OF PEACE
The great conqueror travelling through his dominions.

His arch-foes were the Turkomans in Armenia and Azerbijan, wild hordes of Central Asiatic nomads, who had planted themselves there on the old military route of the Turkish and Mongol invaders and had formed a predatory state in the old Hun style. There were fragments of all the migratory tribes, who at one time were divided by internecine feuds, at another were united into a formidable military power by the prospect of booty.

The headship of the hordes rested at first with the Turkoman tribe of the "Black Sheep" under its chief Kara Yusuf, who brought Mesopotamia and Bagdad into his power, and gravely menaced Persia. The sudden death of Kara Yusuf, in 1420, freed Shah Ruch from his most formidable antagonist. Azerbijan was now definitely taken from the Turkomans.

But any hope that the Iranised house of Timur would retain at least Persia and Turkestan was ended by the disorders ensuing on the death of Shah Ruch. A stormy period, in which parricide and

fratricide were not infrequent, shook the empire for years, and while the descendants of Timur tried to exterminate each other, the swarms of Turkomans, at whose head the horde of the "White Sheep" now stood, poured afresh over the Persian frontier. Abul Kasim Barbar Bahadur, a grandson of Shah Ruch, held his own in Khorasan until 1457; then, while West Persia was already lost to the Turkomans, Sultan Abu Said, a grand-nephew of Shah Ruch, usurped the power in 1459. But in the year 1467 he found himself forced to fight with Uzun Hasan, the leader of the Ak Koinlo. The heir of Timur was defeated and killed in 1468; the larger part of his Persian possessions fell to the Turkoman. Complete disorder then reigned in Turkestan, until, in 1500, Mohammed Shaibani, of the family of Genghis Khan, and his Uzbegs, who represented the nomad spirit as modified by Iranian civilisation, became masters of the country. The Uzbeg dynasties of the Shaibanids, Janids, and Mangites possessed, down to 1868, the various kingdoms into which the country again broke up almost precisely as before the Mongol age.



WOMEN OF KASHGAR

A Timurid dynasty had held its own in Ferghana. Driven thence by the Uzbeg leader Shaibek Khan, the ruling prince, Babar, grandson of Abu Said, who was born in 1483, threw himself into the mountains of Afghanistan, where he commanded the gates to India. The old conquest-loving spirit of his ancestor awoke in Babar, whom the splendid triumphs of Timur in India may have stimulated to similar enterprises. He first secured his position in Kabul in 1505, where he collected round him a small force of some 2,000 men. He took the field five times, until eventually, in 1526, he succeeded in defeating Ibrahim of Delhi and thus bringing under his sway the most powerful of the five great Mohammedan dominions which then existed in India. When he died, in the year 1530, the last and intellectually the foremost conqueror of Mongolian stock, he had founded a stable empire, that of the "Great Moguls," whose history has already been narrated.



RUINS OF THE ANCIENT TOWN OF KASHGAR IN EASTERN TURKESTAN



MODERN HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TIBET, THE LAND OF THE LAMAS

THE world was still trembling before the warlike hosts of Central Asia when those forces were gathering strength which eventually succeeded in taming and rendering harmless the wild spirits of the nomads. These forces were Chinese civilisation and eastern Buddhism, whose influences can be understood only by a survey of the more recent history of Tibet, the theocratic state par excellence of Eastern Asia. The teaching of Buddha had long lost its power in the Indian mother country when it acquired Eastern Central Asia, beginning with Tibet. Mongol Buddhism was not rooted in Indian civilisation, but in the fantastically developed monastic and ecclesiastical system of the lonely Tibetan highlands, which had cut themselves completely off from the plains of India when the Buddhist teaching died away in those parts.

For this reason the more recent eastern Buddhism of Central Asia is sharply differentiated from the earlier western form, which once was so important for the culture of a wide area. The older form had stood in close connection with the plains of the Indus and Ganges valleys; yet the missionaries in the time of Asoka, when the Buddhism of India was at its zenith, had passed through Kashmir, scaled the southern mountain walls of Central Asia, and carried their sacred books, their script, and their civilisation directly to the Tarim basin, and thence northward to the Uigurians and eastward to China. The new teaching had at the time met with hardly any response among the Mongols and the other eastern nomads; in Tibet it first began slowly to gain a footing. In the course of time the whole western mission field was once more lost.

Tardy Success of Buddhism

Christian and Zoroastrian emissaries had worked in opposition to the Buddhist priests until the doctrine of Islam, grand in its simplicity, which has always exercised a marvellously enthralling influence over semi-civilised peoples, drove out all other forms of religion. Besides this, the Buddhism of Central Asia had lost any support in India, owing to the victory of the Brahmanic teaching, and was dependent entirely upon its own strength. The term "simplicity" is indeed only to be applied with reserve to Islam, which reached Central Asia through Persia. An Islamite mysticism developed under the influence of Iranian intellectual life, which was hardly inferior to the Buddhist in profundity and love of the marvellous, but was for that precise reason capable of ousting and replacing the former. In its ultimate meaning, the victory of the Mohammedan teaching signifies the supremacy of West Asiatic culture over the Indian. And this victory was natural, for Western Asia marches with the steppes of Central Asia for some distance and is closely connected with them by old trade-routes, while the bonds of intercourse between India and the heart of Asia have never been strong.

Triumph of Islam

The later eastern dissemination of the Buddhist faith over Central Asia would have been inconceivable but for the circumstance that even in China Buddhism reckoned numerous followers, and that the Chinese of set purpose favoured a doctrine so gentle and so much opposed to military brutality. But that Tibet, of all others, should become the holy land of Buddhism had been the object of the efforts of Genghis Khan, who, indeed, as a true Mongol, tried to employ for his own purposes the "magic powers" of all



A GROUP OF TYPICAL LAMA PRIESTS

religions, without adopting any one of them exclusively. It was, after all, a very natural result that Tibet took, so far as religion was concerned, the place of India in the eyes of Central Asia; men were accustomed to look for the home of Buddhism in the South, and, since India seceded, Tibet, which was always full of mystery, offered a welcome substitute.

At first, indeed, the growing reputation of Tibet for sanctity did not shield it from disastrous attacks: under the first Mogul princes it was mercilessly plundered and laid waste. But perhaps these lamentable events, by which the temporal kingdom of Tibet was overthrown, were the contributory cause that henceforth the spiritual power came forward and undertook the protection of the country with better prospect of success.

Kublai Khan took account of the altered conditions when he promoted the Lama Pasépa, who was a member of a noble Tibetan family, to be the supreme head of all Lamas in his realm, and thus shifted the centre of gravity of the Buddhist hierarchy to Tibet. In reality by so doing he conferred on the Lama the temporal power also over the country. On the complete disruption of the Mongol Empire, Tibet, which was not claimed by the Chinese Mongol dynasty, remained as an independent ecclesiastical state, and could then for more than a century continue its unaided development under the successors of Pasépa. While in China the Buddhist papacy of the Tibetan chief Lama was no longer recognised, or remained without influence, the activity of Tibetan missionaries was, on the contrary, successfully continued. Tibet could not fail to become the religious centre for these efforts.

The Buddhist doctrine of a new birth made men regard the chief Lamas as reincarnations of great saints, or, indeed, as Buddhas themselves. Ultimately a belief gained ground that the Great Lama remained always the same, and immediately after his death was reincarnated in a child, who without demur was regarded and reverenced as Great Lama; the first regeneration of this kind is said to have occurred in the year 1399. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there was still no idea of strict religious government. The reincarnated Great Lama had by no means met with universal recognition, and many years elapsed before he attained any great authority. Most of the monasteries, in which religious life and learning were centred, probably led a very independent existence. China, where the new reigning house of the Ming was threatened



THE ABBOT OF A GREAT LAMAITE MONASTERY IN TIBET

from the side of Mongolia by the Mongol dynasty driven out in 1368, then turned her attention again to Tibet. The religious influence of Tibet on the nomads of Central Asia was not to be under-estimated. Halima, one of the most esteemed Tibetan Lamas, was brought to the Chinese imperial court, overwhelmed with pompous titles, and entrusted with the spiritual supremacy in Tibet, on the condition that a small tribute was paid yearly. Tibet was thus more closely linked to China, and the conversion and civilisation of the Central Asiatic nomads by emissaries from the holy land were encouraged in accordance with the Chinese policy.



Edwards

YOUNG LAMAS AND BALES OF TEA FROM CHINA

The Buddhist Reformation, which took place about the middle of the fifteenth century, is a noteworthy counterpart of the Reformation of Luther, which began only a little later. In Tibet also the immediate cause of the movement was found in the depravity of the priesthood and the adulteration of the pure faith with popular superstitions of a Shamanistic origin, though the national questions which played an important part in Europe were hardly noticeable there. Tsong ko pa (1419–1478) founded the new sect of the "Yellow Lamas," which the followers of the old sect opposed under the name of "Red Lamas." The yellow sect remained victorious in Tibet proper, while the red sect held its own in Ladak and elsewhere.

Tsong ko pa was the real founder of the Tibetan hierarchy in the form which it has retained up to the present day. He nominated one of his pupils to be Dalai-Lama, a second to be Panchan-Lama; both would undergo a perpetual process of rebirth and hold permanently the spiritual headship. Tibet was partitioned between them, but the Dalai-Lama received the greater half, and gradually drove the Panchan-Lama into the background. It was long before the Chinese paid attention to the new order of things in Tibet, although under certain circumstances it might produce serious results. A Chinese embassy, accompanied by a small army, appeared at the court of the Dalai-Lama in the year 1522, in order to invite him to the imperial court. When the prince of the Church declined and was concealed by his subjects, attempts were made to carry him off by force, but they resulted in complete failure. The Chinese Emperor Wu Tsung died at this crisis, and his succcessor, Shi Tsung, who



Edwards

TIBETAN SOLDIERS ARMED WITH OLD FLINTLOCKS

favoured Taoism, did not continue the plans against Tibet.

The third reincarnated Dalai-Lama, So nam, gave himself out for a "living Buddha," and as such won wide recognition. He travelled into Mongolia, where, being received with the deepest reverence, he came forward as a mediator between a Mongol prince and the Chinese. The victory then of the yellow sect was decisive in the north also; countless Mongol pilgrims went yearly to Lhasa, and Buddhist monasteries were founded in great numbers. In China the propitious influence of the Tibetan high-priest was noticeable in the increasing peacefulness of the nomads of the steppe. Shi Tsu, the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty, which had ousted the house of the Ming after 1644, fully appreciated that fact, and acknowledged the presents of Tibetan envoys with a flattering invitation to the Dalai-Lama to come to Peking. The invitation was accepted this time; the Great Lama appeared in the year 1653 at the court of the Manchu dynasty, where he was the centre of universal respect, was invested with magnificent titles, and was finally escorted to his home by a guard commanded by an imperial prince. But this triumph of the "living Buddha" was soon followed by a humiliation. Since at the death of each Dalai-Lama the office passed to a child, who was considered to be his reincarnation, the government every time rested for many years in the hands of regents, who were naturally tempted to keep their power even when the Dalai-Lama came to manhood, or, what was still simpler, never to allow the boy to live beyond a certain age. The regency was held by temporal princes, in whom we must simply see the successors of those old Tibetan rulers, who for a time had made Tibet a powerful state, but then had been more and more driven back by the hierarchy. As temporal protectors of the priesthood, and supported doubtless by large possessions of land, they had learned how to maintain a certain position.

"The Living Buddha"

Finally, when the reins of power slipped from the hands of the decrepit fifth Dalai-Lama, the reigning Tipa, or king, Sang Kiu, saw that the moment had arrived to replace the spiritual supremacy, which might be nominally retained, by a temporal. When the Great Lama died in 1682, the Tipa concealed his death, and was then in fact lord of Tibet. The alteration was soon noticed by the surrounding countries. The Tipa placed

Temporal Power Restored



TIBETAN HORSEMEN ON NATIVE PONIES AND ARMED WITH SPEARS AND GUNS



A LAMAITE DIGNITARY ENTERING COLONEL YOUNGHUSBAND'S CAMP

Colonel Younghusband conducted a mission from the Government of India to Lhasa, which was entered on August 3, 1904. The treaty of Lhasa, signed on September 7, brought Tibet within the British sphere of influence.

a Kalmuck prince, Kaldan, educated in Tibet as a Lama, at the head of this tribe, and the Kalmucks or Eleutes helped him in return to repel an attack of the Nepalese, a powerful nation of mountaineers, who were dangerous neighbours of the holy land.

Trouble with China

The prince of the Eleutes now extended his power on a secret understanding with the Tipa, and ventured to attack China, where the fact had been realised with great dissatisfaction that the influence for peace exercised by Tibet on the nomads of the steppes was completely changed. A Chinese Lama, who had been sent to the Dalai-Lama, had not been allowed to see him. When, then, the Eleutian prince, after a defeat, declared to his lord that he had begun the war with China simply and solely at the wish of the Dalai-Lama, the terrified Tipa acknowledged, in answer to a peremptory letter of the emperor Sheng Tsu, or Kang hsi, that the fifth incarnation of the Dalai-Lama was long since dead, and that the deceased had been reincarnated in a boy; the death had been hushed up and the sixth incarnation not publicly acknowledged, in order to avoid disturbances. The news of these events spread rapidly, and, although China took no further steps, considerably lessened the power of the Tipa. He began in the year 1705 a fresh war against a Tibetan chieftain, but was defeated and slain.

The victorious prince, La tsang, had already instated a new Dalai-Lama. But he was not recognised by China and was replaced by another, whom La tsang undertook to protect. Another Dalai-Lama, who appeared in Mongolia and claimed to be the real sixth incarnation, was also rejected by the Chinese Government, and was recognised only as a saint of inferior rank. The bad example of the Tipa Sang Kiu had, however, produced its result: the Zungarian prince Zagan-Araptan, successor to Kaldan, who had seen what power in politics and religion the protector of the Dalai-Lama could exert, invaded Tibet with an army in 1717, in order to seize the Buddhist pope. Potala, near Lhasa, where the Dalai-Lama resided with the Khan La tsang, was stormed, and the Khan killed, but the Great Lama was kept in a place of safety. China no longer hesitated to check by

Attempt to Seize the Dalai-Lama

force this dangerous turn of events, which might lead to a new invasion of the Middle Kingdom by the nomads. A Chinese army and a Mongolian levy pushed into Tibet, but the united troops were outflanked and cut to pieces by the Zungarians on the River Kola. The dejection which the Chinese and Mongols felt at this reverse led to the proposal that Tibet should be left to itself, and that a new Dalai-Lama should be appointed in another district. Emperor Kang hsi, however, insisted on renewing the campaign with increased forces. The attempt was successful this time; the Zungarians evacuated the country in the year 1720, and Kang hsi was then able to effect the necessary closer union of Tibet with China. For the future two Chinese residents, for whom the necessary respect was ensured by a considerable armed force, undertook the protection of the Dalai-Lama in place of the native temporal kings.

Defeat of Mongols and Chinese

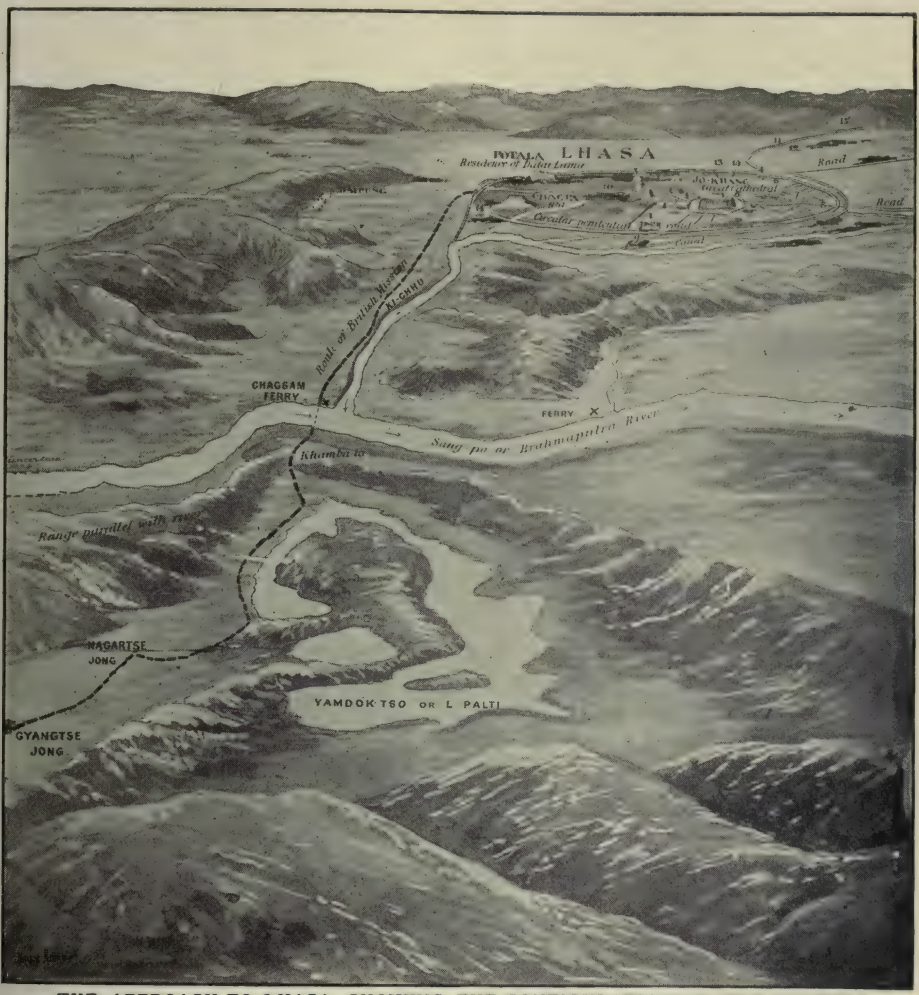
The reverence felt for this living Buddha diminished, however, considerably in China when the Dalai-Lama, who was staying in Peking on a visit, died like any ordinary man, of smallpox. The small feudal princes of Tibet at first still retained some power; but after repeated disturbances they were completely subordinated to the Dalai-Lama—that is to say, to the Chinese governors—in the year 1750. The internal administration of the country, with which China generally interfered very little, was now entirely organised on an ecclesiastical system, since every local governor was given a Lama as colleague, who jointly with him managed the affairs of the inhabitants.

Although the Dalai-Lama was again recognised as supreme, there could be no idea of any actually permanent rule of the "living Buddha," since a new Dalai-Lama was always raised to his high dignity in tender infancy and imperatively required an adviser. For all foreign affairs the Chinese regents undertook this post; for home affairs a sort of new temporal monarchy was founded, since the "Rajah" of Lhasa usually conducted the government until the Dalai-Lama attained his majority. A strange fatality afterward willed that the Dalai-Lama hardly ever attained the required age of twenty years, but usually died just before, and then was always reincarnated in a child. In this way the Chinese influence also lost ground. Tibet detached itself more and more completely on every side, and has remained down to the present day one of the most mysterious and isolated countries in the world. When, in 1792, a new invasion of the Nepalese was repulsed with the aid of Chinese troops, the frontier towards India was almost entirely barred. A safeguard against the influences of civilisation was also found in the Himalayan state of Bhutan, lying south of Lhasa, which is a miniature Tibet with a dual government, temporal and spiritual, and an equally intense aversion from any influences from the outside world.

The Lama a Political Puppet

Foreigners were once received with open arms in Tibet. A Jesuit mission gained a footing there in the seventeenth century, and Lhasa was the seat of a group of Capuchins between 1725 and 1760. In 1774 Warren Hastings despatched a special envoy thither, in the person of his friend, George Bogle, who had a friendly reception, and concluded a treaty of peace and amity with Tibet. In 1811 Dr. Manning was entertained by the Dalai-Lama. The intense dislike of all foreigners, which was rampant in China, was fatal to our relations with Tibet. A veil fell on the mysterious land, and would-be explorers were ignominiously turned back from the frontier. In 1886 an attempt to establish commercial intercourse was made by the Government of India. It was defeated by the jealousy of Peking. As is always the case with Oriental races, the Lamas misconstrued our reluctance to enforce reciprocity of trade. They intermeddled in the affairs of Sikkim, a petty frontier state under British tutelage. In 1888 a British expeditionary force retaliated by crossing the Jeylap Pass, north of Darjiling. Tibetan opposition was brushed aside, and if Lord Lansdowne, then Viceroy of India, had not recalled his victorious troops they would have occupied Lhasa. Negotiations continued with Peking, and in March, 1890, the Senior Amban at Lhasa arrived in Calcutta with full power to conclude a commercial treaty. After three years' parleying a Convention was ratified by China, which provided for the demarcation of the Anglo-Tibetan frontier and the creation of a trade mart at Yatung. It remained a dead letter, remonstrance being met by tactics which have proved effectual for half a century.

Closing the Door of Tibet



THE APPROACH TO LHASA, SHOWING THE CONFIGURATION OF THE COUNTRY

Colonel Younghusband's force reached Gyangtse on April 11, 1904, and numerous engagements took place there during the succeeding three months. The monastery was finally taken and opposition broken on July 7.

The Lamas pleaded a *non possumus* on the score that they could not resist the Emperor's will, while the Peking Council ascribed the embargo laid on European traders to the jealousy of the Lhasa junta.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, who became Viceroy of India in 1899, was not inclined to regard such recalcitrance with equanimity. In July, 1903, he despatched an armed mission, with orders to force its way to Lhasa. Our inveterate foe, the Dalai-Lama, fled to Mongolia, and his ill-armed troops were routed with great slaughter. The occupation of Lhasa on August 3rd, 1904, added nothing to the knowledge of Tibet acquired by stealthy visits of Indian explorers; but on September 7th a provisional treaty was concluded with the Tashi-Lama, who has superseded his colleague. As ratified by the Convention of Peking of April 27th, 1906, it provides for the erection of boundary pillars between Tibet and Sikkim, and the establishment of three trade centres on the frontier. Great Britain disavowed any wish to intervene in Tibetan affairs, while the Lamas promised not to alienate territory to a foreign Power. Pending the liquidation of a war indemnity of $830,000, the occupation by Great Britain of the Chumbi Valley, between Sikkim and Bhutan, was conceded.

A TRAVELLER'S FIRST SIGHT OF LHASA

BY PERCEVAL LANDON

This vivid word picture of a first sight of the "strange and lovely city" of the Dalai-Lama is perhaps the finest description of one of the rarest experiences enjoyed by any traveller of our time. It is taken from Mr. Landon's admirable work "Lhasa," by permission of Messrs. Hurst & Blackett, Ltd.

LHASA would remain Lhasa were it but a cluster of hovels on the sand. But the sheer magnificence of the unexpected sight which met our unprepared eyes was to us almost a thing incredible. There is nothing missing from this splendid spectacle—architecture, forest trees, wide green places, rivers, streams, and mountains, all lie before one as one looks down from the height upon Lhasa stretching out at our feet. The dark forbidding spurs and ravines of the valley of the Kyi Chu, up which we had come, interlock one with another and had promised nothing of all this. The beauty of Lhasa is doubled by its utter unexpectedness. . . . There was nothing to promise us this city of gigantic palace and golden roof, these wild stretches of woodland, these acres of close-cropped grazing land and marshy grass, ringed or delimited by high trees or lazy streamlets of brown transparent water over which the branches almost met.

BETWEEN the palace on our left and the town a mile away in front of us there is this arcadian luxuriance interposing a mile-wide belt of green. Round the outlying fringes of the town itself and creeping up between the houses of the village, at the foot of the Potala, there are trees—trees numerous in themselves to give Lhasa a reputation as a garden city. But in this stretch of green, unspoiled by house or temple, and roadless save for one diverging highway, Lhasa has a feature which no other town on earth can rival.

IT is all a part of that splendid religious pride which has been the making, and may yet prove the undoing, of Tibet. It was right that there should be a belt of nature undefiled encircling the palace of the incarnate god and king, and there the belt is, investing the Potala even inside the loop of the Ling-kor with something of the isolation which guards from the outer world the whole of this strange and lovely town. Between and over the glades and woodlands the city of Lhasa itself peeps, an adobe stretch of narrow streets and flat-topped houses crowned here and there with a blaze of golden roofs or gilded cupolas.

BUT there is no time to look at this; a man can have no eye for anything but the huge upstanding mass of the Potala palace to his left. It drags the eye of the mind like a loadstone, for indeed sheer bulk and magnificent audacity could do no more in architecture than they have done in this huge palace temple of the Grand Lama. Simplicity has wrought a marvel in stone, 900 ft. in length and towering 70 ft. higher than the golden cross of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Potala would dominate London—Lhasa it simply eclipses. By European standards it is impossible to judge this building; there is nothing there to which comparison can be made. Perhaps in the austerity of its huge curtains of blank, unveiled, unornamented wall, and in the flat, unabashed slants of its tremendous south-eastern face there is a suggestion of the massive grandeur of Egyptian work; but the contrast of colour and surroundings, to which no small part of the magnificence of the sight is due, Egypt cannot boast.

THE vivid white stretches of the buttressing curtains of stone, each a wilderness of close-ranked windows, and the home of the hundreds of crimson-clad dwarfs who sun themselves at the distant stairheads, strike a clean and harmonious note in the sea of green which washes up their base. Once a year the walls of the Potala are washed with white, and no one can gainsay the effect; but there is yet the full chord of colour to be sounded. The central building of the palace, the Phodang Marpo, the private home of the incarnate divinity himself, stands out four-square upon and between the wide-supporting bulks of masonry a rich red crimson, and, most perfect touch of all, over it against the sky the glittering golden roofs—a note of glory added with the infinite taste and the sparing hand of the old illuminator—recompose the colour scheme from end to end, a sequence of green in three shades, of white, of maroon, of gold, and of pale blue. The brown yak-hair curtain, 80 ft. in height and 25 ft. across, hangs like a tress of hair down the very centre of the central sanctuary, hiding the central recess. Such is the Potala.



The Potala, seen from the north, though far from commonplace, is not so striking as the view from the south.



Potala, illustrated in Kircher's "China Illustrata," 1670



Palace of the Kings of Tibet in the time of the old empire



General view of the wonderful Potala, or palace of the Dalai-Lama, as seen from the south.

SCENES IN THE STRANGE AND LOVELY CITY OF LHASA



VIEWS IN SAMARKAND, THE CAPITAL OF EASTERN TURKESTAN

At the top on the right is the Shah Zindeh Mosque, the finest Moslem building in Central Asia, and on its left is the main street in Samarkand. From the conspicuous tower in the centre picture criminals have been thrown to their destruction, and the lowest picture gives a general view of the citadel or fortress of Samarkand from the exterior.



EASTERN OR CHINESE TURKESTAN

WHEN the flood-tide of Mongol conquest ebbed, the home of the new world conquerors sank rapidly from its dazzling height. The sparsely peopled country had given up its best resources, and needed a long time to regain its strength. It was always a point of honour with the senior or Chinese branch of the Mongol dynasty to preserve the cradle of their race, with its old capital, Karakoram. This endeavour also harmonised with the traditional Chinese policy, which always aimed at exerting some influence over the restless nations of the steppe, and must have been adopted by the Mongol sovereigns when they had transformed themselves more and more into genuine Chinese. Kublai Khan had repeatedly suppressed rebellions in Mongolia and become master of the country; his successor, Timur, brought the whole country for a time under his influence. At the period of the Mongol supremacy in China the Buddhist propaganda, of which Tibet was the centre, seems to have shown great activity, being favoured by the Chinese emperors, who were mostly attracted by Buddhism. The circumstance that the Mongols, who had immigrated into China and were again driven out by the Ming, were streaming back to their old home could not fail to help this change.

Chinese Favour for Buddhism

When the Mongol dynasty was fighting for its existence against the Ming, the Mongols of Central Asia rendered feeble and ambiguous aid. After his complete defeat in 1368, Shun Ti, the Mongol emperor, fled to Shang tu in the north, and soon afterwards died. His son and successor, Biliktu (1370–1378), removed his court once more to Karakoram. Since all the Mongol foreign territories had long since been lost, the sole remnant of the empire left him was the pasture country on the north of the Gobi, which had been the starting-point of the power of his house. There was still the possibility that a new storm might be slowly gathering there, whose bursting would bring disaster on more civilised countries. But the loss of China, which, to a large extent, was due to the lack of union between the generals and the princes, had not taught the Mongols wisdom. The smaller the remnants of their empire became, the more furiously they fought for each shred, until finally complete disintegration set in. The emperor of the Ming seized this opportunity to subjugate Eastern Mongolia. The kingdom of Altyn Khan, to the north-west of the Gobi, remained as the last relic of the Mongolian power.

Fighting for a Falling Empire

The more modern attempts to found a great Power in Central Asia, and then in the true Hun fashion to attack the civilised nations, were no longer initiated by the Mongols, whose character had been altered by the tribal disintegration and the awakening zeal for the exercise of the Buddhist religion. Their place was taken by the tribes to the south and south-west of the desert of Gobi, whose country was now partly known as Zungaria. The contemplative doctrines of Buddhism had not gained ground here so quickly, since many of the nomads had been won over to Islam, which is less dangerous to the warlike spirit. From the chaos of peoples in Central Asia a new branch of that Mongolian race of which the Mongols were only a division had detached itself to the south of the Gobi—the Eleutes, or Kalmucks, who, after 1630, had shaken off the Mongol yoke, and had already extended their influence as far as China.

Under its Khan, Kaldan, this people seized Kashgar, destroyed the Mongol Empire of the Altyn Khan, and towards the end of the seventeenth century threatened China. At the same time Kaldan tried to employ the religious power of Tibet in his own interest by declaring that the Dalai-Lama had raised him to his high position; the temporal prince of Tibet, Sang Kiu, supported him secretly. The Mongols suffered severely under the attacks of the Eleutes, and China's

A New Mongol Race

influence in Central Asia dwindled considerably, until eventually the Mancnu Emperor, Kang hsi, determined in the year 1696 on a great campaign against Kaldan. Kaldan was forced to retreat further and further. Since his scheme for the support of his claims by the Dalai-Lama seemed not to work satisfactorily, he now went over to Islam, which had many followers in the west of his dominions; but his death, which occurred soon afterwards, cut these plans short. The military power of the nomad world, which had been again concentrated in Zungaria as a focus, was not extinguished by this event. Zagan-Araptan, the successor of Kaldan, subjugated most of the towns of the Tarim basin and extended his dominions in other directions. He then formed the plan of sending an army to Tibet to assume by force the protection of the Dalai-Lama, and in this way to make full use of the influence of the religious puppet for his own purposes. The attempt met with unexpected success, but drove the Chinese to adopt more decided measures. The expulsion of the Eleutes from Tibet in 1720 was the result. The Zungarian empire remained, nevertheless, for some time a dangerous neighbour of the other Central Asiatic tribes and of the Chinese. Finally, however, China employed dynastic quarrels and internal wars to excuse the destruction of the last great nomad empire of Central Asia, and thus, it seems, to terminate for ever the age of the great wars between the nomad races of Central Africa and the civilised peoples. Eastern Turkestan, which had been in the hands of the Kalmucks, in 1757 fell to the Chinese.

From Buddha to Islam

It was not the first time that the Chinese had taken possession of the Tarim basin, commanded the trade roads of Central Asia, and divided the nomad tribes in the north from those in the south; but this time the effect was different and more permanent. The perpetually turbulent nomad tribes could not be really subdued until they were shut in and surrounded on both sides—until the strong fortresses of civilisation bounded the illimitable horizon of the steppe. The first steps toward this condition had meanwhile been taken by the advance of Russia; the frontier towards Siberia had been already determined, and any movement of the Mongols toward the north and the north-west was made impossible. In the south-west Russia only gradually succeeded in acquiring Turkestan. Here, too, the Chinese position was so weak that the Tarim basin was temporarily lost. When, however, the khanates of Turkestan were occupied by the Russians, China also soon recovered what she had lost.

Cordon Round the Nomads

The expansion of the power of Russia, which in the long run presents dangers to China itself, has therefore admirably supported the Chinese policy, which has always been directed towards the subjugation of the nomad nations of Central Asia. But this very policy employed not only the old method of colonisation and of pitting one nomad prince against another, but also the newer method of encouraging Buddhism. The Manchurian dynasty in this respect has entirely followed the example of the Ming, and the result is simply astonishing. "Buddhist doctrines," says Nikolai von Prschevalskij, "are more deeply rooted in Mongolia than in almost any other part of the world. Buddhism, whose highest ideal is indolent contemplation, entirely suits the natural disposition of the Mongol, and has created a terrible asceticism, which deters the nomad from any progress, and tempts him to seek the goal of human existence in misty and abstract ideas as to the Deity and the life beyond the grave." The ordinary good-tempered indolence of the nomads is left, but in the place of outbursts of martial fury, which affected individuals as well as nations, a continual slow dissipation of energy in religious observances, prayers, and pilgrimages has appeared. In this light the pilgrimages to Tibet or to famous Mongolian sanctuaries are substitutes for the old predatory and warlike expeditions.

Why Buddhism Attracts the Nomads

All the less important for the spiritual life of the Central Asiatics is the Buddhist teaching, whose primitive form is so instinct with spirituality and thought. The Tibetan form of religion is itself quite debased, and has been merely outwardly introduced into Mongolia, where even the priests as a whole do not understand the Tibetan sacred writings and formulæ, but use them in ignorance as an obscure system of magic. This branch of Buddhism shows a certain independence only in so far as centres of the faith are found in Mongolia, especially the town of Urga,



THE BAZAAR IN MODERN KASHGAR, CAPITAL OF EASTERN TURKESTAN

The old town of Kashgar stood on one of the head streams of the Tarim at the junction of several important and ancient trade routes, and the place has thus attained great eminence as a commercial and social centre.

whose *Kutuchta*, or high-priest, ranks directly after the two highest Tibetan Lamas, and, like these, is always reincarnated. As a rule, almost every Buddhist monastery possesses a "Gegan," or reincarnated saint. But the priests have in their influence taken the place of the old tribal chieftains. They are treated with unbounded respect, and the wealth of the country is collected in their sanctuaries. In the border districts toward Islam stand fortified Buddhist monasteries, where the inhabitants seek refuge from marauding or insurrectionary Mohammedans.

While the Buddhist religion thus showed its marvellous ability to restrain the wild Central Asiatics, and while the region of nomadism was more and more encroached upon by Chinese colonies, another and ancient aid to the progress of civilisation, the commerce and international communication on the high-roads of the heart of Asia, leading from east to west, had gradually lost most of its significance.

Decline of Land Traffic

Even in the Mongol age wars broke out for the possession of these roads. The attack of Genghis Khan on the Kharismians was due partly to reasons of commercial policy. But the discovery of the sea route to the East Indies, which soon led to the appearance of European ships in Chinese harbours, could not fail to reduce the already much diminished overland trade to insignificant proportions. It was no longer a profitable undertaking to make the immense journey through insecure districts with valuable wares.

Tea Trade an Aid to Civilisation

The great caravan traffic was suspended, and in its place was left merely a transit trade from station to station, which had no bearing upon civilisation. The overland trade, especially the export of tea, revived only in one previously neglected place—namely, in the north of Mongolia, where the frontiers of the two civilised empires, Russia and China, touch each other. This route contributed distinctly to the pacification of the Mongol tribes, who now obtained good pay for transporting tea through the steppes, and acquired an interest in the prosperity of the trade.

The Chinese policy, notwithstanding all the improvement in the outlook, still met with many obstacles in Central Asia, the chief causes of which were the adherents to Islam in Zungaria, the Tarim basin, and the western provinces of China. Where Islam had once gained a footing it could not be ousted by the more accommodating Buddhism. But the influence which the doctrines of Mohammed exercised on the warlike spirit, the industry, and the energy of its followers, had to be considered, and it required care and

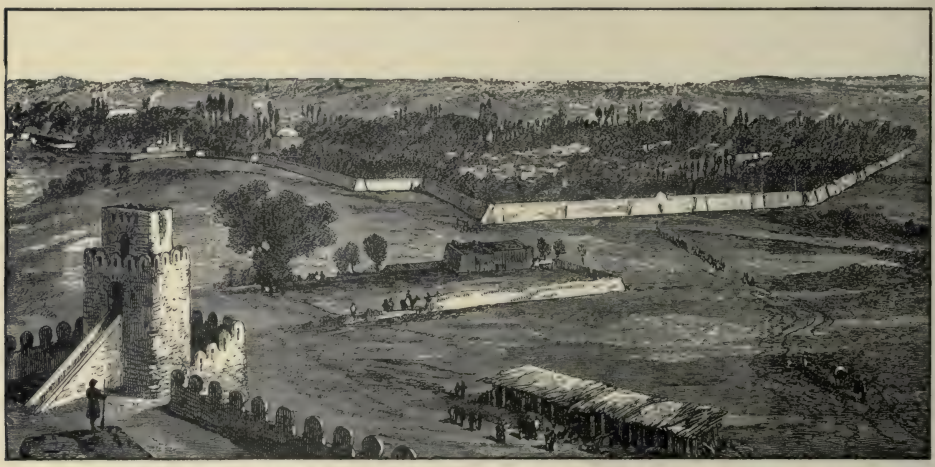
tact on the part of Chinese officials to avoid dangerous outbreaks of the masses, whom the new faith had brought into a closer unity. In spite of all this there were often sanguinary and temporarily successful insurrections of the Dungans, in which the last of the embers of the old warlike spirit of Central Asia glowed afresh. In the Tarim basin an Islamite revolt had already raged from 1825 to 1828. About the middle of the nineteenth century, the descendants of the dynasty which had been driven out of the western Tarim basin by the Chinese at the close of the Eleutian war, in 1757, tried to win back their territory after they had already made small expeditions over the Chinese frontier. The first campaign failed through the resistance of the towns of Kashgar and Yarkand.

Later Revolts in Central Asia

An Islamite revolt under the leadership of Rasch ed-din Khodja prepared the ground, in 1862, for further operations. An auxiliary force from Khokand, under Mohammed Yakub Bey, took part in a new invasion, which was led by Buzurg Khan, then a pretender. This time the Dungan soldiers of the Chinese mutinied, and seized Yarkand and Khotan, while simultaneously bands of Kirghiz robbers swept by and besieged Kashgar in 1864; when they had taken the town, Buzurg Khan deprived them of their booty. During the subsequent wars with the Chinese and the Dungan insurgents, who refused to submit to the Mohammedans from Khokand, Yakub Bey distinguished himself more and more as a general, until he entirely deprived the incapable Buzurg Khan of his command, and sent him back to Ferghana. In the year 1868 the greater part of the Tarim basin was in the possession of the new ruler, who styled himself, after 1870, "Atalik Ghazi," meaning, defender of the faith.

These successes would have been impossible had not a simultaneous revolt of the Mohammedans in Western China and Zungaria reduced the Chinese Government to dire straits. It was fortunate for China, which was in addition weakened by the Taiping insurrection, that the insurgents attained no great results and did not combine in a general attack on the tottering Celestial Kingdom. Still less did they think of making common cause with Yakub Bey, to whom they were, on the contrary, hostile, or even with the Taipings and the disaffected Buddhist Mongols. The great Dungan insurrection was thus, after all, only a chain of local risings, involving terrible bloodshed and widespread devastation. The Chinese took refuge in the towns, some of which gave way before the attacks of the surrounding Dungans, while others held out and thus became important bases for the reconquest of the country; this was especially the case in Kansu, the high-road from China to the Tarim basin, where the insurrection broke out in 1862. In 1869 a Dungan army once more

Local Risings Against the Chinese



THE WALLED TRADING TOWN OF YARKAND IN EASTERN TURKESTAN

The favourable position of Yarkand made it the chief trading centre with North India across the Karakoram Pass.



A BAND OF COURT MUSICIANS TO THE RULER OF KASHGAR

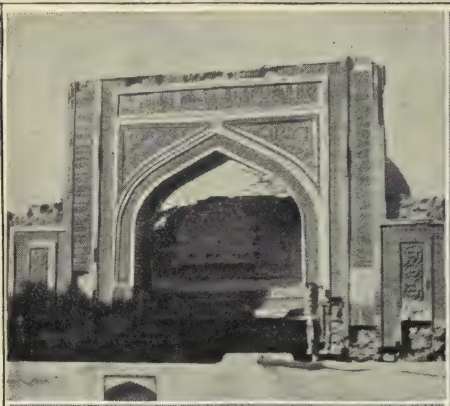
advanced and pillaged as far as Ordos ; and again, in 1873, towns in Southern Mongolia were attacked and destroyed. The conduct of the war on both sides was pitiable.

After 1872 the Chinese began once more to take the offensive and to reconquer Kansu. When this object was attained, after some years of fighting, the fate of Yakub Bey was practically sealed. In the meantime he had been deprived of the support of his fellow-tribesmen and co-religionists in Western Turkestan by the advance of the Russians. In 1878, the year following the sudden death of Yakub, which put an end to all organised resistance, the Tarim basin fell again into the hands of the Chinese, and, together with the districts on the Tianshan, was constituted a separate province in 1884. Here, too, China touches almost everywhere on the territory of the civilised nations, Russia and England, since the last ill-defined border country, the highlands of the Pamirs, has been distributed among the three Powers by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1895. The trade in the Tarim basin has improved since England has devoted her attention to the communications with India, and has stimulated a considerable caravan traffic. Russia, on the other side, is anxious to revive the old routes to Western Turkestan. The fact that the population of the Tarim basin and that of many parts of Western China profess the Mohammedan faith is a permanent danger to the Chinese —the Dungans again rebelled in 1894— which can be obviated in course of time only by an extensive settlement of Chinese colonists in these districts.

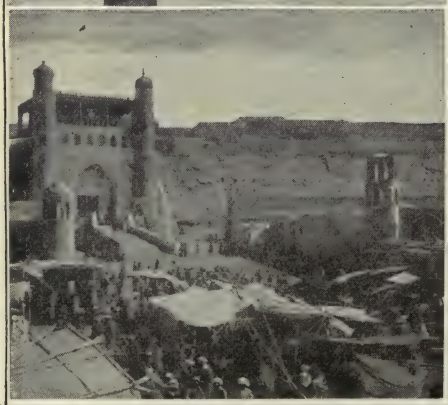


THE NATIVE GUARD OF HONOUR AT THE PALACE IN KASHGAR











SCENES IN THE CAPITAL OF RUSSIA'S VASSAL STATE OF BOKHARA

Bokhara has fallen from its position as principal native state of Central Asia, and the palace of its Amir, shown in the pictures at the top and left bottom corner of the page, though striking in character, is in a somewhat dilapidated condition. A photograph of the Amir is also given, and on his left is a view of the tomb of a saint, while the interior of one of Bokhara's many bazaars is shown in the fifth photograph.



WESTERN TURKESTAN

AFTER the Mongol onslaught the population of Turkestan had gradually divided into three groups. The first of these consisted of the Sarts, the settled agricultural section of the people, the inhabitants of the towns, oases, and riparian districts. These represent to us the relics of the oldest elements of culture, which had been Iranised in course of time, and, owing to large Persian immigrations, had acquired also a physical likeness to the Persians. This peculiarity was intensified by the importation of Persian slaves, and thus the inevitable admixture of brachycephalic nomads was counterbalanced. The Sarts had long abandoned their old faith, and that of Islam was universally adopted. They showed no capacity for political organisation.

By the second group, the Uzbegs, on the contrary, we are to understand half-settled Turko-Tartars, in whom, notwithstanding an admixture of Iranian blood and a smattering of higher culture, the military temper of the nomad is predominant. This large section of the people, which sprang up during the nomad conquests, first ventured to lay claim to the supremacy, and finally usurped the power of the Mongol dynasties. The movement was really started in the Tarim basin, where, even in the time of Timur, the Kashgarians, who were never completely subjugated, had repeatedly tried to subjugate Western Turkestan.

The Three Peoples of Turkestan

A third group of inhabitants of Turkestan is composed of genuine nomads, whose chief pasture-lands lie partly in the north and partly to the west of the Amu Daria, toward the Caspian Sea and Khorasan. In the north the people of the Kirghiz—the Cossacks—had lived since early times, and had been driven out only for a short time and from a few regions by roving bands of other nomads; in the west the Turkomans, predatory hordes who controlled the communications between Persia and the states of Turkestan, had risen from the fragments of nomad tribes.

The rule of the house of Timur in Turkestan ended in 1494. This revolution originated in an attack of several Timurid princes on Mohammed Shaibek Khan, the leader of the Uzbegs, who seem then to have had their homes on the upper Jaxartes and in the borderlands of Eastern Turkestan. The attack led to a complete defeat of the Timurids, and in consequence they lost their possessions in Masenderan and Khorasan. It seemed as if the whole of Persia would be conquered by Shaibek; but at that very time the Iranian people had been roused to fresh vitality under the leadership of Ismail el-Safi, and Shaibek with his army fell before this new power in 1510.

End of the House of Timur

Under Shaibek's successors, the Shaibanids, Turkestan still remained for a time a united empire, but then broke up, as had been the case in the later period of the Timurids, and yet earlier under the princes of the Yue chi, into a number of independent states, whose position and size were prescribed by geographical conditions. The purely nomad countries in this way became, for the most part, independent. The people of the Kirghiz, who inhabited the steppe to the north of the Aral Sea and Lake Balkash, had submitted only partially to the house of Timur and the Uzbegs. The decline of the empire of Kipchak gave these nomads an increasing degree of liberty, until, in the sixteenth century, two empires were formed in the South-western Siberian steppes—that of the Ulu Mongol and that of the Kirghiz proper, or Cossacks, under the Khan Arslan, who brought numerous other nomad tribes of Central Asia under his rule. The Kirghiz Empire prevented the Uzbegs from encroaching further to the north, but subsequently it broke up—that is to say, the nation of the Kirghiz divided itself into several hordes. In the eighteenth century we find the Southern Kirghiz, who were comparatively the most highly civilised and were partly settled, forming a state in the region of Tashkent.

The Two Empires of the Steppes



TEKKE TURKOMANS OF THE MERV OASIS
A fierce nomad tribe dwelling in the fertile oases of Western or Russian Turkestan.

They subsequently commanded the middle course of the Syr Daria. The purely nomadic elements of the people formed the Great, the Middle, and the Small Horde. Among the Kirghiz there lingered a trace of the old warlike and predatory spirit of the Central Asiatics, which the surrounding nations must have often felt to their prejudice.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there was formed a league of the Zungarians, the Bashkirs, the Kalmucks of the Volga, and those Cossacks who were already settled in Siberia as Russian advance guards, which reduced the Kirghiz to such straits that in 1719 they vainly appealed to Russia to interfere. Turkestan, the capital of the Middle Horde, lying on the right bank of the Syr Daria, was taken by the Zungarians. Part of the Kirghiz submitted, the others retreated toward the south. Soon, however, they advanced again and won back their country, though only to fall more and more under the influence of Russia.



TURKESTAN SARTS
The Sarts represent the oldest culture of Turkestan.

The two towns of Turkestan and Tashkent were in the Middle Ages commonly regarded as forming a part of the province which went by the name of Maurennahar, and included the civilised parts of the province of Western Turkestan. Their relations with the nomads were of a fluctuating character. If the power of the Kirghiz diminished, then they or their Uzbeg princes were practically independent, but if it again increased, then they were more or less subject to nomad rule. For the time being they were attached to the Uzbeg empires. The Zungarians possessed Turkestan in 1723, but after 1741 the Kirghiz were again masters of the town. In the year 1780, Yunus Khoja, of Tashkent, inflicted so crushing a defeat on the Kirghiz of the Great Horde, and inspired such terror by the massacre of several thousand prisoners, that they acknowledged him as their supreme lord. Maurennahar, owing to the nature of its soil, is divided into different regions, from which in the course of history corresponding states have been developed: Khiva, the district on the lower course of the Amu Daria; Bokhara, that on the middle course of the same stream with the valley of the Zarafshan, and the upper valley of the Syr Daria. In addition to these the country on the upper Amu Daria often formed a separate state; but this last region soon fell under the influence of Afghanistan, when a stronger empire was formed in the south. The middle and lower course of the Syr Daria were so much under the influence of purely nomad tribes that no powerful states could have been formed there. Not infrequently the upper valley of the



RUINS OF ANCIENT MERV, WHICH WAS A TOWN BEFORE THE TIME OF ALEXANDER

Zarafshan, with its capital Samarkand, detached itself from the region of Bokhara and constituted a separate state.

Of these states, Khiva had been at first seized by the Persians after the defeat and death of Shaibek Khan. But since the Persians soon made themselves unpopular with the strictly Sunnite inhabitants of the country by favouring the Shiite propaganda, an insurrection broke out in 1515, headed by the Uzbeg Prince Ilbars; with the help of his brothers he gradually drove out the Persians from all the towns in the country, and made successful attacks on Khorasan. Further developments in that direction were checked by the Turkoman tribes, who even then regarded the steppe on the borders of Persia and Khiva as their exclusive property.



IN THE MAIN STREET OF MERV

Since the brothers of Ilbars had firmly established themselves in different towns as feudal lords, there could be no idea of any close union after the death of the first monarch. It was not until the feuds between the various vassal princes had somewhat calmed down, and the Turkomans were pacified, that the Uzbegs of Khiva, with those of Bokhara, could renew their attacks on the territory of Persia. The Safavid Tamasp I. of Persia finally had no other resource than to ally himself by marriage with the royal family of Khiva, and to purchase with a large sum a treaty which ensured peace for his frontiers.



THE OLD FORTRESS OF MERV, ON THE RIVER MURGHAB

Fresh disorders in China ended with the almost entire extermination of the descendants of Ilbars by Din Mohammed Sultan, who divided the country among the members of his family, and was proclaimed Khan in 1549. He took from the Khan of Bokhara the town of Merv, that ancient outpost of Persian culture, and made it his capital. After his death, however, in 1553, Merv soon lapsed to the Persians. The Khan of Bokhara, Abd Allah, repeatedly interfered in the ensuing disorders, until, in 1578, he succeeded in making himself master of the whole realm. It was not, until 1598, that one of the expelled princes was able to seize the greater part of the country.

Struggle for Possession of Merv

Nor was this the last time that Khiva was harassed by civil wars. Princes of the reigning house were allotted towns, which they governed almost independently, relying sometimes on the Uzbegs, sometimes on the Turkomans, the Naiman, the Kirghiz, or the Uigurians, the remnants of whom were living in Khivan territory. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when Abul Ghazi I. Bahadur distinguished himself as prince (1644–1663) and as historian of the descendants of Genghis, the Kalmucks extended their rule over the Kirghiz steppe as far as Khiva. The struggles with these new antagonists, and renewed wars with Bokhara, filled up the succeeding decades. Then a more peaceful period set in; the Khan, who resided in Urgenj, or Khiva, was really only the most powerful of the numerous vassal princes, who lived in the various towns, and sometimes fought out their petty feuds among themselves.

The characteristic feature of the history of Turkestan in modern times is this pettiness. In the eighteenth century the Kirghiz of the Small Horde got the upper hand in Khiva, until, in 1792, an Uzbeg chieftain founded a new dynasty, which lasted until 1873. Bokhara, the central province of Western Turkestan, also played no further important part in the world's history. At first the descendants of Shaibek Khan established themselves there; one of these, Obaid Allah (1533–1539), waged war with Persia, if we may apply such a term to his marauding expeditions. The most important of the Shaibanids, Abd Allah II. (1556–1598), attempted with better success to reach a higher stage of civilisation. In the year 1559 a dynasty from Astrakhan came to the throne, having migrated back again from the Khanate of Astrakhan to Transoxiana in 1554. The Khanates of Balkh and of Samarkand soon completely severed themselves from Bokhara, the political downfall of which became still more complete when Nadir Shah of Persia, in the year 1737, took vengeance for the constant raids on his frontiers by a victorious campaign.

Period of Petty Feuds

A new Uzbeg dynasty, that of the Mangites, which also boasted of Mongol descent, drove out the house of Astrakhan and occupied the throne of Bokhara until 1868. Ferghana, or the Khanate of Khokand, was the country where the Timurids had held their own for the longest period. It then fell into the power of the Shaibanids and house of Astrakhan, but won in 1700 complete independence, which it preserved until 1876.

Owing to the geographical position of Ferghana, the Persian power, which Khiva and Bokhara were always forced to respect, was unimportant in those parts, but in return the affairs of Eastern Turkestan and the Kirghiz steppe demanded continual attention; for example, the campaign of Yakub Khan, who temporarily drove the Chinese out of the Tarim basin, was initiated from Ferghana. In the year 1814, Khokand, which was then gaining strength, conquered the southern Kirghiz steppe with the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan, and thus exasperated the jealousy which Bokhara had always felt towards Khokand since the rise of the Mangite dynasty. Khokand was finally conquered in 1841 by Nasr Allah of Bokhara (1827–1860), and, notwithstanding, frequent rebellions, it continued in this subjection until the appearance of the Russians in Central Asia.

Ferghana a Point of Peril

On the whole the Uzbeg period was for Turkestan an age of petty struggles, which shows little genuine progress in civilisation. A nomadic spirit was predominant in the population, which showed itself in ceaseless raids upon Persia. The international traffic, which had once brought prosperity to Turkestan, was diverted into other channels, and the formerly wealthy cities showed but the shadow of their earlier magnificence.



THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN CENTRAL ASIA

THE period of Russia's active forward movement in Central Asia—as distinct from her progress in the regions dealt with in our Siberian section—dates from the close of the Napoleonic wars. Russia, in effect, opened a sweeping movement against the nomad hordes, primarily of the Kirghiz steppe. But this led to the necessity of subjugating the steppe country in general, and the acquisition of a firm foothold on its western margin. So step by step the troops pushed forward. Every fresh advance of the line made the nomads more desperate. When they saw their freedom of movement curtailed and their pasturages cut off, they broke out in revolt; and Russia's answer to revolt was invariably an extension of the fortress cordons. But for a long time it was impossible to carry out the plan systematically, since large tracts of the steppe were not suited for permanent settlements. The Russian lines of defence had therefore to rest on the rivers; in the year 1847 the southern frontier line ran from the lower Syr Daria to the River Chu, and thence to the Ili. But it was impossible to halt at this stage. Hitherto the struggle had been with the Kirghiz and the other nomad hordes, but now the sphere of the power of Turkestan was entered. If the Khanates had been consolidated states, with which a well-defined boundary could have been arranged, the advance would have been perhaps checked for a long time there, as was actually the case on the Chinese frontier, with the exception of the districts on the Amur. But these countries were only centres of power with an ill-defined sphere of influence, which expanded or contracted according to the energy of the ruler and the accidents of fortune.

Russia on the Borders of Turkestan

The first collision was with Khiva, since on the west, between the Aral and the Caspian Seas, a frontier secure against the predatory nomads who were willing to act as subjects of Khiva could be obtained only by the occupation of the Khanate proper. In the year 1839 General Perovsky started from Orenburg, but, after losing a quarter of his army and 10,400 camels from snowstorms on the steppe, he was compelled to return without having set eyes on the troops of Allah-Kuli Khan. On the other side, the first conflicts with Khokand occurred in the year 1850, when the men of Khokand, and the Kirghiz who were subject to them, tried to drive back the Russians from the lower Syr Daria, with the sole result that the number of Russian fortresses was increased. Fort Perovsk was built in 1853 as the most advanced post. After a long period of quiet caused by the Crimean War, the upper Chu valley was occupied from the Ili district in spite of Khokand. The town of Turkestan fell on June 23rd, 1864, and Chimkent on October 4th.

Russian Fortresses Increase

In the meantime, however, a war had broken out between Bokhara and Khokand, and when the Russians, under Michael Tschernajev, took possession of Tashkent also in June, 1865, which the Bokharans already regarded as a certain prize, a war between Russia and Bokhara was the natural consequence. After an uneventful campaign, the Bokharan army was totally defeated by the Russians on May 20th, 1866, near Irjar; and immediately afterwards General Romanovski marched against the Khanate of Khokand, now a dependency of Bokhara, and took the town of Khojent. The territory on the Syr Daria, which had been previously administered from Orenburg, was united in 1867 with the possessions on the Ili (Semirihansk) into a general government of Turkestan, until 1878. Mozaffar-ed-din of Bokhara, who had been compelled to abandon Khokand, now made vain efforts to conclude an alliance with it against the Russians. Khiva also refused to help him, when, urged by the fanaticism of his people, he once more made preparations to attack the new Russian territory from Samarkand. But before he had raised his

Attempt to Repel Russia

sword, it was struck out of his hand; General Kaufmann unexpectedly advanced on Samarkand, defeated the superior forces of the Bokharans, and entered the old capital of Timur on May 14th, 1868.

Russian Advance in Bokhara

The humbled Khan of Bokhara was forced to abandon the Zarafshan valley with Samarkand, and so lost one of his best provinces. It was, in the end, an advantage for Bokhara that Russia in this way obtained a well-defined boundary in the civilised country. This is the only explanation why there was no complete subjugation, and why the reigning house was left in possession of some, even if very restricted, powers. Russia subsequently went so far as to support the Emir of Bokhara, who died in November, 1885, and his son Seyyid Abd-ul-Ahad against insurrections of his subjects.

By their advance into Turkestan the Russians had entered on the region which since earliest times had commanded the Central Asiatic trade and the roads through the Tarim basin. Although this trade had greatly fallen off, it still appeared to be an important source of wealth and political influence. Russia had early tried to establish communications with Yarkand. The revolt of the Dungans and the successes of Yakub Bey in the Tarim basin during the 'sixties had prevented any direct intercourse with China, which was bound to be the final object of Russian policy; the Russians were obliged to content themselves with occupying Kuljar, the terminus of the northern road, in 1871, and with requiring Yakub Bey to conclude a commercial treaty in 1872. Even then the diplomatic rivalry with the British, who anxiously watched the advance of the Russian power in Central Asia, and with the still independent states of Turkestan, was in full swing. While the Russians were busy in diverting the trade of the Tarim basin to their possessions, the British were renewing the old connection between India and that region. Everywhere, in Khokand, Bokhara, and Khiva, British gold was pitted against Russian bayonets. Gradually, also, China, which after prodigious efforts had suppressed the revolts of her subjects in the Tarim basin, appeared on the scene as a great Power, with whom definite frontiers could be arranged. Kuljar was restored to the Chinese at their own wish.

Renewed Struggle for Khiva

Meanwhile, in the west, the struggle with Khiva had begun afresh, since Seyyid Mohammed Rahim Khan was neither willing nor able to hinder the incursions of the Kirghiz and Turkomans into Russian territory. In spring, 1873, the Khanate was attacked simultaneously from the Caspian Sea and several other directions. The Khan was not deposed, but was forced, on August 12th, to abandon the right bank and the delta of the Amu Daria, and to become a vassal of Russia. Soon afterwards the days of the Khanate of Khokand were also numbered; a revolt, which, in 1875, caused the prince Khudayar



RUSSIAN EXPEDITION TO KHIVA IN 1873 CROSSING THE RIVER OXUS



INTERVIEW OF RUSSIAN GENERAL WITH THE KHAN OF KHIVA

The illustration is from a drawing by a Russian officer, and represents the interview of the Russian general with Seyyid Mohammed Rahim Khan to arrange terms of peace after the campaign during the summer of 1873.

to seek flight, furnished the Russians with a welcome pretext for interference. Finally, on March 3rd, 1876, all that was left of the Khanate of Khokand was incorporated with the Russian Empire as the province of Ferghana. A condition of things which promised to be stable was thus established in the northern and eastern parts of Turkestan ; in front of the Russian territory, the nomad inhabitants of which might be considered as subjugated, lay the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, both subject to Russian influence, as a secure belt of frontier, whose complete incorporation into the dominions of the Tsar could be of little importance.

Buffers to Nomad Aggression

The situation was different in the west, in the steppes between the Caspian Sea and the Amu Daria. Here marauding Turkoman tribes still roamed without let or hindrance ; and their nominal suzerain, the Khan of Khiva, was, after his humiliation by Russia, less capable than ever of holding them in check. To subdue them was possible only if the southern frontier were pushed forward to the southern margin of the steppe and the Persian sphere of influence. But there was a two-fold inducement for undertaking this laborious enterprise. It was not merely a question of abating the nuisance of Turkoman marauders ; Russian statesmen considered the new move as a check to England. The military party avowed their belief that the surest way of settling the Eastern question in Europe was to frighten England by advancing to the gates of India. Both military men and civilians thought that, at the least, an advance was the only means of neutralising hypothetical British intrigues with the native princes o Central Asia. Accordingly, the Turkomans were attacked, at first by a series of small campaigns, but, that proving unsuccessful, larger schemes were framed, and attempts were made to reach the chain of oases which were the real centre of Turkoman power, either from the mouth of the Atrek, or from Krasnovodsk at the foot of the mountains on the Persian frontier.

The first undertaking of this kind failed in the year 1879. But a year later a new expedition started under the command of General Michael Skobeleff.. This time a railway was built simultaneously with the advance of the troops—the first portion of the subsequent Transcaspian Railway, which has now reached Samarkand and opened a new road to international traffic. The fate of the Turkomans was soon sealed. On January 24th, 1881, their strongest fortress, Geok-Tepe, was taken after a heroic defence, and soon afterward the subjugation of the northern, or Tekke. Turkomans was complete.

In this same year a frontier treaty with Persia made the fact clear that Russia had as her neighbour on that side a state possessing a tolerable degree of culture. Toward the south-east, on the other hand, the advance of the Russians did not stop until it reached the borders of Afghanistan.

Russian Advance in the South

There was no necessity for further wars against the nomads : the Turkomans of Merv tendered their submission under diplomatic and military pressure. In spite of this the Russians were soon active in the country to the south of Merv ; and in 1885 their advanced posts came into collison with the Afghans on the River Kushk, a battle being fought in which the Afghans were defeated. The blame for this collision has been thrown by some on England ; it is alleged that the Afghans

were instigated to prevent Russia from acquiring that firm position in the south of the steppe country which was a political necessity for her. Others have accused the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg of having deliberately forced on a breach with Afghanistan.

Collision of Russians and Afghans

The trouble would seem to be that the hand of the Russian Government was forced by the zeal of frontier generals. The questions at issue were settled by a Boundary Commission in 1886–1887, which fixed the frontier between Afghanistan and Asiatic Russia. In 1895 the delimitation of British and Russian spheres of influence was advanced yet another step by the partition of the mountainous Pamir region, which separates Northeastern Afghanistan from the Tarim basin. Since 1886 the influence of Russia within her allotted sphere has been materially increased by the extension of the Transcaspian Railway, which has brought districts long desolate within the range of Russian commerce, and completely assured the military supremacy of its possessors.

The one notable event in recent years has been the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which in the main is concerned with Persia, but recognises Afghanistan as within the specifically British sphere of interest.

If we look back on what Russia has done in Turkestan we shall see that there is room for conjecture as to her ultimate policy. Her advance might be explained solely by the causes which have induced the peaceful Chinese Empire to occupy the Tarim basin on the verge of the Central Asiatic steppes were it not that evidence exists to suggest some motive beyond the mere desire of obtaining security from the raids of nomad tribes. The first plan for a Russian invasion of India was framed as long ago as 1791; and plans are said to have been considered at various dates since then, notably in 1800, 1855, and 1876. These plans have usually been formed with the idea of influencing the European situation to the advantage of Russia by locking up British troops in India and inducing Great Britain to take a more conciliatory attitude. In all such plans the occupation of Afghanistan has been an essential feature, and no pains have been spared to detach that country from its dependence on Great Britain. An attempt of this kind in 1878, immediately after the Treaty of Berlin, was so far successful that the Afghans declared war on England. But Russia took no steps to assist the Afghans when they had been drawn into the war; and since that time Russian influence in Afghanistan has suffered a check.

Russia's Afghan Policy

The foreign policy of Russia at the present time looks towards the Persian Gulf rather than towards India. The possession of the mouth of the Euphrates would give Russia one of those outlets for the trade of her empire which it has always been her prime anxiety and endeavour to secure.



RUSSIAN TROOPS ENTERING THE CITY OF KHIVA ON JUNE 10, 1873

AFGHANISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN

By Angus Hamilton & Arthur D. Innes

THE dominant physical feature of Afghanistan is the Hindu Kush, together with that extension which radiates from the Tirogkhoi plateau and the stupendous peaks of the Koh-i-Baba. But everywhere the orology is of a very rugged character. Its natural divisions may be said to be as follow: The basin of the Kabul river, including its tributaries, the Logar, Panjsher and Kunar rivers; the tableland valleys of the Ghilzai country from Ghazni to Kandahar, including the Argandab, the Tarnak, and the Arghesan; the tributary valleys of the Indus—viz., Kurram, Khost, Dawar, Gomul, Zobe, and Bori; the valley of the Helmund; the basin of the Hamun lake; the valley of the Hari Rud; the valley of the Murghab and the tributary valleys of the Oxus — viz., the Maimana, Balkh, Khulm, Kunduz and Kokcha rivers.

Elevation of the Country

While the general elevation of Afghanistan is considerable and opposed to the mountain systems, there is but little plain, save the belt between the northern slope of the Hindu Kush and the Oxus, as well as towards the south-west in the wide stretch of desert levels forming the western border. The main natural difficulty is presented by the water question. If the Oxus and the Indus are excluded, as shared by Russia and India respectively, the Helmund is the only river of any magnitude, although there are numerous small streams which yield important tribute to the irrigation systems of the country-side.

The following are the principal hydrographic divisions: the Kabul river and its tributaries, the Indus affluents, the basin of the Oxus, the basin of the Helmund, and the basin of the Hari Rud.

To this outline of the physical and territorial conditions of the country must be added an ethnographic summary of the various racial divisions which, since the incorporation of the Khanates with the dominions of the Amir of Afghanistan, present a very confused study. The Afghans proper are settled principally in the Kandahar country, extending into Seistan and to the borders of the Herat valley.

The Afghan Races

Eastward they spread across the Afghan border into the Toba highlands north of the Khojak, where they are represented by Achakzai and Sudozai clans. They exist in the Kabul districts as Barakzai, the Amir's clan, and as Mahmundzai, or Mohmands, and Yusufzai. They occupy the hills north of the Kabul river, Bajor, Swat, Buner, and part of the Peshawar plains.

After the Afghans come the Pathans, who, recognised in many instances as being of Indian origin, inhabit the hilly regions along the immediate British border. The Afridi, Jowaki and Orakzai clans hold the highlands immediately south of the Khaibar and Peshawar; the Turis of the Kurram, the Dawaris of Tochi, and the Waziris of Waziristan filling up the intervening Pathan hills north of the Gomul. In the Kohat district the Khattak and Bangash clans are Pathan, so that Pathans are found on both sides of the border.

The Ghilzai, reckoned as a Pathan, but connected also with the Afghan, is another racial unit. This tribe ranks as second to none in the military strength of Afghanistan, and in commercial enterprise. Underlying these elements in Afghan ethnography, there is the Tajik, who, representing the original Persian possessors of the soil, still speaks his mother tongue. There are pure Persians in Afghanistan,

Races of Alien Origin

such as the Kizil Bashis of Kabul, and the Naoshirwans of Kharan. The Tajiks are the cultivators in the rural districts, the shopkeepers and clerks in the towns; while they are slaves of the Pathan in Afghanistan no less than the Hindkis are in the plains of the Indus. Next in importance to the Tajik is

the Hazara, who speaks a dialect of Persian, and belongs to the Shiah sect of Mohammedans. The Hazaras occupy the highlands of the Upper Helmund valley, spreading through the country between Kabul and Herat, as well as into a strip of territory on the frontier slopes of the Hindu Kush. In the western provinces they are known as Hazaras, Jamshidis, Taimanis, and Ferozkhois. They are pure Mongols, and intermixed with no other races, while they preserve their language and characteristics from the influence of environment. Last of all there are the Uzbegs and the Turkomans, so that the Afghan tribes represent no single people, but a number of racial communities, each possessed of separate interests, and, in great measure, of a separate national entity.

Lying between Persia, on the one hand, and on the other the mountain passes through which, from time immemorial, all invaders have penetrated to the Punjab and the plains of Hindustan, Afghanistan to-day fulfils the functions of a buffer state between the British and the Russian powers in Central Asia, while in the past Afghan territory has given dynasties on the one side to Persia, and on the other to Delhi, and has formed a part now of one empire, now of the other, and again has formed a state or a group of states more or less independent of both.

Thus Mahmud, the great Ghaznavid, issued from the fortress-city of Ghazni; Babar, the founder of the Mogul Empire, was lord of Kabul when he began his career of conquest. Like all outlying provinces of all Oriental empires, the Afghan tribesmen rendered obedience to their suzerain only when they were aware that he could spare an army to coerce recalcitrants; their subjection was always unsubstantial. They owned the might of Nadir Shah, but when he died, the Abdali chief, Ahmed Khan, assumed independence and the royal title of Shah, at Kandahar, and established the "Durani" dynasty at Kabul, changing his tribal name for superstitious reasons.

Ahmed Shah led a series of incursions into India; in the greatest of them he temporarily shattered the Mahratta power at Panipat, while the British were making themselves masters of Bengal. But he did not seek to establish an Indian Empire, though the Duranis were owned as masters of the Punjab until the Sikhs freed themselves from the Afghan yoke, and created a dominion of their own under Ranjit Singh. When Mornington arrived as Governor-General in India, men believed that the power of Zeman Shah at Kabul was a menace to Hindustan.



YAKUB KHAN

The son of Sher Ali, whom he succeeded; under pressure of British arms he signed the treaty of Gandamak.

But his might was less than it seemed. In 1801 Zeman Shah was deposed and blinded, and his brother set up in his place, as Shah Shuja, by a group of the Barakzai family, who in reality held the reins of power, though they preferred to assume the position of Ministers. A few years later the Indian Government thought it worth while to seek Shah Shuja's friendship. Little enough came of this move at the time, for Shah Shuja was deposed in his turn in 1810, and betook himself to safe quarters in British territory, whence he made periodical and futile attempts to recover his throne.

For thirty years the Barakzais in Afghanistan and the Sikh Maharaja of Lahore were in constant rivalry, with the practical result that Ranjit Singh wrested from the Afghans one after another of their positions in the Punjab, and incorporated in his own domain Multan, Peshawar, and Kashmir. For these successes he was partly indebted to the internal dissensions of Afghanistan. The titular kings were disposed to resent the supremacy of the Barakzai brotherhood;



A Tajik chief of Pesh Bolak



A Mohmand chief of Dakka



Khugiani chief of Murkhi Kheyl



Nimcha, or a convert to Moslemism



Barakzai chief of Bezoot



An Ummer Kheyl chief of Darunta



Tajik chief of the Kunar Valley



Mohmand chief of Lalpura



A Barakzai, a relative of the Amir

FAMILIAR TYPES OF THE INHABITANTS OF AFGHANISTAN

there was a period of fierce strife and bloodshed, at the end of which the king remained in possession of Herat, while the vizirate and effective dominion passed to a younger Barakzai, Dost Mohammed.

In 1836 Persia was assuming an aggressive attitude towards Afghanistan. Dost Mohammed, somewhat suspicious of the British on one side, perceived on the other that Russia was at the back of Persia. He made overtures to the British, which were rejected. Lord Auckland's Government became possessed with the idea that the only security lay in placing on the throne at Kabul a ruler who would be in effect a puppet of the British; and the Governor-General resolved to reinstate Shah Shuja. In carrying out this programme, no very serious resistance was encountered; a few white troops and a considerable force of Hindustani sepoys restored the Durani. Dost Mohammed, after vindicating his character as a valiant warrior, surrendered himself, and was placed under honourable surveillance in British territory. British forces remained at Kabul, to maintain the Government they had set up.



Bourne & Shepherd, India

HABIBULLA, AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN

Habibulla succeeded his father in 1901, and though at first cold towards British overtures, has now ratified the friendship that prevailed under his predecessor.

The result was what might have been anticipated. Little more than two years had elapsed since the restoration when a riot at Kabul developed into a general insurrection in November, 1841. At Kandahar the British garrison more than held its own; at Jellalabad a small force maintained a successful defence. But Ghazni was forced to yield before long, and the whole of the large Kabul force, after some of the chiefs had been murdered and others surrendered to the rebels as hostages, was cut to pieces. Retribution followed as a matter of course. But the British had awakened to the fact that no politic end could be served by a military occupation. Having definitely vindicated their military supremacy, they reinstated their quondam antagonist, Dost Mohammed, under his old title of Amir.

That very shrewd ruler bore no grudge against the British. In fact, he realised that they had no desire to possess themselves of Afghanistan, whereas Persia was obviously hankering to recover at least Herat. It was from the west that aggression was to be feared; therefore he recognised his own best interests in cultivating British goodwill. To the day of his death he continued consistently loyal. The Afghan tribesmen remembered the British occupation vindictively, and with an especial hatred towards the Hindustani sepoys. Nevertheless, Dost Mohammed held them in check, even when the sanguinary engagements of the second Sikh war (1848–9) seemed to offer a chance of striking a damaging blow. Later, in 1855, a definite treaty was made between the Dost and the British, which was viewed with dislike by some of the ablest Indian officials, but bore invaluable fruit in the complete quiescence of Afghanistan in 1857, when the Hindustani regiments mutinied against the British Raj. In the interval the Afghan ruler had successfully resisted a Persian attempt on Herat, and British troops had intervened effectively on the Persian Gulf.

So long as Afghanistan showed no signs of being drawn into dangerously close relations with Russia, the Indian Government maintained a policy of non-intervention, which was very unsatisfactory



THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN RECEIVING AN AFRIDI DEPUTATION AT KABUL



THE AMIR TESTING A MAXIM GUN DURING THE ARMY MANŒUVRES

to statesmen of the "forward" school. In pursuance of that policy, the British did not interfere in the period of anarchy which followed the death of Dost Mohammed in 1863. His actual successor was a younger son, Sher Ali, who soon found his brothers in arms against him. It was not until 1868 that he appeared to be securely established at Kabul. In 1870 the Amir met the Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo, in durbar at Ambela, when the principle of British non-intervention was clearly enunciated. In the following year his throne was shaken by the revolt of his son, Yakub Khan; he began to show signs of yielding to Russian influences. In 1878 he received a Russian mission at Kabul. The British Viceroy, Lord Lytton, promptly demanded that a British mission should be received; when Sher Ali failed to accede to his demands, the second Afghan War—that of 1878-80—began.

Resistance was crushed decisively, and Sher Ali, flying from Kabul, died at Mazar-i-Sharif in February, 1879, his son, Yakub Khan, being proclaimed Amir. The treaty of Gandamak, on May 26, 1879, gave the British control of a series of the mountain passes, and provided that "scientific frontier" which it had been their main object to secure. But the new arrangements involved the establishment of a British Residency at Kabul, to exercise a controlling influence over the Amir. In September there was a rising in Kabul, and the Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his staff and guard were cut to pieces.

A month later the British had successfully reoccupied Kabul; Yakub Khan abdicated, and placed himself in their hands. But in July of the following year his brother, Ayub Khan, roused a number of the tribes to join in a *jehad*, or holy war, against the British. Defeating General Burrows on July 27, he at once invested Kandahar. His success was brief. General Roberts, after achieving in August his famous march from Kabul to Kandahar in twenty-two days, completely crushed Ayub in a decisive battle. Abdurrahman, another nephew of Sher Ali, was recognised by the British as Amir. As in 1843, after an aggressive fit, the Indian Government reverted to its normal policy, and in 1881 withdrew its forces from Afghanistan.

Abdurrahman proved himself a ruler of great power and ability, crushing revolts with swift and merciless energy. Whatever suspicions may have been from time to time entertained as to his policy, and however grievances against the British, justifiable or otherwise, may have rankled in his mind, he remained effectively loyal to the British connection, aware, like Dost Mohammed, that the British much preferred maintaining his country as an independent state to bringing it under their own direct dominion, while he could rely upon their resisting any attempt on the part of Russia to absorb



THE TOWN AND FORTRESS OF HERAT, THE GATEWAY TO AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA
Herat, on the River Hari-Rud, was founded by Alexander the Great, who seems to have recognised its strategic importance; it is the capital of Western Afghanistan, is well fortified, and has a population estimated at 45,000



A MODERN FORT AT KABUL, CROWNING A LOW HILL



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF KABUL



A SCENE IN THE AMIR'S PALACE AT KABUL

IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF AFGHANISTAN

it. When the Powers proposed a definite delimitation of boundaries, and a collision occurred between Russian and Afghan forces, known as the Panjdeh incident, the Amir showed genuine statesmanship in refusing to make much of what might easily have been construed into a *casus belli*. The delimitation was duly carried out, and ratified by a treaty signed at St. Petersburg in 1887.

Delimitation of Afghan Frontiers

The Afghanistan which Abdurrahman left is divided into five provinces—Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, Afghan Turkestan and Badakshan; and two territories—Kafiristan and Wakhan. Kandahar includes Seistan and the basin of the Helmund; Herat the basin of the Hari-Rud and North-western Afghanistan; Afghan Turkestan the former khanates Andkhui, Maimana, Balkh, and Khulm; the province of Badakshan administers the territory of Wakhan and the regions of the Upper Oxus. Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar are the centres of their respective provinces; Tashkurgan and Mazar-i-Sharif of Afghan Turkestan and Faizabad of Badakshan.

This division of Afghanistan into settled provinces is due to Dost Mohammed, who despatched an expedition under his son for the purpose of subjecting the various independent territories that existed in those days in the regions south of the Oxus. By the success which attended these operations, the Afghan dominions were pushed out to the banks of the Oxus and the Murghab. It was Abdurrahman, however, who split the territory thus secured into the divisions of Afghan Turkestan and Badakshan, with which change a considerable improvement upon the previous anarchy and misrule was obtained.

Under Dost Mohammed, as also in the reign of Sher Ali, the utmost confusion prevailed in every department of government. The chiefs of the various tribes were both independent and ambitious, and not infrequently defied the authority of the Amir at Kabul. The period of greatest confusion may be said to have closed with the civil war of 1863-9, from which Sher Ali emerged triumphant. Founding a despotic sovereignty over the tribes, Sher Ali laid the foundations upon which Abdurrahman so successfully reared his autocracy. One by one Abdurrahman suppressed the turbulent Sirdars, thus paving the way to the solidarity which distinguished his own position. In addition, he reformed the Government and its methods. He put a stop to corruption in the public offices, and forbade the acceptance of bribes or the sale of appointments. Beginning at the bottom, he built up a civil and military machinery which, before he appeared, may be said to have been non-existent. On the military side he re-organised the army and introduced modern

Progress Under a Despot



SOLDIERS OF AFGHANISTAN WHO ESCORTED THE BRITISH MISSION

In November of 1904 a British Mission from the Indian Government, under Mr. Louis Dane, the Indian Foreign Secretary, proceeded by way of Peshawar to Kabul to discuss Indo-Afghan questions with the Amir Habibulla.



MIR MAHMUD KHAN, OF KELAT, AND HIS RETINUE

Mir Mahmud Khan succeeded upon his father's abdication in 1893, and is head of the loose confederancy of chiefs in the native state of Kelat in Baluchistan; as a dependency of India the state has a British political agent resident in Kelat.

weapons and Western drill; on the civil side he established financial and political control, and set up an even-handed, if rough and ready, form of justice. The final touch to his edifice was the creation of a Cabinet, the recasting of the provincial methods of administration, and a reform of the laws. The improvements proceeding from these changes have made Afghanistan a firmly constructed, well-ordered, and financially sound state. Occupying 250,000 square miles, with a population of five millions, and a revenue of 5,000,000 dollars a year, with an army estimated at 150,000 on a peace footing, the present state of the country is an effective illustration of the excellence of Abdurrahman's reign.

Fears that Were Not Fulfilled

The death of Abdurrahman caused some anxiety. It was felt that the disappearance of so vigorous a ruler might be followed by a period of turbulence and contests over the succession. Happily, the Amir's son, Habibulla, was accepted by the tribes quietly and without disturbance. The new Amir has continued on the old lines; his authority has not been challenged, and he has shown himself not less loyal to the British connection than his father. There has been no trouble with Russia, while the peace of the border has been well maintained. The relations between the Amir and the Indian Government, at first distant, were improved by the result of the Dane Mission, and thoroughly cemented by the Amir's visit to India in 1907.

BALUCHISTAN

Between Afghanistan and the Ocean, its eastern boundary marching with Sindh, lies the territory known as Baluchistan. The country is mountainous, and on the western or Persian side is largely desert.

Its barren character has rendered it unattractive to conquering kings and khans, and exceedingly ill-adapted for the passage of large armies. The invaders of India have habitually preferred to penetrate the northern passes rather than those of Baluchistan.

The population is composed of two quite distinct races—the Brahuis, whom ethnologists incline to associate with the Dravidian peoples of India, and the Baluchis, who are probably of Iranian stock. The prevailing religion is Mohammedanism—Sunni, not Shi-ite. The country has never acquired the dignity of an organised state. Some chieftain has usually been vaguely recognised as paramount, and, in his turn, has been more

or less a tributary of Persia or of Kabul. In short, Baluchistan can hardly be said to have had a history of its own, at least until it came in contact with the British Government in India.

A century ago the British were beginning to investigate the Indus and to open relations with Sindh and with Afghanistan. Incidentally, some knowledge of Baluchistan began to be acquired. Then, as now, the chief authority was recognised as lying with the Khan of Kelat. When the British plunged into their ill-starred Afghan venture of 1838–9, Ranjit Singh's refusal to allow their army passage to the Khaibar Pass and Peshawar, compelled them to make Kandahar instead of Kabul their immediate objective, and to advance through Sindh and Baluchistan by way of the Bolan Pass. The reigning Khan of Kelat rendered no assistance, and was accused of deliberate and designed obstruction. Hence Kelat itself was incidentally attacked and seized, and was again temporarily occupied in 1841.

From the time of Ellenborough to that of Lord Lytton, British policy beyond Sindh and the Punjab was controlled by the principle of "masterly inactivity." But the Government of Disraeli and his Viceroy, Lord Lytton, adopted the doctrines of the "forward" school and the theory of a "scientific frontier." Military opinion, with Russia in view, has been practically unanimous in maintaining that the mountains of the north-west should be made absolutely impassable to the invader. Through the Bolan Pass the mountains can be penetrated. Quetta commands the Bolan Pass. An important step, therefore, was taken when, in 1877, Lord Lytton secured by treaty the right of occupying Quetta.

Ten years later the Khan of Kelat assented to the definite annexation of the Quetta territory by the British. A military railway—a triumph of engineering skill—has secured through communication with the great outpost, which is looked upon as virtually impregnable; and, politically speaking, the district now forms a part of British India. On the other hand, the Khan of Kelat, by practically becoming a British feudatory, has found his own position secured against rivalry, and consequently exercises over the tribes an authority of a much more definite character than in the past. It has followed that a certain responsibility for his behaviour attaches to the British Government, the consciousness of which was exemplified in 1893 by the deposition of the Khan for misconduct, and the establishment of his son, the present Khan, in his place.



KOHAT, BRITISH POST ON THE FRONTIERS OF BALUCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN AND PERSIA

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

B.C.	
331	Alexander the Great passes through Central Asia in the course of his great march to India
210	Huns conquer China
A.D.	
90	Huns expelled from China
376	Huns invade Hungary and drive out the Goths
445–450	Attila, the "Scourge of God," ravages the Western Roman Empire
451	Battle of Chalons, and defeat of Attila by Aetius
639	Buddhism introduced into Tibet
1206	Genghis Khan reigns from 1206 to 1207, and embraces in his empire all Central Asia as well as Persia and China
1224	Batou, the grandson of Genghis Khan, at the head of his "Golden Horde"—the name given to his Mongolian Tartars—establishes an empire in Kajatchak or Kibzak, now South-east Russia
1252	The "Golden Horde" invades Russia and makes Alexander Newski Grand Duke
1278	Tibet visited by Marco Polo
1370	Timur, or Tamerlane, who reigned from 1370 to 1400, conquered Persia, invaded India, and broke the power of the Turks in Asia Minor
1481	Battle of Bielawisch, at which Ivan III. of Russia crushes the Golden Horde, or Mongolian Tartars
1505	Bokhara, or Sogdiana, subdued by the Uzbek Tartars, its present holders
1525	Babar, first Mogul Emperor of India, conquers Kabul; after his death Afghanistan is divided between India and Persia
1661	Jesuits visit Tiber
1672	Great migration of the Tartar tribe of Kalmucks, who were expelled from China and settled on the Volga and returned in 1771
1747	Ahmed Shah makes Afghanistan independent, and reigns till 1773
1760	Kashgaria, or Eastern Turkestan, subdued by China
1771	Return to Western China of the Kalmucks, thousands perishing during the long march through Central Asia
1774	Visit of Bogle and Hamilton to Tibet
1826	Beginning of a series of unsuccessful insurrections in Kashgaria against China
1838	Restoration of Shah Shuja by British in Afghanistan
1839	Expedition sent against Khiva by Nicholas of Russia; perished in the cold
1841	British Disaster at Kabul: first Afghan War
1855	Treaty of Britain with Dost Mohammed
1865	The Province of Russian Turkestan created by decree of the Tsar
1866	Mohammed Yakub Beg, during an insurrection in Kashgaria, makes himself ruler, and, in 1867, sends envoys to London
1866	Russian War in Turkestan, and successive defeats of the native armies
1867	Temporary peace between Russia and Turkestan
1868	Renewal of hostilities between Russia and Turkestan. Samarkand captured and secured by treaty
1873	Khiva taken by the Russians. Political and commercial treaty between Russia and Turkestan
1877	China ends the insurrection in Kashgaria by defeating Mohammed Yakub Beg, who was afterwards assassinated, and by capturing Kashgar
1878–80	Third Afghan War; Abdurrahman becomes Amir
1885	Anglo-Russian Agreement regarding Afghanistan
1887	Quetta and surrounding territories annexed to British territories
1888	Central Asian railway from the Caspian to Samarkand opened
1889	The Zhob Valley in Baluchistan annexed by Britain at the request of the chiefs
1893	Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Tibet. Amir of Turkestan visits Russia, and again in 1898
1895–6	Mohammedan rebellion in Tibet
1895	Explorations and discoveries by Dr. Sven Hedin
1900	Death of the Amir of Afghanistan; succeeded by his son, Habibulla
1903	Expedition under Colonel Younghusband sent to Tibet by Indian Government
1904	After opposition by the Tibetans and their defeat, British force enters Lhasa on August 3rd, and the Treaty of Lhasa is signed on September 7th
1907	Visit of the Amir of Afghanistan to India
1907	Anglo-Russian Convention respects integrity of Afghanistan and Tibet
1912	Tibetan rising against the Chinese



AN ADVANCE POST OF RUSSIA'S COSSACK PIONEERS IN CENTRAL ASIA
From the painting by Vassilli Verestchagin, photographed by Braun, Clement et Cie.



CENTRAL ASIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY FRANCIS H. SKRINE

CENTRAL ASIA, in its present aspect, demonstrates the influence of environment on the fortunes of the human race. The cradle of our civilisation and religions has lost all political importance. It is a mere geographical expression, connoting 2,600,000 square miles of sparsely-peopled territory lying between Siberia and the vast mountain system which has determined the physical and social evolution of the continent.

The south-western boundary of Central Asia is defined by the plateau of Northern Persia, which skirts the Caspian Sea, continuing the Taurus range of Asia Minor. Its spurs mingle with those of the Kopet Dagh mountains, which are connected with the Caucasus by a submarine ridge whose summits are 150 feet under the surface of the water, and which stretches between Baku and Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian. At the north-western angle of Afghanistan the Kopet Dagh meets the Alpine system of Asia, which stretches in an unbroken line to Bering's Straits. Its central citadel is a labyrinth of snowy peaks and profound valleys, known as the Pamirs, in which converge the boundaries of the British, Russian, and Chinese empires. Here the Hindu Kush joins hands with the Alai Tagh, which projects a network of lower peaks westwards, forming the Russian provinces of Samarkand and Ferghana, and the Khanate of Bokhara. From the Pamirs stretch eastwards the Kuen Lun Mountains, which bifurcate into the Altyn Tagh and Akka Tagh, separating Chinese Turkestan from Tibet. South-eastwards is the Karakoram range, under which Kashmir nestles; and thence the mightier Himalayas extend in a graceful curve, marking the northern boundary of Hindustan. Between them and the Akka Tagh is Tibet—a pear-shaped plateau whose lower extremity rests on the Karakoram. Its eastern marches are roughly defined by a tangle of curved ranges separating it from China. North of the Akka Tagh is a sandy waste, dotted with oases, known as Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, which melts eastwards into the Gobi Desert.

Boundaries of Central Asia

Harking back to the Pamirs plateau, we find it joined on the north-east by the Tian Shan, or Celestial Mountains, which rise abruptly from the Gobi Desert, and throw out a spur westwards, in the Alexanrovskii and Kara Tau Mountains. To the north-east they are continued by the Ala Tau and Altai ranges, separated by the Zungarian depression, 300 miles in width.

The Mountain Systems

The Central Asian system is the loftiest on the globe's surface. Reckoning only mountains of a greater altitude than 23,000 feet, we have: Mount Kaufmann, in the Ali Plateau, 23,000; Mustagh Ata, in the Pamirs, 25,797; Akka Tagh, 25,340; Aling Gangri, 24,000; Kamet, 25,543; Gurla Mandlata, 25,934; Dhawalgiri, 26,825; Mount Everest, 29,002; Kanchanjunga, 28,133; Donkia, 23,994; and Udu, 24,750.

The mountains which stretch in parallel ranges from the Caspian Sea to Central China and the Polar Ocean have had a determining effect on civilisation. On their eastern flank Tibet, with an average elevation of 15,000 feet, proved an insuperable barrier to the migratory instinct of our race. Few and difficult are the breaches in this giant wall, which is penetrable by large bodies of men only in the Suleiman range at its western extremity. Northwards lay the habitat of our remote ancestors, the Aryans. Balkh is now believed to have been the metropolis of these mysterious races. The ruins of the "Mother of Cities," and birthplace of Zoroaster, cover thirty square miles of

Mountains and Civilisation

North-western Afghanistan. Through easy passes in the Suleimans, the great bulk of these Aryans sought the sunlit plains of India, while other waves of emigration reached Europe by way of Siberia and the Caucasus. Far to the north-east, again, Zungaria, broken by the Tarbagatai Mountain, was the chief outlet for Mongolian hordes, who poured through the depression to bring half the world to heel.

Flood of Peoples into India

Why did the aboriginal inhabitants of Central Asia burst through trammels imposed by Nature? The answer is to be found in tremendous geological changes which desiccated their habitat and compelled them to seek pastures new. Northwards of the mountain chains starting from the Caspian, the lowlands of Turkestan stretch to the Arctic Ocean. They are divided into two zones by a ridge which never exceeds 1,000 feet in height, extending from the Urals to the Altai range. This is the watershed of the Siberian rivers. The whole area between this gentle elevation and the southern mountain spurs was once an ocean bed. Comparatively recent changes of level, with a corresponding revolution in climatic conditions, have left it a sandy desert studded with salt lakes. The Caspian is the largest of the world's inland seas. It has an area of 180,000 square miles, and is 85 feet lower than ocean-level. The Sea of Aral covers 24,500 square miles, 243 feet above the Caspian. Eastwards is Lake Balkash, extending over 12,800 square miles, and lying 900 feet above the ocean. All have shrunk considerably, and all contain denizens common in Polar seas. Seals abound in the Caspian and Lake Balkash, and the former supplies mankind with isinglass and caviar from the Polar sturgeon. This vast upheaval has changed the face of Asia and the current of history. Rivers rising on the southern and eastern slopes of the vast central water-shed find their way to the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and their alluvial deposit has formed and fertilised the plain of India, Burma, Siam, and China. Those which spring from immense glaciers on the northern side have gradually lost their velocity. In their upper reaches they excel the Nile in vivifying power; but they feed mere inland lakes, or are absorbed by thirsty sand. The Amu Daria, or Oxus, springs from glaciers in the Pamirs, and penetrates the Turkoman Desert at Kilif. Up to this point it has many tributaries, among them four rivers which made Balkh a centre of dense population. In its lower course the Amu Daria enriches Khiva, and now finds an outlet in Aral. Between 500 B.C. and 600 of our era it turned abruptly westward 110 miles south of the inland sea, and discharged into the Caspian after a devious course of 600 miles. Its old bed, known as the Uzboi, is still clearly marked, and Russian engineers of the pre-railway era contemplated diverting its current into ancient channels.

Inland Seas of the Great Plateau

The Tejend, Murghab, and Zarafshan, which give fertility to the oases and valleys of Russian Turkestan, once joined the Amu Daria. Owing to changes in level and the needs in irrigation, they now disappear in the Turkoman Desert. The Syr Daria, or Jaxartes, known in upper reaches as the Naryn, rises in the Tian Shan Mountains, and finds the Aral Sea after a course of 1,500 miles. Russian Ferghana, watered by the Syr Daria and its tributaries, is the most fertile valley in Central Asia. Eastwards, and parallel with these mightier rivers, flows the Chu, which is born in the Tian Shan range, to waste its waters in Siberian steppes. The Ili, issuing from the same mountains, pours a flood of wealth into Russian Kulja, and discharges into Lake Balkash. In Chinese Turkestan population clings to oases formed by the River Tarim and its confluents. It rises in the Tian Shan range and, flowing eastward, is lost in the Gobi Desert.

Rivers of Central Asia

The historical interest of Central Asia is confined to its riverine territories, which have been the scenes of many of history's most tragic episodes. Soil overspread by their waters possesses unequalled fertility. Desert sands and upland valleys alike are streaked with deposits of loess, so styled from a Tertiary product found in the Rhine valley. It is a friable yellow loam, which is carried far and wide by the wind, and sometimes covers the subsoil to an immense depth. Loess ranks first among the causes of China's dense population. In Central Asia irrigated loess yields two, and sometimes three, bountiful crops in a single year. Strabo, who wrote shortly before



AMONG THE PEAKS OF THE PAMIRS, 12,000 FEET ABOVE THE SEA



ONE OF THE SNOW-COVERED PAMIR RANGES IN EASTERN TURKESTAN



ANOTHER VIEW AMONG THE WILD AND ROCKY PEAKS OF HIGH ASIA

IN THE PAMIRS, THE CHIEF MOUNTAINS OF CENTRAL ASIA

the birth of Christ, tells us that the Mero oasis boasted vines yielding clusters three feet in diameter. The Zarafshan, literally "gold-spreading," owes its name to the agricultural wealth which it pours into Samarkand and Bokhara.

The climate of this immense tract varies with latitude and height above sea-level. Its northern steppes have a rainfall of eleven inches, confined to June and July, and the same extremes of heat and cold as are presented by Mid-Siberia. The desert, sparsely studded with oases, does not belong to the Sahara type made familiar to us by records of African exploration. In some parts the surface is so firm that a horse's hoofs ring on it as on a macadamised road. Elsewhere the loose sand is lashed by the wind into ridges resembling petrified waves. An intense stillness broods over these wastes, and a boundless horizon seen through the clear air shimmering in heat or broken by mirages. During the spring rains, averaging four inches, the mingled sand and loess is carpeted with the flowers of bulbous plants, long grass, and tufts of reed.

Where the Desert Blossoms

Water is alone needed to cover the sand with perennial verdure. It is found almost everywhere at a depth of thirty feet, and primitive wells are frequently met with. Vegetation is scanty save during six weeks following the spring rainfall. Large tracts are, however, covered with the Camel's Thorn—which can be assimilated only by the Ship of the Desert—stunted tamarisks, and a knotty shrub termed saxaul (*halyoxyon ammodendron*), which is prized as fuel, and is even more valuable as a means of binding the billowy sand.

The oases, formed by irrigation, sustain a constant battle with encroaching desert. Upland valleys enjoy a heavier rainfall and the climate of Southern Europe, with wider thermometric ranges due to continental conditions. Tibet, in the same latitude, is swept by storms and cursed by an Arctic climate. Cut off from the outer world by desert and mountain, Central Asia has developed a fauna and flora of its own. Explorers reckon five species of mammals, nine of birds, and fourteen of fish which are not found elsewhere. Tigers are encountered as far north as the Ala Tau range; bears, wolves, and wild boar abound in the forests which still cover large tracts of upland. Herds of wild asses, antelope, and deer roam over the desert. Loftier plateaus are the habitat of wild camels, horses, and yaks.

The human denizens of Central Asia reflect every stage of the world's civilisation. The Kirghiz, numbering about 2,500,000, wander in the steppes of Northern Turkestan. They dwell in circular tents of dark grey felt, styled kibitkas, which they tapestry with brilliant carpets. The Kirghiz are a keen-witted and poetical race, and their barbarism is mitigated by a dash of chivalry. The strong arm of Russian conquest has compelled them to desist from the forays which broke the monotony of tending cattle; but they are inveterate nomads, defying all attempts to introduce education among them or a taste for sedentary life. Government is exercised by hereditary khans. The personal equation is everything, and the chief who derogates is lost. The "Black" Kirghiz, 324,000 strong, range the mountains encircling Lake Issik-kul, on the eastern flank of Russian Turkestan. Their language proves them a very ancient offshoot of the great Turkish family. The Uzbegs are another stem of the race which quitted the Gobi Desert to enter on a career of world-conquest. They are sturdier and more clumsily built than the Kirghiz, with high cheek-bones, ruddy complexions, and dark auburn hair. Uzbegs formed the penultimate wave of conquest which swept over Central Asia. The ruling dynasties of Bokhara and Khiva belong to one of their 72 clans. They are haughty fanatics, despising commerce and the urban population among whom they live. Unlike their kinsfolk, the Kirghiz, Uzbegs have taken kindly to sedentary life. The grossness of their manners is mitigated by a touch of the inborn dignity which characterises unadulterated Asmaulis.

Peoples of Central Asia

Migration Caused by Droughts

The Turkomans belong to a branch of the Turkish family which dwell in Mid-Siberia and the Altai Mountains. Long before the Christian Era, the desiccation of their pastures compelled them to migrate southwards. Following, probably, the ancient course of the Oxus, they spread over the desert which still bears their name. Until the era of Russian conquest their tribal organisation was retained intact. The Yomud Turkomans feed their

flocks and herds in the desert south of Aral, taking shelter in the valleys of North-western Persia during the winter months. The Tekkes have absorbed many minor clans in a struggle for existence. About half a century ago they took possession of the Merv oasis and a fertile strip fringing the Kopet Dagh Mountains.

A Race of Tamed Barbarians

From these points of vantage they harried Northern Persia and Afghanistan, selling their inhabitants into hopeless slavery at Bokhara and Khiva. Between 1881 and 1884 these hornets' nests were extirpated by Russia. The Turkomans have lost their passion for rapine, and sullenly settled down as agriculturists and cattle-breeders. The horses, which once carried tribesmen incredible distances on forays, are no longer raised. Brilliant and durable carpets were formerly woven by their womenfolk; but this industry has been well-nigh killed by imported coal-tar dyes.

Sart is the generic term employed by Russians for the sedentary population of Central Asia; but it includes a variety of ethnological types. Tajiks predominate in urban centres. They descend from Aryan aborigines, from Persian immigrants, or alliances between Uzbegs and imported slaves. The Tajiks are a tall, well-favoured race, with clear olive complexions and black hair and eyes. As each tide of conquest swept over Central Asia they bowed their necks and acquired all the vices bred by slavery. They are intelligent, polished, and laborious, but their faithlessness is as notorious as their want of courage. The languages spoken by this motley human horde are Chagatay, a dialect of Turki, and Tajiki, which is a corrupt form of Persian. In Russian Turkestan the conquerors have not committed the blunder of forcing a knowledge of their vernacular on subject races. Religion has played a great part in moulding the destinies of Central Asia. In the eighth century the entire territory succumbed to Islamic conquest. Five hundred years later a wave of mysticism swept over Asia, which was probably a reflex action of the Crusades. This revival has left indelible traces on social life and thought. Uzbegs, Turkomans and the bulk of dwellers in cities are ardent Sunnis, adhering to Mohammed's traditionary teachings. These are rejected by Shias, who also champion the claims to succesion as Caliph of the Prophet's son-in-law Ali, and the latter's sons, Hasan and Husayn. The rival sects detest each other cordially. Many Sarts of Persian descent are crypto-Shias; but overt nonconformity is forbidden by Uzbeg fanaticism. Islam has never taken root among the Kirghiz, whose inveterate nomadism resists all attempts to instruct or civilise.

Waves of Religious Conquest

The Russian possessions in Central Asia result from a law which compels an organised government in contact with barbaric tribes to extend the area of its conquests until they reach the sea, an impenetrable mountain range, or the boundaries of a state strong enough to be mistress at home. The Russo-Chinese frontier is defined by mountain chains connecting the Caspian and Polar seas. The last rectification of frontier took place in 1882, when five-sixths of Kulja, which had been occupied during the anarchy of the Taiping Rebellion, was retroceded to China. In the same year Russia surrendered to Persia certain valleys watered by the River Atrek, on the Caspian's south-eastern shore; while the Shah resigned his shadowy claims to suzerainty over Tekke Turkomans. The spheres of British and Russian influence were defined by the mixed Boundary Commissions of 1885 and 1895. Afghanistan is admitted to lie within the orbit of British India, whose approaches are now defended by solemn treaties. Thus, Russia has, of her own free will, placed limits on her expansion southwards, and she is free to pursue the task of civilising her vast possessions in Central Asia. They include the following provinces.

Russian and British Influences

—	Area. Sq. miles.	Population.
Akmolinsk ..	229,609	682,608
Semipalatinsk	184,631	684,590
Turgai	176,219	453,416
Semirechensk ..	152,280	987,863
Syr Daria	194,853	1,478,398
Ferghana	86,000	1,572,214
Samarkand	26,627	860,021
Transcaspian Territory	214,237	382,487
Bokhara	79,000	2,000,000
Khiva	23,000	800,000
Total	1,366,456	9,901,597

The first three are under the Governor-General of the Steppes, whose head-



A VILLAGE ON THE SHORES OF LAKE BALKASH



ON THE ASIATIC SHORE OF THE CASPIAN SEA



NEAR KRASNOVODSK, THE PRINCIPAL TRANSCASPIAN TOWN

SCENES ON THE CASPIAN SEA AND LAKE BALKASH

quarters are Omsk, which has 37,376 inhabitants. Though their soil and climate are essentially Siberian, they are always reckoned as part of Central Asia. Northern Akmolensk is a continuation of the Black Earth zone of Southern Russia, producing cereals, potatoes, and livestock; the southern half is known as the Hungry Steppe. Semipalatinsk is more fertile, and 20,000 ounces of gold are extracted annually from its sand and gravel deposits. Turgai has emerged from the ocean in comparatively recent ages. Its surface is covered with half-fossilised shells and aquatic plants. The population is wholly nomad Kirghiz, whose herds of cattle are decimated by blizzards during an Arctic winter. Semirechensk possesses vast unexploited treasures of coal and iron, and its eastern valleys, adjoining Chinese Kulja, rank among the most fertile tracts in the world.

Three-fourths of Syr Daria is trackless desert, affording pasture to Turkoman tribes after the spring rains. It is bisected by a highland region watered by tributaries of the river which gives the province its name. The Governor-General of Turkestan resides at Tashkent, a Russianised city containing 156,000 inhabitants. Ferghana, watered by upper reaches of the Syr Daria is as productive as Russian Kulja. For countless centuries it was the main artery of caravan traffic between Europe and China, and supports a relatively dense population. Kokan (112,428), Na Mangan (62,000), Andisan (47,627), and Marghilan (36,490), are centres of trade and of Moslem fanaticism. The province of Samarkand owes its amazing fertility to the River Zarafshan; and vast mineral wealth is stored up in the eastern valleys. Its world-famous capital is a mere shadow of departed grandeur.

District of Syr Daria

Samarkand has been deprived by the Transcaspian railway of its ancient importance as a starting-point of caravan traffic, and its population has sunk to 50,000. The shade of Timur still seems to brood over the metropolis from which he ruled the world from Russia to the Persian Gulf, from Constantinople to the Ganges. His sepulchre's fluted dome soars high above the leafy forest which enshrouds Samarkand, and its citizens speak of him as *the* Amir. His glorious tombs and mosques, once radiant with enamelled tiles, have been brought to the verge of collapse by earthquakes and centuries of neglect. Nine-tenths of the Transcaspian territory is a desert over which Turkomans wander in spring and winter. Its settled population is concentrated in Merv and smaller oases watered by the Murghab and Tejend, or occupy the Atok, a fertile belt on the northern slope of the Kopet Dagh. Embedded in Russian territory are Bokhara and Khiva, known as the Khanates, the sole relics of the Islamic dominion established by Mahomet's all-conquering successors. Bokhara consists of a mountainous tract unfit for cultivation, a central plateau watered by the Zarafshan, cool, healthy, and densely peopled, and lowlands subject to encroachments by the desert sand. The arable area does not exceed 8,000 square miles, and the pressure of population is beginning to be felt. The capital is a walled city with 65,000 inhabitants. It was once a busy centre of trade and manufacture, but both have suffered from Russian competition. Unlike Samarkand, Bokhara is a focus of Oriental learning. Thousands of students imbibe useless lore and a strong leaven of fanaticism in its well-endowed colleges. Booksellers' shops abound, but the libraries, which were formerly Bokhara's chief pride, have succumbed to neglect and conflagrations.

Khanates of Russian Turkestan

The government is a despotism, tempered by priestly influence and the tactful guidance of a Russian Resident. It is wielded by the Amir, who belongs to the leading Uzbeg clan. Internal order is maintained by an armed rabble of 11,000 soldiers. In its days of independence Bokhara was a theocracy, as thoroughgoing as Calvin's rule in Geneva. Uniformity was enforced by a rigid censorship of morals, and Tajiks, who secretly clung to Shia dogma, suffered untold oppression. Punishments were atrociously cruel; prisons were hotbeds of disease; slavery was rampant in its worst form, and agriculture groaned under manifold exactions. The sinister features of native rule have been softened by Russian influence, and though Uzbegs and Mullas may regret the loss of complete autonomy, it is not felt by the masses. Prior to its conquest in 1873, Khiva was a yet more barbarous replica of Bokhara. It consists of an oasis of 5,210 square miles, fertilised

Slavery Under a Theocracy

by the Oxus, and 17,800 square miles of desert. No standing army is maintained, and 2,000 naukars, or royal servants, suffice for purposes of state and police. Both Khanates are divided into districts, administered by a Beg, which are again parcelled out into Amlaks, or groups of villages, severally represented by their Aksakal, or greybeard. The Russian character is well equipped for the task of governing Asiatics. Christianity, which is very vital in all classes at home, has checked the growth of racial pride and caste feeling. For 240 years Russia lay under the heel of Tartar hordes, whose blood flows in the veins of many ruling families. The inbred sympathy which links European Russians with their Asiatic fellow-subjects was seen in a full measure during the period of conquest. The Tsar has had many servants in the East who are quite worthy to rank with Munros, Elphinstones, and Lawrences. No impassable gulf yawns between rulers and ruled. Children of the soil are eligible for the highest posts, and such friction as exists is bred by religious prejudices.

Sympathy Between People and Officials

In administering this enormous territory, Russia distinguishes between nomad tribes and the denizens of fertile valleys who have long enjoyed a certain degree of civilisation. The Turkomans are governed in patriarchal fashion ; their tribal organisation has been destroyed, and a *starshina*, or mayor, elected by each Aul, or group of Kibitkas, has replaced the chieftain whose behests were blindly obeyed during forays. Respecting nought but superior force, they have learnt to revere the District Officer, who sternly represses tendencies to revert to ancient misdoings. On the other hand, inhabitants of Samarkand, Ferghana, and Russian Kulja retain their social, and much of their legal, mechanism intact. Indigenous institutions have not been trampled upon, nor does a half-educated proletariat preach racial discord and fill the minds of the masses with the daydream of political independence. Each province is under a military governor, who is subordinate in professional details to the Minister of War at St. Petersburg. It is divided into districts, which are administered by army officers responsible for executive government and the collection of revenue. The district, again, is portioned out into Pristas, or subdivisions, under executive chiefs.

Russian Rule in Central Asia

The Volost, or group of 25 villages, is the next unit. Villages, averaging 100 houses, or kibitkas, are officially represented by starshinas, who are elected by the people, subject to the district chief's veto. A complete separation has been effected between executive and judicial functions. Crimes are reported by the starshina to the volostnoi, and ultimately to a Judge of First Instance, stationed at the district headquarters. This officer holds a local investigation, and prepares the case for trial by a Judge of the Peace under Russian criminal law. Both are subordinate to the Minister of Justice at St. Petersburg, and every penal suit runs through a gamut of appeals involving a great waste of time. Civil suits between natives are also tried by the Judge of the Peace under Mohammedan law, interpreted by a Qazi. If either party be a Russian, the case is judged in the light of Russian law, which is gradually superseding the incoherent mass of dicta and tradition current in Mohammedan courts. The Transcaspian territory, inhabited mainly by Turkomans, has received a peculiar legal system from General Kuropatkin, who is still remembered as an enlightened Governor-General. A commission of five judges sits at the capital, Askabad, as a Court of Appeal. Under it are district courts, consisting of the chief, aided by five "Popular" Judges, who are selected from the personnel of the Courts of First Instance. These latter hold sessions weekly at the headquarters of each Volost, for the trial of petty cases. They are composed of five "Candidate" Judges, elected by villagers in the several volosts. This simple system is much appreciated, and perjury, which is the bane of superior courts throughout the East, rarely occurs in these patriarchal tribunals.

Patriarchal Tribunals of Central Asia

Under Moslem rule the State was theoretically sole landlord, although huge areas had been ceded to generals and Court favourites, or set apart for the maintenance of mosques and colleges. When the Russians took possession of conquered provinces they depended on officers of the former régime for information on land revenue. The inequalities and injustice of these statistics have not yet been removed. Taxation on land ranges between 50 cents and 80 cents per acre, the maximum being charged for irrigated fields. A house tax

is levied on heads of families, whether settled or nomad. The average incidence is approximately three dollars—about 5 per cent. on the household's income. Every starshina is responsible for the amount assessed on his village. There is a tax of one-fortieth on the value of goods sold, from which Russians are exempt. Small duties are paid on tobacco, matches, and kerosene ; and nomads are charged head-money for the right of grazing their cattle on Russian territory. Data are wanting for an estimate of the cost of Russian rule in Asia ; but it is known to be far in excess of revenue. The garrison consists of 213 infantry battalions and 91 squadrons of cavalry, 58 companies of fortress artillery, and 109 of enginee s, who are employed on the State railways. The aggregate strength is 130,250 men, who are cantoned at Merv, Samarkand, and other centres o population.

Irrigation and transport are the chief problems presented by Central Asia. A vast upheaval of the soil has dislocated the ancient fluvial system, and rainfall has shrunk owing to the disappearance of forests. Hence the wholesale emigration of the aboriginal inhabitants to Europe, India, and Egypt. Those who remained battled successfully with an adverse environment, and stupendous irrigation works remain to attest their indomitable energy. Near Samarkand there is a chain of wells 420 feet deep, connected by tunnels in which a man can stand upright. The loess, deluged with water from an arik, or distributory, yields two, and sometimes three, harvests in the year. The critical weeks are those which follow the melting of mountain snows. Water is then worth its weight in silver, and it must be so apportioned that every plot may receive its just quota. The task is complicated by ancient royal grants and fierce disputes between inhabitants of upland valleys and villages on a lower level. Russia wisely leaves the management of such delicate operations in native hands. Irrigation is supervised by elected overseers, termed aksakal, and village mirabs, "Lords of the Water," who are remunerated with a fixed proportion of the crops. The area irrigated in Russian Turkestan is nearly 50,000 square miles.

Water Worth its Weight in Silver

Agriculture, conducted by means of the most primitive appliances, gives results which our scientific farmers might envy. In Southern Turkestan the poor man's staple food is giant millet, which yields two-hundredfold. Spring and winter, wheat and barley and rice are largely cultivated. Cotton has developed enormously since the introduction of American seed in 1883. Russia depends wholly on Turkestan for the raw material worked up in the mills of Moscow and Polish centres. The yearly export is 663,820,000 lb., valued at $50,000,000. Viticulture is pursued on a large scale in Samarkand. In October the environs are knee-deep in luscious grapes, and the output sometimes reaches 26 tons per acre. The bulk is exported in the form of raisins ; but wine, equal to superior Burgundy, is sold at 12 cents a bottle. The only limit to the production of wine and brandy is the enormous cost of imported bottles, corks, and casks. Every fruit and vegetable known in temperate or semi-tropical climates is raised in the utmost perfection. The future of Central Asia is bound up in the irrigation question. It is a matter of vital necessity to bring back the spacious days of Timur by extending the means of water supply. On the Tsar's private domains, near Merv, great results have been achieved by restoring one of the great anicuts destroyed by Bokharan invaders in 1784. But scientific irrigation is still in its infancy. Innumerable streams run to waste in the belt of loess which fringes the mountains. The seven rivers of Semirechensk plough their way into the desert by deeply-cut channels. With the aid of science and capital the oases would be delivered from their incubus of sand-encroachment, and Central Asia would again support a dense and prosperous population.

Agricultural Produce of Turkestan

Greater progress has been made in the matter of transport. For 2,500 years Central Asia was the main artery of commerce between the East and West. Chinese teas, silks, and spices were carried on horse and camel-back across its passes and deserts. Internal traffic was restricted to goods of small bulk but considerable value. A revolution has been wrought by the State railways constructed during the decade ending with 1904. Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian, is linked with Tashkent by a line 1,164 miles in length ; and a branch of 204 miles has opened up the Ferghana Valley. Another, 193 miles

Passing of Primitive Transport

long, runs south of Merv to Kushinsk on the Afghan frontier. The Central Asian and Trans-Siberian systems are united by a railway 1,175 miles in length between Orenburg and Tashkent. The whole network of 2,758 miles was intended to serve strategic purposes; but these considerations have given way to the imperious demands of commerce. Caravans no longer bring from China the tea which is consumed in every hut and kibitka. The produce of Indian and Ceylon gardens comes by sea to Batum, whence it is distributed in the interior by railways following ancient trade routes. Nor is the indirect gain less considerable. The cruel waste of animal life has ceased; and fodder, once consumed by millions of creatures engaged in transport, is more profitably employed. Though the long isolation of Central Asia has been broken, it is by no means in close contact with the currents of modern activity. A branch railway between the Orenburg-Tashkent line and Kulja is sorely needed. The Russian terminus at Kushinsk and that of our Indian system at Chaman, beyond Kandahar, are separated by 425 miles of hilly country offering no serious obstacle to the engineers. If this gap were bridged London would be brought within a week's journey of Karachi. The Persian Gulf is barely 700 miles from the nearest station on the Transcaspian Railway; and Russia's perennial quest of a warm-water port might thus find an outlet to the Indian Ocean. The genius of her people forbids her to aim at maritime supremacy. Established on the Persian Gulf, she would be more vulnerable to naval attack. When groundless prejudices disappear Great Britain and Russia will perceive that there is no cause for political or economic rivalry between them, and they will pursue the task of civilising Asia hand in hand.

Railway System of Central Asia

Commerce has responded to the stimulus given by improved means of transit. It embraces raw materials of considerable bulk, but many native industries have suffered from Russian competition. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1, European Russia was invaded by a horde of German manufacturers, eager to profit by the iron wall of protection which girds the empire. Their velvets, drill, broadcloth, damask, and brocades have ousted the beautiful silk stuffs produced by Bokharan looms. Coal-tar dyes have lowered the value of Turkoman carpets; bounty-fed beet-sugar undersells the product of the cane; Russian yarns are exclusively employed in such cotton manufactures as survive. Central Asia is essentially a chintz-consuming country. The ever-changing taste for this gaudy fabric is watched and catered for by Russo-German mill-owners.

Steady Commercial Expansion

Before the era of conquest a thriving trade was carried on between India and the Khanates. It has been ruined by protection and the absence of British consular agencies east of Baku. The Indian colonies at Bokhara and other trade centres confine themselves to dealing in tea or opium, and lending money at usurious interest. A lucrative field is open to British capital in the export of lamb-skins, known as "Astrachan," which are a speciality of Central Asia. Its mineral wealth has hardly been touched. Kerosene oil is imported from Baku, although extensive deposits exist in the Transcaspian territory. Alluvial gold is mined in Semipalatinsk, and coal to some extent in Semirechensk. The Zarafshan Valley—and, indeed, the whole mountainous area—abound in useful and precious metals. The principle of laisser-faire, which Russians adopt in dealing with religion, extends to education. In the northern provinces about 1·5 per cent. of the population is undergoing some sort of instruction. Elsewhere the Government schools barely suffice to provide a small modicum of Russian, required in candidates for inferior offices. Indigenous education is more vital. Every mosque has its primary school, which gives elementary instruction in theology and the vernacular. Promising lads are drafted into richly-endowed Madrissas, where they undergo a severe training in Arabic literature. These colleges are hotbeds of mysticism and Pharisaic pride.

Immense Latent Wealth

A serious rising, which took place at Andijan, in Ferghana, in 1898, was fomented by adepts in theology termed Ishans. But the danger of a religious war is no longer acute. Islam in Asia is rapidly losing its militant character. Its professors have learnt from the Russo-Japanese War that Europe may be met on equal terms by employing its own weapons; and they are eager to assimilate all that is valuable in our civilisation.



KRASNOVODSK STATION, THE CASPIAN SEA TERMINUS



RIVERS FREQUENTLY OVERFLOW THEIR BANKS AND FLOOD THE LINE



A TYPICAL TRANSCASPIAN RAILWAY STATION

Attempts to foster Russian colonisation have met with small success. Fourteen per cent. of the population of Semirechensk are European immigrants or Cossacks, whose children thrive in the cool valleys of Kulja. Military settlements planted in the Transcaspian territory have failed owing to the colonists' predilection for strong drink. European races seem to be incapable of taking root in the continent which gave them birth. Their dominion in Asia must be preserved by a constant stream of temporary immigrants.

Russian rule has conferred untold blessings on subject races. The canker of slavery has been cured, and many a robber's lair exterminated. The fanaticism and cruelty of native rule has given place to a just and gentle administration. Indigenous industries have, indeed, succumbed to European competition ; monuments of a glorious past are in hopeless decay, and its gorgeous colouring has faded from Oriental life. Such are the drawbacks attaching to aggressive civilisation ; and they are seen at Delhi or Cairo, as well as in Samarkand. British India has given Russia many a hint for the government of Asiatics; and, on the whole, it may be admitted that the model has been improved on. So diverse are the conditions encountered that no comparison between the two systems can be fairly drawn.

What Russia Has Done

The area of Russian Central Asia is nearly equal to that of India. Its population is less than 10,000,000, even allowing for the concealment of their womenfolk indulged in by Mohammedans, while that of India is nearly 300,000,000. Turkestan has no predatory classes to be a perpetual thorn in the administrator's side. Overpopulation has not brought with it a long train of famine and disease. Political discontent is not fostered by a horde of briefless lawyers and starving literates. Religious fanaticism is subsiding, and the current of sympathy between man and man is unchecked by the artificial barriers of caste. There are, indeed, many obstacles in the path of Russia as a civilising power ; and they are attacked in a spirit which should appeal with special force to the fellow-countrymen of Clive and Hastings, of George Stevenson and Brunel. A frank understanding between the two Empires will make the immense force let loose in Asia's awakening serve the true interests of humanity. Eastern, or Chinese, Turkestan has strong physical and ethnological affinities with Russian Central Asia. Until 1758 its oases were the seats of Mohammedan Khanates formed in the dissolution of Genghis Khan's overgrown empire. They were overwhelmed by the tide of Chinese expansion, and constituted a province styled Hsin King, or the New Dominion. In 1864 the garrison, perforce neglected by Peking during the terrible Taiping Rebellion, mutinied against its officers. A soldier of fortune named Yakub Beg seized the opportunity of establishing himself as ruler of the outlying province. The moment was opportune for empire-building. China was bleeding from every vein ; Russia was occupied in subduing the Khanates. Yakub Khan's appeal to Great Britain for recognition was welcomed in London and Calcutta, which were hypnotised by the chimera of a Russian invasion of India. Had fate been propitious this able adventurer might have founded an empire as extensive as Persia. He reckoned without the recuperative power and the sleuth-hound determination of China. In 1877 he was overwhelmed by a Celestial army, and Eastern Turkestan was regained. In 1871 Russian troops occupied Kulja, which had fallen into a state of complete anarchy, but, eleven years later, China was strong enough to demand its retrocession. Good relations were essential to Russia's deep-laid scheme of expansion. The eastern portion of Kulja, 23,750 square miles in area, was surrendered ; while 4,357 square miles were incorporated in Semirechensk. This was the only instance in which Russia has retraced her steps in Central Asia.

Chinese Central Asia

Eastern Turkestan is bounded on the north by Zungaria and the Altai Mountains, southward by the highlands of Kashmir and Tibet. Towards the east it merges in the Gobi Desert and spurs of the Altyn and Akka Tagh, which bisect the province. Its western marches are sharply defined by the Tian Shan range and the hills of Kashmir. Its area is 440,000 square miles ; but its population is confined to Kulja, and a ring of oases watered by the Tarim and its tributaries, which rise in the environing mountains, to lose themselves in a fringe of salt lakes

Boundaries of Chinese Turkestan



A HUNTER OF THE KIRGHIZ STEPPES

From the painting by Vassilli Verestchagin, photographed by Braun, Clement et Cie.

styled Lob Nor. In one of these green spots stands Yarkand, a decayed town of 90,000 inhabitants. Another is commanded by Kashgar, a walled city with a population of 120,000, the seat of government of an influential Russian Consul-General, and a British Commercial Agent under the Resident in Kashmir. Khotan, in the south, is cultivated like a garden. The valleys of Kulja, fertilised by the river Ili, were once a main avenue of international trade. The centre of Chinese Turkestan is the Lakshan depression, below sea-level, and geographically the heart of Asia. The climate is excessively dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The province suffers still more than Russian Central Asia from the isolation imposed by natural barriers. Communication with the West is hampered by the Tian Shan and Pamirs, whose passes exceed 12,000 feet in altitude. Those toward India are still more difficult. Eastwards it is cut off from China by the Gobi Desert, once a great centre of population, and by a dædalus of mountain ranges. The population, estimated at 1,000,000, are akin to the sedentary inhabitants of Western Turkestan. They are nominally Mohammedans, but have lost the religious zeal which characterised their ancestors. Morality is at the lowest ebb, and disease is rampant.

Cities of Eastern Turkestan

Administration is conducted by a Governor-General, *Futai*, and two deputies, *Tao Tai*, who reside at Kashgar and in Kulja. Below these functionaries are District Magistrates, *Chow Kuan*, known as "Ambans" to the West. All these are members of the mandarinate. Being ignorant of the Tajiki and Turki vernaculars, they are dependent on venal interpreters. An unpaid hierarchy of native officials is responsible for revenue and police functions. Begs are in charge of towns; ming-bashis, yiz-bashis, and om-bashis represent thousands, hundreds, and tens of the population. The whole system of government is utterly rotten, for every vice of a corrupt bureaucracy increases directly with the distance of outlying provinces from Peking. Public offices are sold to the highest bidder, and able men who cannot afford to purchase are unemployed. Though taxation is on a most oppressive scale, a mere fraction of the sums wrung from hapless traders and peasants reaches the Imperial exchequer. Every collector of revenue retains the lion's share, and it is hardly surprising that Turkestan should cost China $150,000 a year while fortunes are amassed by officials of every grade. Agriculture is burdened with tithes, *Yung Lin*, levied in kind. Oil-presses, rice-mills, and transfers of land are heavily taxed. Goods sold in the bazaars pay a twentieth to the State, and mines are subject to a royalty of 33 per cent. Criminal justice is in the hands of the Chow Kuan and his satellite, the Beg. When a fine can be levied, the worst offender escapes personal punishment. Homicide is punished by decapitation, which is carried out after the sentence has been confirmed at Peking. Murders, however, are generally hushed up, for the District Chief who reports is liable to fine. Severe scourging, a portable pillory, termed kang, or an iron bar permanently riveted to the culprit's body are penalties awarded to robbers and housebreakers. The gaols are dens as atrocious as those of Bokhara and Khiva before the Russian conquest.

Hotbeds of Official Corruption

Eastern Turkestan lies at the mercy of Russia. Its army, commanded by an unpaid general, or *Teetai*, consists of 3,000 horsemen and 4,500 foot soldiers, on paper; but the actual strength is 2,300. It is a rabble, whose discipline and weapons are beneath contempt.

Barbarous Criminal Penalties

Agriculture depends wholly on irrigation, which, a century ago, was the most highly-developed system of Central Asia. It suffers from the blight of misgovernment. Native officers decline to supply water unless they are heavily bribed; forced labour employed in repairing the canals and distributories is paid for at half the current rates, or not paid at all. The vast public works bequeathed by a happier age are rapidly decaying. The crops raised are identical with those of Russian Turkestan. Cereals, cotton, hemp, tobacco, and fruit are produced in great abundance; but the export of grain is seriously hampered by a monopoly surreptitiously claimed by Chinese officials. The province contains immense mineral wealth. Alluvial gold was mined in the Khotan district until the industry was killed by exorbitant royalties. In the mountainous tracts deposits of copper, lead, coal, and naphtha are met with, but every species of metal is imported from

Western Turkestan; and the hills are stripped of their forest clothing to serve as fuel.

Despite the oppression under which they groan, the inhabitants of this province have not lost the technical skill which rendered them famous throughout Central Asia. Fabrics of gold and silver thread and coloured cotton goods are produced in Kashgar. Khotan is renowned for its cottage-made silks, but cocoon disease has lowered the quality of the raw material.

The transport question is a determining issue in the matter of foreign trade. Turkestan is hemmed in by lofty mountain walls and a trackless desert. Intercourse with the outer world is maintained by caravans of ponies, which work on the "double load" system. Each train of animals carries its burdens to the end of a stage, and then returns for fresh ones. Over-driving, starvation, and cruel usage are universal. The province is closely connected with Western Turkestan by ethnical affinities and the influence of the Russian Consul-General at Kashgar.

Commerce in Eastern Turkestan

Chintzes, calicoes, beet sugar, kerosene oil, and metals are brought thither through the Terek, Turgat, and Alaman Passes. Communication with India is still more difficult. The Karakoram defiles are open only between July and November, and the journey to Peshawar occupies two months.

In longcloths, handkerchiefs, and coarse drills Manchester holds its own against Russian competition. English broadcloths, however, have been superseded by silk velvet exported from Germany,

The Tibetan plateau, with an area of 700,000 square miles, is the result of an upheaval which must have occurred at a more recent date than the cataclysmic change which raised Turkestan from the ocean. Northwards it marches with the province just described; its southern boundary is defined by the Himalayas. On the east it is separated from China by a tangle of curved mountain ranges. Kashmir occupies its western confines. Tibet consists of three distinct regions. The northern plateau, known as Chang Tang, averages 500 miles in width and 15,500 feet in altitude. It is dotted with salt lakes, destitute of wood and waters, swept at all seasons by terrific storms, and cursed with an Arctic winter. This inhospitable tract is separated from the Himalayas by an immense trough, styled Bodyul, the name by which the whole country is known in China. This valley is the main seat of population. Here the Brahmaputra, called Yarro Tsanpo in its upper reaches, and the Indus rise in close proximity. Mysterious Lhasa stands

Physical Features of Tibet

11,600 feet above sea-level on a confluent of the Tsanpo, and Shigatse, the second capital, is situated on the main river. Bodyul has a severe climate, but heavy crops of wheat and barley are raised by terrace cultivation. The eastern mountain system is covered with forest, but shelters many a pleasant valley producing everything that the semi-tropical zone can furnish. A lofty watershed which traverses this region is the source of the Salwen river, which fertilises Burma, the Mekong, on which Siam depends, the Hwangho and Yangtse Kiang, to which China owes her dense population.

The keynote of Tibetan history is struck by its profound isolation. Access from the north is barred by a double mountain wall and the Chang Tang plateau. Tibet can never be brought within the orbit of Russian influence. Westwards the mountains of Ladak and Kashmir are impenetrable for considerable bodies of men. Those of the Himalayas are hardly less formidable. Darjiling is within a fortnight's march of Lhasa; but there are three passes of 16,000 feet which might be defended by a handful of resolute troops against an army. The eastern highlands were thrice a highway of Chinese invasion. They are still traversed by caravans and a host of pilgrims bound for holy Lhasa. But this huge expanse of broken country, with its watershed 16,000 feet in height, would baffle all the resources of European science. The portal designated by Nature is at the extreme south-easterly corner

Portal of Forbidden Land

of Tibet. It is a belt of forest-clad mountains, 200 miles in width, through which the Brahmaputra ploughs its way into Assam. This unknown land is held against all comers by savage Abor and Mishmi tribes, who enjoy free access to British India while they guard their fortresses from exploration.

Save in its eastern valleys, Tibet possesses a very restricted flora. Nine-tenths of its territory is far above forest level,

but three or four varieties of shrub, including an indigenous willow, are found in sheltered positions. During its brief summer this northern plateau is dotted with patches of wiry grass, which afford food to immense herds of deer and antelope. The yak feeds in summer on pastures 17,000 feet above the sea, descending to the valleys on winter's approach. This link between the ox and sheep has been domesticated, and carries packs over the highest passes at the rate of twenty miles a day. Its long, silky wool is the raw material of Tibetan clothing and a staple article of transport. The mineral wealth of this secluded country defies calculation. Gold is probably more abundant than in any other region. Despite excessive royalties it is extracted at Thok Talung, in Western Tibet, and the lake region, 16,300 feet above sea-level. The mines, if the word applies to mere surface scratchings, have, from time immemorial, yielded vast wealth to the Peking treasury. Gold is even more plentiful in the northern mountains; and in the highlands eastwards it is found in the shape of small nuggets under twenty feet of gravel. Silver, copper, lead, and mercury mines are worked there in a primitive fashion.

Natural Resources of Tibet

Tibet is inhabited by a Mongolian race numbering about 6,000,000, but the population is confined to the great southern valley and the eastern mountain system. The Tibetans are clumsily built, but possess great physical strength. They are light-hearted folk, passionately fond of dancing and childish games. Their bravery was proved during two invasions from British India, but priestly despotism has robbed them of initiative and implanted many slavish vices in their character. Both sexes are clad in a flowing robe with a high collar, and long boots with cloth tops. Violet is the colour affected by males, while blue distinguishes females, who also display a band of coloured stuff attached to their backs covered with quaint silver ornaments. The men are expert blacksmiths, and have the instinct for art which is the mark of Mongolian races. Polyandry is the rule where land is scarce; elsewhere polygamy prevails among the wealthier classes. Morals have no existence. Religion has proved a determining force in the formation of the national character. About 640 A.D. Buddhism was grafted by wandering missionaries on an archaic form of demon-worship suggested by the fearful storm which rages in their elevated valleys. About the year 1390 the creed of Buddha underwent a revival; but its spirit was antithetic to the Reformation. Lamaism slowly took shape, its cardinal doctrines being the occurrence of infant incarnations of Buddha, and the superior efficacy of elaborate ceremony as distinguished from good deeds. This belief favoured the growth of a hierarchy in the strictest sense. At its apex are two *avatar* Popes, in the person of the Dalai-Lama, whose abode is Lhasa, and the Tashi-Lama, ruling at Shigatse. Below them are orders closely resembling the cardinals and bishops of the West. Nearly every family dedicates at least one of its members to the priesthood. Two-thirds of the 30,000 inhabitants of Lhasa are monks; and the clusters of solid, white-fronted houses which are scattered over Bodyul and the eastern valleys are invariably dominated by monasteries. The clergy, as a body, are dissolute, avaricious, and tyrannical; but their behests are blindly obeyed by the people. Libraries are found in every monastery. The Tibetan language is losing its monosyllabic character. It has an ancient literature, consisting mainly of translations from the Sanscrit Tantras. These text-books reflect the degradation which Hinduism has suffered by the rise of sects which worship the Female Principle as a means of gaining transcendental power.

Tibetan Morals and Manners

A Dominant Dissolute Priesthood

Government is on a theocratic basis, public policy being shaped by oracular utterances interpreted by the priesthood. There is a secular arm, in the person of the Desi Gyalpo, who acts as regent during the Dalai-Lama's minority. Executive power is wielded by a Nomokan, "King of Law," selected by infant incarnation from the chief of the four great monasteries. Like the Lama Popes, these great functionaries are believed to be avatars of Buddha. The King of Law is assisted by a council of five inferior Lamas, who are in charge of judicial, revenue, provincial, foreign, and religious departments. Tibet is divided into four provinces—Nari, U, Tsang, and Khem, each larger than an average European state, which are administered by Kablons, or governors. The

mountains eastward are occupied by four principalities, more or less controlled by China

Tibet was conquered during the war of Chinese expansion which characterised the eighteenth century. This feat, which was consummated between 1720 and 1725, throws Alexander's and Napoleon's most daring exploits into the shade. It involved a march of 2,000 miles from military bases over eleven passes, each considerably higher than Mont Blanc. In 1749 a Tibetan rebellion was stifled in blood; and in 1792 the warlike Nepalese, whose fastnesses lie south of the Himalayas, were brought to heel by a Chinese army. Celestial prestige in Asia was temporarily impaired by the issue of the war with Japan in 1904; but it remained unquestioned in Tibet till the Chinese Revolution of 1911–1912. Previous to the revolution at Peking the paramount power was represented at Lhasa by two Ambans, who controlled foreign and commercial relations, and were believed to exercise an occult influence on the selection of Lamas. The military garrison was restricted to 4,500 men, but an Imperial rescript of July, 1907, directed the reorganisation of the Tibetan army by an addition of 3,600 Chinese troops, drawn from the province of Szechuen, and 2,400 native levies. A special coinage was also ordained. In 1910 the Dalai Lama fled from Tibet and sought refuge in India, on the ground that his power and security were threatened by the Chinese. But the Chinese revolution brought a mutiny of the garrison at Lhasa, and the abdication of the Ambans. The Tibetans rose against the Chinese, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa, the Chinese garrison was allowed to retire, and by March, 1913, every Chinese official had left Tibet.

A new commercial agreement between Great Britain and Tibet, signed in April, 1908, and confirmed for ten years, established the maintenance of telegraphs and posts, and ensured the rights of British subjects. But the Chinese had many reasons for excluding foreign traders. Tea, which is the staple article of diet, is brought by caravan from distant Szechuen, in the shape of bricks composed of refuse leaf and stalks consolidated with rice water. Chinese producers have good reason to dread the competition of the Indian leaf, and not less the possibility that the gold regions may be invaded by European prospectors. The volume of commerce passing through the Chinese trade centres at Sining Fu and Ta Chien Lu is estimated at several millions sterling. The value of Tibetan trade with India has never exceeded $1,450,000. Exports consist of wool, yaks' tails, animal musk, borax, and gold; and the imports of amber, coral, turquoise, pearls, tobacco, and opium.

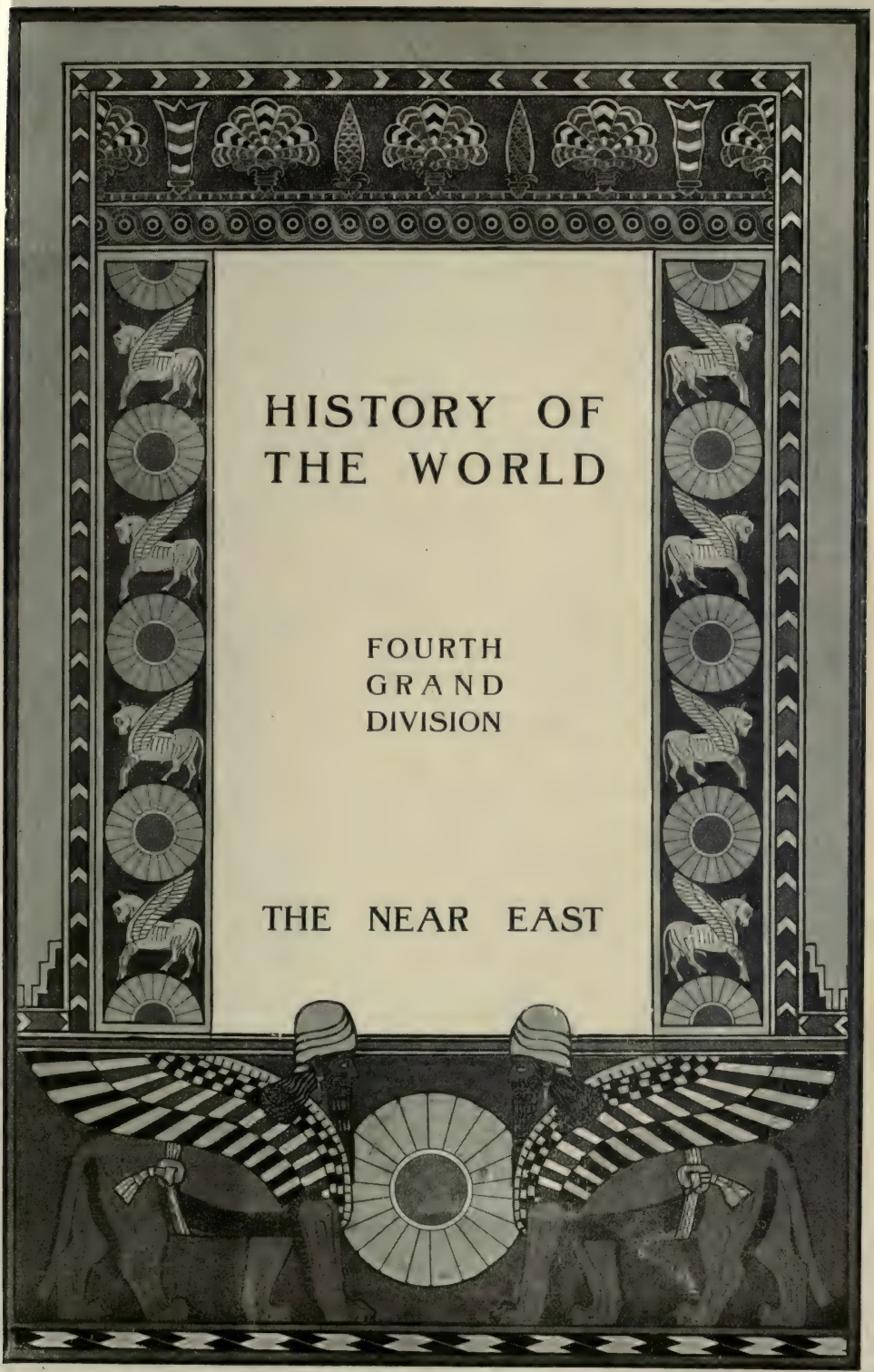
If the key of Tibet must still be sought at Peking, its door stands at the threshold of our north-eastern frontiers. It has often been remarked that if Great Britain were in Russia's place she would long since have forced her way to warm-water ports essential to her legitimate expansion. None the less it is true that, if conditions were reversed, a handful of irreclaimable savages would not be suffered to block the approaches to a country possessing mineral wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.



THE FUNERAL PYRE OF A TENTH CENTURY SLAV CHIEFTAIN IN ORIENTAL RUSSIA

The strange barbaric funeral ceremony of the ancient Russian chiefs, so powerfully painted in this great work of Siemiradzki's, is fully described on pages 3185-6 of the History.

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HISTORY OF
THE WORLD
FOURTH
GRAND
DIVISION
THE NEAR EAST



FOURTH GRAND DIVISION
THE NEAR EAST

With the Near East we enter upon the regions whose history is in continuous connection with that of Europe from the time when European records begin. Our division covers Persia and all of Asia that lies west of Persia. Geographically, this area is much smaller than that of the preceding divisions ; but it has been the scene of still more tremendous and world-shaking events.

For here the Semitic races developed—the races which gave to the world the religion of the Hebrews, and its offspring, the Christian Faith, and Islam. Here was the cradle of those civilisations of the Tigris and Euphrates, the oldest of which we have record, save Egypt.

Here the Chaldæan learnt the secrets of the stars, Babylon and Nineveh rose and fell ; Solomon raised his Temple ; Aryan conquerors from the East, led first by Cyrus the Persian, fell under the Semite spell ; Aryan conquerors from the West, led first by Alexander of Macedon, yielded to the same enchantment.

Thence the Phœnicians set forth, the pioneers of the greater navigations. From these regions the Apostles spread the Gospel which turned the world upside down ; issuing from them, the successors of the Arabian Prophet made conquest of half Asia and North Africa, and crashed in a thousand years' struggle against the nations of the West. The glory of the Near East is no more ; but it has played a majestic part in human history.





PLAN

THE ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS AND THEIR VANISHED GLORIES
Professor Archibald H. Sayce

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA
Dr. Hugo Winckler, Leonard W. King., M.A.

EARLY NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA
Dr. Hugo Winckler, Leonard W. King, M.A., Dr. K. G. Brandis, H. R. Hall, M.A.

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE RISE OF PERSIA TO MAHOMET
Dr. Hugo Winckler, Leonard W. King, M.A., Dr. K. G. Brandis, H. R. Hall, M.A.

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET
Dr. Heinrich Schurtz, Leonard W. King, M.A.

WESTERN ASIA IN OUR OWN TIME
By Angus Hamilton

For full contents and page numbers see Index





THE NEAR EAST

THE ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS AND THEIR VANISHED GLORIES

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

EARLY EMPIRES OF MESOPOTAMIA & EGYPT

Egypt, as regards its early civilisation, is so intimately associated with the ancient empires of Western Asia that in any general survey considerable attention must be devoted to it; but the geographical plan of this History requires that the main treatment of that country should come into the Fifth Grand Division, which deals with the continent of Africa

LESS than a century ago the history of the ancient East could have been compressed into a few pages, and even these few pages would have been a mixture of history and romance. The scanty accounts of the great empires of Oriental antiquity which had drifted down to us from the writers of Greece and Rome were intermingled with myth and fiction, and what the Old Testament had to tell us about them was meagre and fragmentary. A single case was sufficient to hold all the monuments of Assyrian or Babylonian civilisation possessed by the British Museum, and the mummies and other objects of Egyptian antiquity scattered through the museums of Europe were merely so many curiosities the nature and age of which were unknown.

In no department of science has so complete a revolution taken place in our knowledge during the last half-century as in that of Oriental archæology. Thanks to the excavator and decipherer, the ancient world of the East has risen, as it were, from its grave, and has become almost as familiar to us as the European world of the Middle Ages. We can follow the daily life and read the inmost thoughts of the men who lived before Abraham was born; can study the actual letters written by the Babylonian king against whom he fought; can examine the handwriting of Egyptian *littérateurs* who flourished centuries before him; and handle the jewellery and articles of toilette which once belonged to the ladies of the same distant past. The Oriental past, in fact, has ceased to be distant; like a landscape which the telescope brings near to us, the age of Moses or even of Abraham is being unfolded to us in all its minutest details.

The excavator was at work in Egypt before he invaded the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. Tombs were ransacked with merciless activity, and the museums of Europe filled with their spoils. But it is only recently that excavation has been conducted with that scientific care and precision which alone can yield satisfactory results. Much of the earlier work was mere spoliation, which ended in destroying material of priceless value to the archæologist of

to-day. But there was also much which helped to build up our present knowledge of the history of the past. The artistic skill and patient labour of Sir Gardner Wilkinson recovered for us the life and manners of ancient Egypt, while the Prussian Exploring Expedition, under Professor Lepsius, revealed the extent of Egyptian influence in the Sudan, and carried to Berlin the materials for reconstructing the history of the country. Mariette's excavations completed the work of Lepsius on the historical side, and, with the foundation of the Cairo Museum, closed what may be termed the older period of excavation and prepared the way for the more scientific work of to-day.

Revealers of the Vanished Ages

Meanwhile the ancient cultures of Assyria and Babylonia were also being brought to light. The Frenchman Botta and the Englishman Layard revealed to an astonished world the palaces of Sargon and Sennacherib and other Assyrian kings whose names were new to history. Other expeditions followed; the sites of the forgotten cities of Babylonia were explored, and the libraries of clay books contained in them were sent to Europe and America. Year by year the wonder has grown; year by year, whether it be Egypt or Babylonia, fresh discoveries are being made, each more startling and unexpected than its predecessor, and bringing us into ever closer contact with the culture of the past.

Hand in hand with the work of the excavator has gone the work of the decipherer. From excavation alone we could have learnt only the more material side of ancient Oriental civilisation. The decipherer has given us its history and spiritual side. This is especially the case with Assyria and Babylonia, where so large a proportion of the objects discovered consists of inscribed tablets of clay.

Antiquity of the Art of Writing

One result of the discovery and decipherment of these records of the past has been to prove the great antiquity of the art of writing. The art of writing was coeval in the ancient East with the rise of civilisation. It formed an integral part of early Oriental culture, with which it continued to be closely entwined. It was used for literary purposes ages before Abraham was born in "Ur of the Chaldees," and libraries and archive-chambers were established on the banks alike of the Euphrates and the Nile.

One of the earlier fragments of Egyptian literature that have come down to us is a treatise on ethics which was composed in the time of the third dynasty, and some of the epics of Babylonia go back beyond the time of Hammurabi, the contemporary of Abraham. In the age of the eighteenth dynasty the historical novel was already flourishing in Egypt, and Babylonian scientists had written upon astronomy and mathematics before Sargon of Akkad founded the first Semitic empire at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. A postal service had been organised along the roads that intersected Western Asia, and some of the clay seals which took the place of stamps, and bore the name of Sargon's son, are now in the Museum of the Louvre. Many of the original letters of Hammurabi and his immediate successors are preserved in the museums of Europe, and testify to the minute care with which the king attended to the affairs of an empire that extended from Elam on the east to Palestine on the west. All classes and both sexes took part in a correspondence which went on increasing in activity as the centuries passed, until in the age of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, about a century before the Exodus, it included not only Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt and Canaan, but Asia Minor as well.

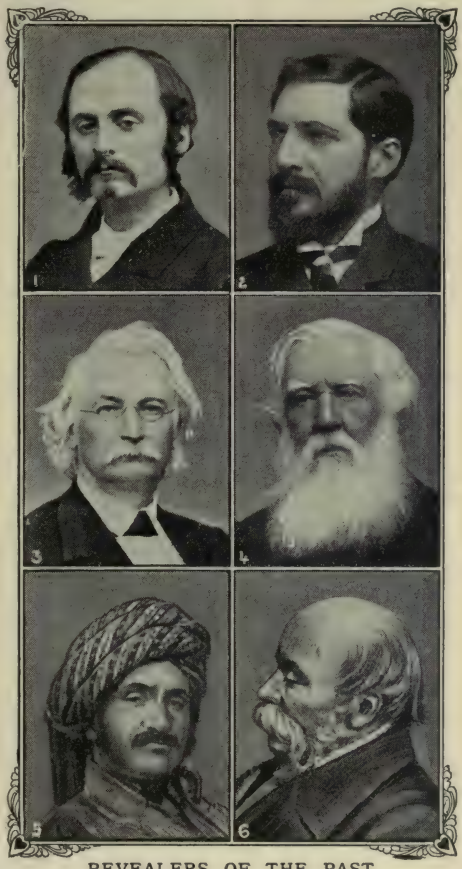
Postal Service Before 3000 B.C.

The script and language of the correspondence were those of Babylonia, which had become the literary and diplomatic script and language of the day. The Egyptian Government itself had to use them when corresponding with its own officials in Palestine. Even at Boghaz Köi, the capital of the Hittites in distant Cappadocia, the foreign characters were employed, though the language they were called upon to express was the native language of the country whenever home affairs were discussed. But even among the Hittites all subjects of an international nature were written in Assyro-Babylonian. The fact bears witness to the long continuance and profound influence of the Babylonian empire in the West in days which until recently we had been taught to consider "prehistoric."

The culture of Babylonia grew up under similar conditions to that of Egypt.

Both alike developed on the banks of great rivers, whose annual overflow was regulated and directed by engineering science. Both alike rested on the agriculture which was thus made possible, as well as upon a climate with regular seasons and sufficient warmth to allow of social intercourse out-of-doors. The farmer thus knew beforehand what weather to expect, while the people were not separated one from another in isolated households or small communities. In the great plain of Babylonia or the Egyptian delta, there were not even mountain chains to keep them apart. As soon as the rivers had been embanked, and their waters directed over the fields, or diverted into canals, the struggle of man with Nature practically ceased; thenceforth he could settle down to a life of orderly method and leisure. But the regulation of the rivers implied organisation and a directing brain; here, therefore, as in later days in China, organised states first arose, at the head of which was the king.

It is difficult to believe that the engineering science which transformed the trackless swamp into the cultivated field could have grown up independently in two different parts of the ancient world. And since the problem that faced the engineers of Babylonia, where the annual inundation occurred after, and not before, the period of sowing, was more complicated than that with which the irrigation engineers of Egypt had to deal, it is natural to suppose that Egypt would have derived its engineering knowledge from Babylonia.



REVEALERS OF THE PAST

A group of the most notable archæologists, to whose labours so much of our knowledge of the ancient empires is due. 1, Professor A. H. Sayce; 2, Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie; 3, Professor Lepsius; 4, Sir A. H. Layard; 5, Hormuzd Rassam, the chief assistant and successor to Sir A. H. Layard; 6, Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

Photos by Elliott & Fry and Maull & Fox

That there was a close connection between the culture of Babylonia and that of primitive Egypt is now known. The Egyptians of the early "dynastic" era made use of the Babylonian seal-cylinder and impressed the characters engraved upon it on soft clay; in a land of stone they imitated the Babylonians in constructing their buildings of brick; they reckoned time in the Babylonian fashion, and carved vessels of hard stone of Babylonian shape. Even the strange composite monsters of Babylonian invention were reproduced by the artists of Egypt. The Egyptian language itself bears testimony to its Asiatic origin; it belongs fundamentally to the Semitic family of speech, though it has been subjected to a strong African influence. This African influence must be due to the fact that the "dynastic" Egyptians — the Egyptians, that is to say, who drained the marshes, established organised states, and founded what we mean by Egyptian culture — found a population of African origin already existing in the valley of the Nile. Recent excavations have brought the remains of this early population to light, and have allowed us to reconstruct their mode of life. In three essential respects they differed from the Egyptians of history. They were unacquainted with the use of metals, their tools and weapons being of stone; they did not practise the art of writing; and they were herdsmen of the desert rather than agriculturists. But they had attained to a considerable amount of civilisation of their

own. Some of their flint implements are exquisite works of art, their vases of hard stone are well made and of artistic shape, and their pottery was of a high order.

There had been a stone age in Babylonia, as in Egypt; but at this early period the greater part of the Babylonian plain was still under water, what settlements there were being on the rocky plateaus to the east and west of the Tigris and Euphrates. The plain, called Edina, or the land of Eden, by its inhabitants, was formed by the silt brought by the rivers from the mountains of the north, and it was while it was in course of formation that the discovery of the use of copper was made, and a picture writing was introduced. The copper was imported from abroad, thus carrying back the commercial relations of Babylonia to the very dawn of history, while a running hand or cursive script developed out of the pictorial hieroglyphs. Wood and stone were alike scarce; clay was plentiful, and it was accordingly employed as a writing material. The written characters were impressed upon it by means of a reed pen or metal stylus, the result being that they assumed a wedge-like shape, and became what is known as cuneiform.

A Land in the Making

The stone age had been of very long duration. At Susa, in Elam, the strata representing it are of great depth, and the pottery that characterises it had time to make its way westward to the Mediterranean, and even to the shores of Spain. But, as in Egypt, so, too, in Babylonia, it is prehistoric; history begins in each country with the use of metals and the art of writing.

In each country, also, history begins with a number of independent states. In Egypt these gradually coalesced into two kingdoms, those of the north and south. The capital of the southern kingdom was at Hieraconpolis, north of Edfu; its kings regarded themselves as the successors and vicegerents of Horus, the hawk-god, and divine honours were paid to them. In Babylonia, also, the king was a god. How far back this deification of the Babylonian monarch may go, however, it is at present impossible to say. The first kings of whom we have evidence that they were worshipped during their lifetime were Sargon of Akkad and his son. It has, therefore, been thought that the belief and custom originated among the Semites, and that the deification needed the sanction of the priests of the great sanctuary of Nippur.

Deification of the Monarchs

Nippur and Eridu were the two sacred cities of primeval Babylonia. Nippur, now Niffer, stood in the northern part of the Babylonian plain, to the south-west of the later Babylon. The city grew up round the temple of Enlil, the "lord," or Bel, of earth. Here American excavators have been patiently digging year after year. They have made their way through the vast mounds of ruin in which the past history of the temple is recorded down to the virgin soil. But everywhere there is the same tale to tell. Even the lowest strata contain written monuments which show that the primeval hieroglyphs had already passed into the cursive or cuneiform stage. Babylonia was already a land of culture; it possessed organised states under kings or high-priests, and had already reached a comparatively high level of art. Hard stones were cut into seals in the form of cylinders and covered with delicate engravings, and at Tello —the ancient Lagash— in Southern Babylonia, French explorers have brought to light a large vase of silver, dedicated in early days by the priest-king Entemena and richly chased with figures of two-headed eagles, heifers, and lions [see tenth illustration on page 1587].

Art and Culture in Earliest Babylonia

The primitive inhabitants of the Babylonian plain belonged to a beardless, round-headed race, usually termed Sumerian [see pages 266 and 1594]. They spoke an agglutinative language, like that, for instance, of the modern Turks or Finns, which is called in the native inscriptions "the language of Sumer," or Southern Babylonia. To them were due all the elements of Babylonian civilisation. It was they who had drained the marshes, had built the great cities of the country, and invented the cuneiform system of writing. Later ages believed that their culture had come to them from the Persian Gulf. Tradition told how Ea, the culture-god of Eridu, once the seaport of Babylonia, had risen morning by morning from the waters of the sea, bringing with him a knowledge of all the arts and industries of life. The tradition points to intercourse with the incense-bearing lands of Southern Arabia, and the culture that follows in the track

of maritime trade. For just as Nippur in the north was the cradle of agriculture and the reclamation of the Babylonian plain, so Eridu was the birthplace of Babylonian navigation. In the days when it was founded—some seven or eight thousand years ago—it was on an inlet of the Persian Gulf; now the growth of the land through the silt annually deposited by the Tigris and Euphrates has made it more than a hundred miles distant from the shore. Even in the historical age of Babylonia it had ceased to be a seaport [see map on page 260].

Babylonian Account of Good and Evil

But its religious influence continued to the last. It was the home of the spells and incantations to which the Babylonians trusted for protection against the demons who were believed to surround them on all sides. While the darker side of Babylonian religion was represented by Nippur, its brighter side was reflected in Eridu. Enlil of Nippur was lord of the demons, whose habitation was in the dark places of the earth, whence they issued to terrify and plague mankind; it was the office of Ea of Eridu and his son "Asari, the good being," to discover how to counteract their malice and communicate the knowledge to man. At Babylon, which seems to have been originally a colony from Eridu, Asari passed into Marduk, the Sun-god who, when his city became the capital of Babylonia, superseded and abolished the older gods of the country, including Ea and Enlil themselves.

But long before this happened a new race had entered the land. Semitic nomads and settlers poured in from the Arabian side of the Euphrates, and established themselves securely in Akkad, the northern half of Babylonia. Thence they made their way northward into the later Assyria, and even into the mountains of Elam to the east. They soon adopted the higher culture of the Sumerians, and gave it a fresh development and a new impulse. Out of the fusion of the Semite and the Sumerian arose the culture and civilisation known to us as Babylonian, which made so profound an impression upon Western Asia, and through Western Asia upon the world. In Akkad the culture, like the language, became predominantly Semitic; in Sumer, on the other hand, the older population succeeded better in holding its own and in retaining its language down to comparatively modern times.

Origin of Babylonian Civilisation

For a while it seemed as if the Semitic race were to be the ruling power from the shores of the Mediterranean to the deserts of Persia. Like the Arabs in the early days of Islam, they spread in a resistless stream from east to west. Recent excavations in Palestine have shown that at least as early as the third millennium before our era they had dispossessed the older Neolithic people of their territory and were filling Syria with cities surrounded by massive walls. The older people had not been acquainted with the use of metals; they were a long-headed race who lived in caverns, and buried their dead. The Semites brought with them a knowledge of copper, which had long been employed in Babylonia, and it was doubtless the superiority of their weapons of war which enabled them to conquer and hold their new possessions in the west. They burned their dead instead of burying them, and the caverns of the earlier race were replaced by houses of brick and cities built in imitation of those of the Babylonian plain. To the Babylonians these Semites of Palestine and Syria were known as Amorites, and, as trade developed along the high-roads that ran between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, Amorite merchants passed to and fro between Canaan and Babylonia, and Amorite traders settled in the Babylonian towns.

The First Semitic Imperialist

The time was ripe for the rise of a Semitic empire in Western Asia, and this came with the conquest of Sargon of Akkad. The date of Sargŏn is given as the beginning of the third millennium B.C. by Nabonidus, who was an antiquarian as well as a Babylonian monarch, and had at his disposal innumerable records which have now perished. Sargon's capital was at Akkad, a suburb of Sippar, north of Babylon, which is mentioned for the first time in the annals of his reign. His first work was to unify Babylonia itself; next he led his victorious army across mountains and deserts, subduing Elam on the one side and the provinces of Syria on the other. His campaigns in "the land of the Amorites" occupied him for three years; then, we are told, he formed his widespread dominions into "a single empire," and assumed the proud title of "King of the Four Zones." Nearly the

whole of the known world acknowledged his rule. His policy and conquests were continued by his son and successor Naram-Sin, who marched as far as Magan, or Western Arabia, and there wrenched the copper mines of Sinai from Egyptian hands. The empire was knit together by a system of roads and posts; at home, literature was encouraged, and libraries of clay books were collected together. The cuneiform script was modified and perfected, and the gem-cutter's art attained a degree of excellence which it never reached again in later ages. Sculpture also made similar progress, and a broken bas-relief of the king found in Mesopotamia is one of the finest examples that have come down to us of the sculptor's art in Babylonia.

Semitic Power at its Greatest Height

But the empire of Sargon and his son represents the apogee of Semitic power in Western Asia. The wave of Semitic progress had already begun to ebb, and it never overpassed the bounds to which it had already attained. In Elam Semitic governors were replaced by native kings, and the language of its capital, Susa, ceased to be Semitic Babylonian and became agglutinative. The provinces of the west regained their independence, though the memory of the empire of Sargon was never lost, and was again and again invoked in later times to enforce the claims of Babylonian supremacy. In Babylonia itself, at all events in the southern part of the country, Sumerian princes once more held rule, and the brilliant epoch which had witnessed the union of Semite and Sumerian was succeeded, as is generally the case in the East, by a long period of stagnation.

Meanwhile, Egypt also had been passing through a period of high attainment in culture, to be followed by stagnation and decay. Here, too, there had been a fusion of two races. But whereas in Babylonia it had been the non-Semitic race from which the civilising impulse was derived, in Egypt it was the invaders from Asia who had brought with them the elements of a higher civilisation. Later tradition ascribed their conquest of the Nile valley—without doubt, justly—to their possession of metal weapons, and traced their gradual progress from south to north. Near Edfu they had first reached the Nile after their passage across the eastern desert, and thence they made their way northward, erecting a sanctuary at each spot where they had been victorious over their foes.

Egypt Civilised from Asia

For several centuries Egypt was divided into two kingdoms. It was during this period that the so-called "dynastic" civilisation was matured; the land was drained and canalised, cities were built, the hieroglyphic script was evolved, and the government organised. Eventually, Menes, the hereditary king of This, in the neighbourhood of the modern Girga, succeeded in uniting "the two lands" of the south and north, and founding the first dynasty of the united monarchy. His own tomb has been discovered at Negada, north of Thebes; those of his successors close to the reputed sepulchre of the god Osiris at Abydos, the sanctuary of This. The objects disinterred from the tombs prove to how high a level Egyptian culture had already advanced. There was trade with the Red Sea on the one side, and with the Ægean on the other, the obsidian of Melos being worked into exquisitely shaped vases; the art of the goldsmith and jeweller had attained to high perfection, and household furniture was wrought into artistic forms. A cursive hand had been evolved from the hieroglyphic signs, and massive blocks of granite were hewn out of the quarries of Assuan and floated on rafts down the river to This, there to be shaped for architectural purposes. In the age of Menes Egyptian civilisation was already nearing its bloom.

The Bloom of Egypt's Civilisation

It was in the schools and workshops of Memphis, however, the capital of the united monarchy, that this bloom displayed itself in all its fulness. Memphis had been built on an embankment won by Menes from the Nile, whose original course he had diverted into a new channel some seventy miles in length. Egyptian history thus begins with a stupendous work of engineering, the reality of which has been verified by modern English engineers. It was no wonder, therefore, that under the fourth dynasty, some four thousand years before our era, the development of mechanical science went hand in hand with that of art. The huge granite blocks used in the construction of the great pyramid of Gizeh were cut with tubular drills fitted with points of a stone

hard as the diamond—an instrument which was rediscovered only when the Mont Cenis tunnel was half completed. The hardest of hard stones were carved into statuary instinct with life and portraiture; indeed, one of the finest statues in the world is that of Khafra, the builder of the second pyramid at Gizeh, which is of a greenish diorite. The king is seated on his throne with the imperial hawk behind his head, and the face—speaking likeness though it clearly is—wears the divine calm of an omnipotent god. So far as the sculptor's art was concerned, its history in Egypt after the age of the fourth dynasty was that of a continuous decline.

A hawk's head of gold, with obsidian eyes, found at Hieraconpolis, shows that the goldsmith's art was equally advanced. A statue of King Pepi of the sixth dynasty, more than life-size, and made of hammered copper, which was found at the same place, bears similar testimony as regards work in other metals.

But with the sixth dynasty the Old Empire of Egypt comes suddenly to an end. Memphis became the scene of revolution and struggles for power; the political organisation of the country, which had rested on the divinely-derived autocracy of the king, was broken up, and Egypt passed into its feudal stage. The great landowners became a feudal nobility, who acknowledged the authority of the Pharaoh in name, but ignored it in fact, and even the old line of kings ceased to exist. The ninth and tenth dynasties belonged to the provincial city of Heracleopolis; but they possessed neither the power nor the prestige of their predecessors, and after carrying on war for several generations with the rival princes of Thebes, they too passed away. Henceforward, Thebes, which had grown up around the ancient sanctuary of Amon at Karnak, became the leading city in the valley of the Nile.

Egypt in the Feudal Stage

In the strong and capable hands of the three Theban dynasties which constituted "the Middle Empire," Egypt again took its place in the front rank of history and civilisation. The artistic impulse which in the time of the Old Empire had found expression in statuary, now turned to architecture; stately temples of stone arose all over the country, adorned with sculpture and painting, the execution of which, if we may judge from the recently excavated eleventh dynasty temple of Mentu-hotep at Thebes, was exceptionally fine. Great engineering works were undertaken for regulating and distributing the waters of the inundation and for improving the system of irrigation which the political disturbances of the last few centuries had allowed to fall into decay. The Fayyum was reclaimed and a large additional acreage of cultivable land given to the Egyptian agriculturists. But the control of the river necessitated the control also of the regions in the south through which it flowed. Egypt consequently became, for the first time, a conquering power; the Sudan was added to the dominions of the Pharaoh, and the cataracts were guarded by strongly built fortresses. The armies which had been trained in war with the negroes of the south, were used for service in the north also. The desert, which had hitherto separated Egypt from Asia, was crossed, and the Amorites of Southern Palestine were forced to send tribute to Thebes.

The First Egyptian Conquests

Scarabs and stone vases of the twelfth dynasty have been met with in the excavations at Gezer, west of Jerusalem. Here, too, the tombstone of an Egyptian of the same age has been discovered in the "high-place" of the city—a line of nine great monoliths, surrounded with a platform of stone, under the pavement of which have been found the bones of infants who had been burnt or otherwise sacrificed to the gods of Canaan. The high-place was that of the second city built by the Semitic settlers on the site, the huge stone wall of which was intersected with towers. Objects of bronze occur among the ruins of this second town in harmony with the fact that the earliest bronze of Egypt belongs to the epoch of the twelfth dynasty. A knowledge of the metal, it is probable, had come alike to Egypt and to Canaan from Asia Minor, to which the first use of it has been traced. Was it from Britain that the tin was brought with which the alloy was made? The gold of Asia Minor had already been transported to Egypt in the age of the sixth dynasty.

Egyptian Arts from Asia Minor

The pottery of Asia Minor followed in the wake of the metal trade. Before the second Amorite city at Gezer came to an end, the polychrome pottery of the Hittites, north of the Halys, had not only



The centres of civilisation in the third millennium B.C., and the Babylonian Empire of Sargon of Akkad, Hammurabi and his successors, until the eve of the Kassite and Hittite domination in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.



In this map we see the territories of the different empires that developed out of the first Babylonian Empire between B.C. 1500 and 1000, showing the balance of power between the twelfth and tenth centuries B.C.

THE EARLY EMPIRES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST



The development of the Assyrian Empire and of the peoples and towns absorbed by its growth, from the tenth century B.C. to the time of its greatest expansion in the seventh century, is illustrated in the above map.



The empires that rose on the fall of Assyria, and its division between the Median and New Babylonian Empires, the whole constituting the Persian Empire until the rise of Alexander, covering the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.

THE LATER EMPIRES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

made its way to Palestine, but had to a large extent superseded the native pottery of the country. It is possible that it had also influenced the arts of the islands in the Greek seas. At all events, excavation in Crete has brought to light vases of egg-shell faience, exquisitely decorated in various colours with flowers and other conventionalised emblems. The faience is generally known as "Kamares ware," from the name of the place where it was first found, and it characterises the period called by Dr. Evans, "Middle Minoan II."

High Culture of Early Crete

The discovery of the highly developed culture of early Crete is one of the most striking revelations of archæological science. There, as elsewhere in the Levant, a neolithic age of long duration was succeeded by one in which copper took the place of stone. The copper was in great measure derived from the mines of Cyprus. How early the latter were worked is shown by the fact that innumerable seals of cylinder shape, made in imitation of those of Babylonia, have been found in Cyprian graves of the early copper age, and that these seals go back to the period of Sargon of Akkad. One of the commonest symbols engraved upon them is the picture of a copper ingot, often accompanied by a bull's head, which in Crete represented a weight. We may thus see in them the signets of the Cyprian exporters of the metal.

The conquest of Sargon of Akkad had carried a knowledge of Babylonian culture to the shores of the Mediterranean. Of this culture, the use of the seal-cylinder and of clay as a writing material formed an integral part, and wherever they are found their presence is a sure witness of Babylonian influence. The Cretan tablets of clay, which have been discovered in such abundance in the ancient palaces of the island, thus point unmistakably towards Babylonia. They make their earliest appearance in what Dr. Evans has termed the first stage in the Middle Minoan period, though the strange hieroglyphs incised upon them go back to the third and last stage of an earlier epoch. This epoch, which followed the neolithic age, is itself divided into three stages, to the last of which belong the seals of button shape, whose original home was in Asia Minor, and which in the time of the sixth dynasty replaced the older seal-cylinder in Egypt. To the same stage belong also the geometric designs which distinguish the early Ægean pottery, and which, thanks to recent discoveries, can now be traced back through Asia Minor to Elam on the east of Babylonia. Here, M. De Morgan has found abundance of pottery of exactly the same character which was manufactured in the neolithic ages long before the epoch of Sargon.

Babylonian Influence in Crete

The second and third stages in the Middle Minoan period represent the high-water mark of Cretan civilisation. It was then that the splendid palaces of the Cretan kings were first built, with their spacious halls, their frescoed walls, their elaborate drainage, and their luxurious bath-rooms. The absence of walls or forts to protect them proves plainly that those who built them were lords of the sea, with no fear of the invader before their eyes. The beautiful "Kamares" pottery, with which they were filled, was imitated from vessels of gold and silver, while porcelain like that of Egypt was moulded into realistic figures of fish and animals and plants, and a linear or cursive script makes its appearance by the side of the hieroglyphic writing. But the palaces in which all this magnificence and luxury had been displayed were sacked and burned, and for a time Cretan culture passed under eclipse. It revived again at the beginning of the "Late Minoan" period; the palaces rose once more in their former splendour, and in the south a summer villa was erected whose walls were decorated with the choicest specimens of the painter's art. A change had, however, come over the face of Cretan culture. The old hieroglyphics had made way for linear characters similar to those used in Cyprus and at Troy; bronze was taking the place of copper, and the long sword was substituted for the dirk. The pottery, moreover, had assumed the form known as "Mycenæan," and was already beginning to degenerate. But wealth was still abundant; at Cnossos the ruler sat in state on an elaborately fashioned throne and watched the bull-fights and boxing matches in the arena of the theatre where slaves and captives made sport for their Cretan masters. A sword has been found with its pommel formed of translucent agate, and its hilt plated with gold and engraved with delicate designs, while the royal draught-

Cretan Kings as Lords of the Sea

board has been disinterred from its grave of centuries still brilliant with gold and silver, ivory and crystal, and the blue glass paste of which we read in the Homeric poems. The art displayed in some of the objects that have been brought to light was never surpassed, even in the later Greek world. The ivory figure of a diver, or the religious procession exquisitely carved on a vase of black steatite, declares in no uncertain tone that the art of classical Greece was but a renaissance. The lords of Minoan Crete, however, were no Greeks; that is made clear by their portraits on the Egyptian monuments as well as by the strange composite figures of their religious art—combinations of a man and bull, of an eagle and a woman, or a winged cherub with a lion's legs.

Grecian Art a Cretan Renaissance

The Middle Minoan period of Crete was coincident with a period of decay and foreign rule in both Babylonia and Egypt. The Semitic empire of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin was succeeded by a revival of Sumerian power and influence. The Sumerian princes of Southern Babylonia made themselves independent or founded dynasties which claimed rule over the whole valley of the Euphrates. When the curtain rises once more, it is, however, again a Semitic dynasty, which claims to have inherited the empire of Sargon. But the dynasty has its seat not in Northern Babylonia, but in the south, in "Ur of the Chaldees," on the western bank of the Euphrates, where bodies of Amorites from Canaan and Bedouins from Arabia had long been settled. The dynasty extended over five reigns and lasted for 117 years. Numberless legal documents dated in the reigns of its kings have come down to us, and have made us well acquainted with the social life, the law and commerce, and religious beliefs of the time. The old supremacy of Babylonia in Western Asia, which had once belonged to Sargon, was again asserted, and Syria and Canaan were again laid under tribute. Gudea, the Sumerian high-priest of Lagash, who, vassal though he was of the king of Ur, nevertheless exercised an almost independent authority, ransacked the whole known world for the materials for his buildings. Blocks of limestone and alabaster were brought from Palestine and the Lebanon, beams of cedar from the Gulf of Antioch, gold-dust and acacia from the deserts of Northern Arabia, and diorite from the peninsula of Sinai, while other costly stones were quarried in the Taurus Mountains and floated down the Euphrates on rafts. About 2300 B.C. Gudea was viceroy of Dungi, the second king of the dynasty of Ur, who, like his father, the founder of the dynasty, covered Babylonia with his buildings and restorations. The provinces of the empire were carefully organised and taxed, and part of a cadastral survey made by Urimelech, the governor of Canaan, for the purpose of taxation is still in existence. But the dynasty went down in disaster. Its last representative was captured in battle against the Elamites, and the lordship of Babylonia passed to the kings of Isin, whose dynasty lasted for 225 years.

Babylonia Again Triumphant

Then evil days fell upon Babylonia. City fought against city; the Elamites raided it from the east, while Amorite invaders attacked it from the west. The Amorites eventually possessed themselves of the northern half of the country, and made Babylon their capital. For the first time in history it became the leading city in Babylonia, and, eventually—when the kingdom of the Amorite dynasty grew into an empire—the capital and holy city of the civilised Asiatic world. Marduk, its patron-god, followed the fortunes of his city; he, too, became the supreme Bel, or "Lord," of the Babylonian deities in heaven, as his vicegerent and adopted son, the king of Babylon, was the supreme lord of their worshippers upon earth.

The Holy City of Civilised Asia

But it needed a long struggle before the new dynasty succeeded in overcoming all rival claimants to the throne of Western Asia, and in re-establishing the empire of Sargon. At one time it seemed as if Elam were destined to take the place of Babylonia, and the wave of Semitic influence which had been rolled back from the Elamite mountains would retreat from the Babylonian plain itself. Babylon was taken and plundered by the Elamite monarch, and Esagila, the temple of Bel-Merodach, was burnt with fire. Its king, Sin-muballit, disappears from history, and his son, Hammurabi, or Amraphel, a mere boy, was set on the vacant throne as an Elamite tributary. At the same time Southern Babylonia was transformed into another dependent state and given to an Elamite prince, Eri-Aku—called Rim-Sin by his Semitic subjects

—who fixed his capital at Larsa. Eri-Aku's father was appointed governor of Syria and Palestine, which had passed to Elam with the conquest of Babylonia.

Hammurabi grew up and proved to be one of the ablest rulers that have ever lived. In the thirtieth year of his reign he felt himself strong enough to rise in rebellion against his Elamite suzerain. The forces of Elam were overthrown in a decisive battle, and Larsa forced to surrender. Once more Babylonia was united under a Semitic king, whose authority was acknowledged as far as the shores of the Mediterranean. Indeed, Hammurabi seems never to have forgotten his Amorite descent, and on one of his monuments found in Northern Mesopotamia the only title he bears is that of "King of the land of the Amorites."

With the restoration of peace and the consolidation of his power, Hammurabi set himself to the work of reorganising and administering the provinces of his empire. Nothing seems to have been either too great or too small to escape the notice of the king. Numerous letters of his, written by his own hand, have survived to us, and they show that he took as much pains to investigate a complaint of bribery or oppression on the part of a petty official as he did to inquire into the administration of the Crown lands or the discipline of the standing army. The compilation of the great code of laws, which was henceforth to be obeyed throughout Western Asia, was his work. Babylonian law, like English law, was "judge-made," and its codification was at once a desirable and a difficult task. One of the most remarkable points about the code is its purely secular character; the gods may be invoked in the introduction and peroration, but in the code itself it is the civil law as laid down by the judges and sanctioned by the authority of the king that is alone regarded. Equally remarkable is the way in which the old law of blood-revenge is superseded in it by a system of fixed legal penalties, which can be inflicted only by the judge after full and impartial trial.

Hammurabi Law-giver and King

The publication of the code was doubtless suggested by the efforts Hammurabi was called upon to make for the suppression of crime, and more especially the acts of brigandage, to which the intestine troubles of Babylonia had given rise. But it was also part of a literary revival which characterises the age of Hammurabi as it had characterised the age of Sargon. The great Chaldæan Epic of Gilgamesh was composed, embodying older poems or traditions, other literary works were re-edited or published for the first time, astronomical and medical treatises were compiled, commentaries were written upon the earlier literature of the country, and grammars, dictionaries, and reading books were drawn up to facilitate the study of Sumerian. Learned men as well as poets and lawyers were welcomed at the court, and the libraries of Babylonia were again stocked with books on clay. Foremost among these were collections of the letters which passed between the king and his high officials.

Literature 4,000 Years Ago

The long reign of Hammurabi was followed by that of his son, Samsu-iluna, who, like his successor Abishu, made vain attempts to suppress a revolt which had broken out in the marshy lands at the head of the Persian Gulf, where the Aramæan tribe of Kaldâ, or Chaldæans, afterwards settled. Here an independent dynasty established itself which, on the fall of the house of Hammurabi, may have succeeded in making itself master of the whole of Babylonia. This did not happen, however, until the death of Samsu-ditana, the third successor of Abishua. His power had been weakened, if not shattered, by an invasion of Babylonia by the Hittites from Cappadocia, when it seems probable that Babylon itself was captured and its temple despoiled.

The kings of "the sea-coast" did not long enjoy their possession of the disunited and tottering kingdom. Wild Kassite hordes poured down upon the Babylonian plain from the mountains of Elam, and eventually founded a dynasty at Babylon, which lasted for 576 years. But the spell of Babylonian culture soon passed over the semi-barbarous conquerors; the Kassite kings became Babylonian in manners and customs, even in language and names. Their foreign origin, however, was never forgotten, and in spite of intermarriages with the Semites of Assyria and of Babylonia itself, their right to the inheritance of Sargon of Akkad was never fully recognised. Like the Hanoverians in England, their "right divine" was rejected, and with the rise

Barbarians in Babylonia

of the Kassite dynasty the deification of the Babylonian monarch comes practically to an end.

One result of the fall of the Hammurabi dynasty and the Kassite conquest was the loss of the Babylonian empire in the west. It is true that Babylon still claimed to be mistress of western Asia, and the Tell el-Amarna letters are witness that even when Canaan had become an Egyptian province, Babylonia was still ready to intrigue with its inhabitants against their new masters. But, politically, Syria and Palestine were never again to be Babylonian until the day came when Nebuchadnezzar restored the old glories of his fatherland and created the second Babylonian empire. Babylon, indeed, continued to be the sacred city of Asiatic civilisation; it was revered as the venerable fountain-head of Asiatic culture and theology, but its political supremacy was gone. Babylonian influence ceases to be a living principle outside the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Babylonian culture of Western Asia and in the lands of the Mediterranean becomes merely the inheritance of the past.

Babylon Loses its Foreign Power

In Babylonia itself the Kassite conquest completed the work of unifying the Semitic and Sumerian elements in the population which had been begun under the Hammurabi dynasty. Thenceforward there is only one people, the Babylonians of later history, outwardly Semitic, though inwardly Sumerian. The language is Semitic, but, like English, profoundly modified by the foreign element; the religion is also Semitic, but its roots lie far back in Sumerian animism. The spirits of the ancient cult pass into human deities, in accordance with the Semitic belief that man was made in the image of the gods, and conversely the gods revealed themselves in the image of man. The changes that thus passed over the map of Western Asia were reflected in the valley of the Nile. The Pharaohs of the Middle Empire had shown how the desert which separated them from Asia could be crossed, and the lesson was soon learnt by their enemies. The Semites of Canaan and Arabia descended upon Egypt and founded the three successive dynasties known as Hyksos, or Shepherd, which lasted for more than 500 years. Like the Kassites in Babylonia, they were rude warriors armed with the bow and unskilled in the arts of life when they first poured over Egypt like a flood. Its cities were sacked and destroyed, and its temples profaned; but, like the Kassites, they, too, soon passed under the spell of a higher civilisation. The Hyksos court became outwardly Egyptian, the kings assumed the old titles, and even gave themselves Egyptian names. Science and literature were patronised, and one of the Egyptian works on mathematics that has come down to us was written for a Hyksos Pharaoh; but, as in Babylonia, so also in Egypt, the foreign origin of the new line of kings was never forgotten. Up to the last they were compelled to garrison it like a foreign country; and their court was fixed in the Delta, where they could be in touch with their kinsmen in Asia.

Barbarians in Egypt

As long as the Hyksos rule lasted Egypt was an appanage of Canaan. The desert ceased to be a dividing line between the two countries, just as in Norman days the English Channel ceased to be a dividing line between Normandy and its English province. The Semites of Canaan passed to and fro across it, and, like Abraham, found a welcome at the court of their Hyksos kinsfolk. That a Hebrew like Joseph should rise to be Vizier was no marvel; nor was it strange that he should reduce the native population to a state of serfdom, and thereby strengthen the power of their Hyksos masters.

Why Joseph Ruled in Egypt

But through all the centuries of Hyksos domination the Egyptians were awaiting their opportunity for revolt. Tradition averred that the opportunity was given by an attack on the native religion. The religious passions of the people of Upper Egypt were aroused, and the Prince of Thebes headed the insurrection. For five generations the struggle was carried on; it ended in the expulsion of the foreigner and the foundation of the native eighteenth dynasty by Ahmes I., about 1600 B.C.

The war which had been begun in Egypt was carried into Asia. Under Ahmes and his successors Canaan was made an Egyptian province, and the boundaries of the Egyptian empire were fixed at the banks of the Euphrates and the ranges of the Taurus. The campaigns of Thothmes III. brought boundless spoil

and numberless captives to Egypt, while the gold-mines which were opened in the eastern desert made it the California of the ancient world. Maritime trade was encouraged, and Cyprus and Crete paid tribute to the Pharaoh. Even at distant Mycenæ, on the mainland of Greece, plaques of porcelain were imported from Egypt to adorn the palace of its rulers. Gifts came from the king of Assyria which the Egyptian courtiers construed into tribute. In the south the Sudan was once more conquered, and Egyptian temples were erected on the banks of the Upper Nile.

Egypt Realises the Dangers of Empire

But the Asiatic empire of Egypt brought with it the destruction of the dynasty to which it owed its origin. The court became Asiatised. The Pharaohs married Asiatic wives, and filled the high places of state with Asiatic officials. Eventually a king arose who attempted to overthrow the national faith of which he was the official guardian, and to substitute for it a kind of pantheistic monotheism. He changed his own name from that of Amon-hotep to Khu-n-Aten, "the brilliance of the solar disc"—the visible symbol of the new deity—and for the first time in history there was persecution for religion's sake. But the priesthood of Thebes were too powerful for the king. He was forced to quit Thebes and build a new capital further north, at Tel el-Amarna, where he gave daily lectures on the articles of his creed, and erected a temple to Aten, as well as a palace for himself, gorgeous with statues and frescoes, and glittering with gilded bronze.

The archives of Thebes were moved at the same time to the foreign office of the new city, where their discovery in 1887 brought about a complete revolution in our conceptions of ancient Oriental history. They consist of letters and despatches written in cuneiform characters and the Babylonian language on tablets of clay. They prove that the culture of Western Asia was so thoroughly Babylonian that even the Egyptian Government had to correspond with its own officials in the foreign language and script. They also prove how widely diffused education must have been. Not only were the educated classes of Canaan, including ladies, able to read and write in Babylonian cuneiform; it was also the common medium of educated intercourse throughout the eastern world. Not only the kings of Assyria and Babylon, but the kings of the Hittites and Cappadocia, of Mesopotamia and the coast of Asia Minor used it as well. The roads must have been kept in good order, for the posts were constantly passing to and fro along them. So, too, were the commercial travellers, for whose benefit a system of international law had been organised.

Education in the Ancient East

Canaan was governed much as India is governed to-day. There were protected states as well as cities under Egyptian governors. From time to time Egyptian high commissioners traversed the country, which was garrisoned partly by native troops, partly by a small force of Egyptians. Bodies of Bedouins were in the service of the petty princes and governors, together with numbers of Hittite freelances, who sold their services to the highest bidder. In later days when the authority of the home Government was growing weak, these hired troops and their paymasters fought with one another, and endless were the complaints brought before the Egyptian king by one governor against another. The vassal king of Jerusalem, who seems to have been of Hittite origin, was especially clamorous, and also especially urgent that Egyptian troops should be sent to his help.

Canaan a Parallel to India

But the Egyptian Government was already involved in difficulties at home. Civil and religious war was breaking out in Egypt itself, and when Khu-n-Aten died, leaving only daughters behind him, the doom of the eighteenth dynasty was sealed. A few short reigns followed, and then the nineteenth dynasty was founded in the person of Ramses I., about 1350 B.C. It represented the national reaction against the Canaanite and the foreigner who had captured Khu-n-Aten and his court. The Asiatic strangers were driven from the country or reduced to serfdom, and the high offices of state were again held by native Egyptians. The Asiatic provinces of Egypt had been lost, and it was necessary to reconquer them. To this task Seti I., the son of Ramses I., accordingly set himself, and when he was succeeded by his son, Ramses II., Canaan was once more a province of Egypt. North of Canaan, however, the Syrian province had fallen into the hands of the Hittites, who

had established their southern capital at Kadesh, on the Orontes, and were threatening Canaan itself. The struggle for its possession was long and strenuous, but at last, in the twenty-first year of Ramses, the two antagonists, weary and exhausted, agreed to come to terms. A treaty was drawn up, offensive and defensive, recognising the existing boundaries of the two empires, and providing for the pardon and return from exile of all political offenders.

The rest of Ramses' long reign of sixty-seven years was mainly spent in covering Egypt with his buildings or in restoring and usurping the monuments of his predecessors. Of all his own monuments, the most famous is Abu-Simbel, in Nubia, where a temple has been carved out of a mountain. Among the cities built by him were Ramses and Pithom in the Delta, at which the Israelites were compelled to toil.

Ramses II. was succeeded by his son Meneptah. The death of the "Grand Monarque" of Egyptian history was the signal for attack on the part of the surrounding nations. The Libyans from the west overran the Delta, while ships filled with Achæans and Lycians and other tribes of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean invaded the coast. But in the fifth year of Meneptah the threatened destruction of Egyptian civilisation was averted by a decisive victory which he gained over the invading hordes. The Libyans and their allies were practically exterminated. It was under the cover of this Libyan invasion that the Israelites—called *Israelu* on a monument of the Pharaoh—would seem to have escaped from their Egyptian taskmasters; the land of Goshen was deserted, and three years later we find its pasturage handed over to Edomite herdsmen.

The Grand Monarque of Egypt

But neither the Egyptian monarchy nor the dynasty that ruled it recovered from the blow which the barbarians from the west and north had dealt it. Its Asiatic empire was lost for ever, and the frontier cities of Canaan which guarded the entrance to Asia fell into the hands of Philistine pirates from Crete. The nineteenth dynasty perished from decay, and after a short interval of anarchy was followed by the twentieth.

Once more Egypt was called upon to repel an attack of the northern tribes. But it was a more formidable confederacy that Ramses III., the second king of the dynasty, had to face than that which had invaded Egypt half a century before. While the Libyans again entered the valley of the Nile from the west, the Philistines of Crete, the Danaans of Asia Minor, and other Greek and Asiatic tribes, forced their way through the Hittite territory into Syria, and moved southward, partly on land, partly by sea. After defeating the Libyans, Ramses marched into Canaan; the invaders were overthrown in battle, and pursued northwards to the harbour where they had stationed their fleet. Here a great maritime struggle took place, which ended in complete victory for the Egyptians. The ships of the enemy were destroyed, and vast numbers of prisoners taken. On its way back to Egypt, various Canaanitish towns surrendered or were captured; among them were Hebron and Jerusalem. The entrance of the Israelites into Canaan cannot have taken place long after this event.

Egypt's Wars at the Time of the Exodus

Ramses III. was the last of the native Egyptian conquerors. His immediate successors became little more than puppets in the hands of the high-priests of Thebes, and when a strong Pharaoh again appeared on the throne it was in the person of Sheshonk or Shishak I., the founder of the twenty-second dynasty and chief of the Libyan bodyguard. But for many centuries Egypt ceased to be a factor in international politics; its influence did not extend beyond its own natural confines, and it needed all its strength to protect itself against the negro princes of the Sudan. One of them eventually overran Egypt, and plundered Memphis, while another succeeded in permanently occupying the country, and establishing a dynasty of Ethiopian kings. The Ethiopian conquest was followed by the Assyrian conquest; for a time Assyrian satraps collected tribute in the cities of Egypt and Assyrian armies ruthlessly suppressed revolts against the foreign rule. In 662 B.C. Thebes—the No-Amon of the Old Testament—was sacked and burnt, and the ancient capital of Egypt lived thenceforward upon its past fame. When Egypt recovered its independence under Psammetichus and his successors of the twenty-sixth dynasty, the seat of power was transferred permanently to the north.

Egypt Under Eclipse

For five centuries—from the age of Ramses III. to that of the Ethiopian Tirhakah—Egypt thus remained outside the sphere of international politics, in a sort of backwater of the world's history. Babylonia was in like condition; the leadership had passed to other lands and younger races. At first it was the Hittites who promised to become the leading people in Western Asia. With their yellow skins, protrusive jaws, and beardless faces they descended from Cappadocia and the Taurus Mountains upon the fertile plains of Syria, and at an early date had possessed themselves of Carchemish, which commanded the ford over the Euphrates and the high-road of commerce from east to west. A kindred race founded a monarchy—that of Mitani—in Northern Mesopotamia, where in the age of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty they became so powerful as to be allowed to marry into the Royal house of the Pharaohs. Long before this the Hittites had invaded Babylonia, and helped to overthrow the dynasty of Hammurabi, but it was not until the fifteenth century before our era that they founded an empire, which extended to the coasts of the Greek seas, and bid fair to make Canaan what the Assyrians called it, a "Hittite land." Under Khattu-sil I. and his successors the larger part of Asia Minor was transformed into a confederacy of vassal states; Hittite soldiers poured southward through the passes of the Taurus, and the possession of Syria and Palestine was disputed with the Pharaohs of Egypt. The way had already been prepared by the Hittite freelances, who had hired their services to the Egyptian Government and the petty princes of Canaan; as the power of Egypt declined the regular forces of the "great king of the Hittites" followed in their rear, and Kadesh on the Orontes was made the southern capital of his empire. The old Hittite capital at Boghaz Köi, north of the Halys, became one of the chief cities of the world; strong walls of stone, wide in circuit, enclosed stately palaces and temples, which contained libraries of clay books inscribed in cuneiform characters, and written sometimes in the Assyrian language, sometimes in that of the Hittites themselves. A knowledge of the cuneiform script had doubtless been communicated to the Hittites by the Assyrian colonies which had been planted in the heart of Cappadocia as early as the age of Hammurabi, the ruins of one of which have been found at Kara Eyuk, near Kaisariyeh. It was the mineral wealth of Asia Minor that had attracted the colonists and raiders of Assyria and Babylonia; the gold of the sixth Egyptian dynasty was already derived from its mines.

Rise of the Hittites

Dominance of Hittite Empire

For a time the Hittites dominated the civilised world of the East. Their armies marched to Lydia, and carried their art and culture to Greek lands. The culture itself was of Babylonian origin, but had been modified in a peculiar fashion. Just as the cuneiform signs of Babylonia superseded the native hieroglyphs, except for monumental purposes, so, too, the native art had to give way before the artistic conceptions of the Babylonians, and even the old fetish worship of the country was replaced by the anthropomorphic divinities of Babylon. The Greek centaur and the winged horse Pegasus came from Babylonia to the West through Hittite intermediaries. A treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittite king marks the extreme limit of the Hittite advance. It is probable that the irruption of the northern tribes, which overthrew the foreign power of Egypt and sapped its internal forces, also broke up the Hittite empire. Isolated fragments of this empire alone survived; there was never again a "great king" who could summon his vassals from the furthest bounds of Asia Minor, and treat on equal terms with one of the mightiest of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

Fall of Crete and the Hittites

It was to the movement of the northern tribes that the downfall of Cretan civilisation seems also to have been due. The maritime supremacy of Crete was lost; pirates landed from the north and destroyed its palaces, and the dynasty of Minos passed away. The period at which this took place is coeval with that known as "Mycenæan," when a peculiar class of pottery was spread over the Ægean world, and when artists from the Greek seas made goblets and vases for the Egyptian Pharaoh Khu-n-Aten, and painted the floors of his palace at Tell el-Amarna with naturalistic scenes. A century or two later half-civilised Dorians, speaking the Greek language, streamed southward from their northern homes; Mycenæ, Sparta, Crete, all alike were overwhelmed, and the old Minoan culture was lost and forgotten.



THE LATER EMPIRES

PHŒNICIA, ISRAEL, ASSYRIA AND PERSIA

THE break-up of the powers that had so long been supreme in the Oriental world was the opportunity of Canaan. At first it seemed as if Canaan, the battlefield of the nations, would itself be swallowed up in the cataclysm. The Israelites, fresh from their desert training, and moulded into a compact nationality by the legislation of Sinai and Kadesh, after an unsuccessful endeavour to invade Canaan from the south, overran the country east of the Jordan, and then forced their way into the plains and mountains of the West. The Canaanites, weakened by intestine feuds and the long war between Egypt and the Hittites, were in no condition to resist them; city after city fell into the hands of the rude desert tribes, and for a while became a deserted ruin. The native Canaanites retreated into the north or to the coastland of Phœnicia,

Phœnicia Becomes a Power

or else made terms with the invaders, and, as time went on, intermarried with them. The population of the coast had always been more maritime than agricultural; now they turned entirely to their sea trade. There were no longer either Cretan or Egyptian fleets to bar their enterprise, and the Greek seas soon passed into the possession of the Phœnician merchantmen. The murex was discovered with its purple dye, and Tyre and Sidon, with their companion cities, grew rich with the development of their trade. Phœnicia became the centre of the carrying trade of the civilised world, the intermediary between East and West. The art and culture of Asia was carried as far as Spain and the Straits of Gibraltar, Phœnician colonies were founded on the shores of Africa and Europe, and a new art arose in which Assyrian, Egyptian, and Asiatic elements were mingled together, without, however, any attempt at originality. The old amber trade from the Baltic to the head of the Adriatic passed into Phœnician hands; so, too, did the trade in British tin, which travelled overland to Massilia, the modern Marseilles.

Tyre, secure in its insular position, took the lead among the Phœnician cities.

Tyre, the Island City

Under Abibal and his son, Hiram I., its temple of Melkarth, its royal palace, and its fortifications, were rebuilt and enlarged, and the simpler Phœnician alphabet replaced the cumbrous cuneiform. Along with the change of script went a change in the literary language; the native language of Canaan—Hebrew, as we should call it—was substituted for Assyrian, and papyrus and parchment for the clay tablet.

The development of Israelitish power was synchronous with that of Phœnicia. An abortive attempt to establish an Israelitish monarchy had been made by Abimelech, but the tribes were not yet ripe for organised union. This was forced upon them by the Philistine conquest of the country; resistance to the "uncircumcised" foreigner from Crete developed first a feeling of common origin and worship, and then of the necessity for a leader in war. The destruction of the national sanctuary at Shiloh, with its priesthood and archives, removed what might have been a rival to the royal authority; Saul, indeed, fell in the struggle with the enemy, but under David and his able general, Joab, the Philistines were not only driven back, but compelled

David, Emperor of Israel

to acknowledge the supremacy of the Hebrew king. With an army behind him, composed partly of foreign mercenaries, David found himself strong enough not only to weld the Israelitish tribes into a monarchical state, but to create an empire which extended as far as the Euphrates. There was no other power in Western Asia to dispute his progress; Egypt and the

Hittites were alike effete; so were the Babylonians; and the Aramæans of Mesopotamia had successfully blocked the Assyrian advance.

The consolidation of the kingdom, begun by David, was completed by his son Solomon. Jerusalem had already been made a capital; now a new central sanctuary was erected in it, built by the king and attached like a chapel to the royal palace. As in Assyria, the king took the place of the high-priest. Alliance was made with Tyre, and the Israelitish treasury was replenished with the wealth which Tyrian trade helped to pour into it. But the extravagance of the king knew no bounds. Taxation was increased until the freemen of Israel began to murmur, and the subject territories to rebel. Expenditure was for the most part on palaces and similar luxuries, which brought the state but little profit, and foreign loans were as yet unknown. When Solomon died, the empire was already breaking in pieces, and discontent was seething at home. Without his prestige and experience, his son Rehoboam failed to meet it; the northern tribes burst into revolt, and from thenceforth a kingdom of Israel stood by the side of that of Judah. Of the empire of David all that was left were Edom, which was kept by Judah, and Moab, which went with Israel. Five years later, the Egyptian Pharaoh Shishak invaded Judah; Jerusalem was taken, its palace burned and its archives destroyed. Its short dream of political power was gone for ever; thenceforward it was in the world of religion, and not of politics, that its influence was to be felt.

Israel's Short Dream Ended

The political stage was thus cleared for the advent of Assyria. And for many centuries Assyria had been preparing itself for its future work. At first it had been merely the district surrounding the deified city of Assur, now Kala Sherghat, on the western bank of the Tigris. The names of the early kings and high-priests who had founded or repaired the Temple of Ashur were remembered down to later days, and from the first it had been a stronghold of the Semite. For many centuries it had been included in the Babylonian empire, and a letter of Hammurabi refers to the troops who were stationed there. With the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, Assyria recovered its independence and the high-priest became a king. The sources of his power lay in the north; there Nineveh had been built at the junction of the Tigris and the Upper Zab, and communication was kept up, not only with Southern Armenia, but even with the colonies in distant Cappadocia. Bronze, of which the earliest known examples have been found in Asia Minor, was imported into Palestine and Egypt on the one side, and into Assyria on the other, and the horse followed in the wake of bronze.

Military Empire of Assyria

From the outset, the Assyrian was a trader rather than an agriculturist. Circumstances forced him to be a soldier as well. The need of keeping the road to the north open obliged Assyria to be from the first a military kingdom, and the neighbourhood of the Kurdish mountains, with their wild and thievish population, kept the Assyrian troops constantly employed. The power of the Assyrian kings, like that of the kings of the northern kingdom of Israel, rested on the army; they were, in fact, military commanders who owed their authority to a successful revolt from Babylonia. Hence in Assyria the head of the state was the king, and not, as in Babylonia, the god; while the Babylonian monarch was subordinate to the priesthood, the Assyrian monarch was himself the high-priest. Like Jahveh in Israel, Ashur in Assyria was a "Lord of Hosts"; without wife or child, he led the Assyrian armies to victory, and destroyed those who would not acknowledge his name.

Assyria Independent of Babylonia

Babylonia was long reluctant to recognise the independence of its rebellious vassal. Burnaburiash, the Babylonian king, in his letters to the Egyptian Pharaoh, still claims sovereignty over the northern kingdom. But facts were too strong for theories, and finally, in the thirteenth century before our era, Tiglath-In-aristi, or Tukulti-Ninib I., king of Assyria, took the sacred city of Babylon by storm and had himself crowned king of Babylonia. His father, Shalmaneser I., the builder of Calah near Nineveh, about 1300 B.C., had carried on campaign after campaign against the Aramæans and Hittites, and had brought Northern Mesopotamia under his rule.

For seven years, Tiglath-In-aristi was lord of Babylon. Then a conspiracy was formed against him at home; he was



IN THE DAYS OF ASSYRIA'S GREATNESS: A KING ISSUING FROM HIS PALACE

assassinated in his palace, and one of his sons seized the crown. A Babylonian king of the Kassite dynasty once more sat on the Babylonian throne. But the political prestige of Babylonia had departed. From thenceforth Assyria, and not Babylonia, was the ruling power in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. The sceptre had passed from the mixed people of Babylonia to the purer Semites of Assyria.

Under Tiglath-pileser I., in 1100 B.C., Assyria resumed its career of foreign conquest. The nations of Northern Asia Minor were driven back from the Assyrian provinces which adjoined Cappadocia, the Armenian highlands were harassed by Assyrian armies, and the command of the high-road from Mesopotamia to Palestine was transferred to Assyrian hands. From the Phœnician coast the Assyrian king sailed out to sea in a ship of Arvad, and there he received presents from the Pharaoh of Egypt, which included a crocodile and a hippopotamus. Perhaps these were intended for a zoological garden, since the king had established botanical gardens at Ashur and Nineveh, planted with the trees and shrubs of foreign lands. An attempt to invade Babylonia was unsuccessful, and the immediate followers of Tiglath-pileser do not seem to have been gifted with high military qualities. At all events for several generations the armies of Assyria remained at home, and by the capture of the Assyrian fortresses at the fords of the Euphrates the Aramæans once more barred the way to the West. Palestine, accordingly, which had been threatened by the Assyrian advance, was allowed a respite; opportunity was given for the founding of David's empire, and the merchants of Nineveh were compelled to leave the trade of the Mediterranean in the hands of the Phœnicians.

The Assyrian Lion Wakes

Under Ashurnasirpal II., who ruled B.C. 883-858, the Assyrian lion again awoke. Year after year the Assyrian army marched out of the gates of Nineveh, carrying ruin with it wherever it went. The campaigns were largely of the character of raids; their chief object was plunder. But they not only filled Nineveh with the wealth of other lands and made the name of Assyria one of terror; they also trained the Assyrian army itself so that it became well-nigh irresistible. East, west and north it made its way, and the ruthlessness of its king—the cruellest of a cruel race—marked its track with fire and blood.

Ashurnasirpal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II., who reigned B.C. 858–823, maintained the military traditions of his father. But, unlike his father, he aimed at something more than mere raiding. The conquered lands were placed under Assyrian governors and required to pay tribute, which was also exacted from the vassal princes who had submitted to the rule of Ashur. We can thus speak once more of an Assyrian empire, which had a more permanent character than that of Shalmaneser I. or Tiglath-pileser I. And with the establishment of the empire was associated a commercial policy. Every effort was made to open and keep the high-road to the Mediterranean; the Phœnician cities were made tributary, and for the first time Palestine became an Assyrian battle-ground. Its possession meant the supremacy of Assyria in Western Asia, and therewith its commercial supremacy in the civilised world.

Shalmaneser Establishes an Empire

In B.C. 853 Shalmaneser met at Karkar a confederacy of the Syrian states, which had been formed against him by the king of Hamath. Damascus was represented in it as well as "Ahab of Israel"; Arabs, Ammorites and Phœnicians had also sent their chariots and infantry. The battle ended in favour of the Assyrians, but Shalmaneser found himself too much weakened to pursue his advantage. Four years later he returned to the attack, and once more the Hamathites and their allies were defeated. The conquest of Syria, however, proved more difficult than he had anticipated, and even when he led 120,000 picked troops of Assyria against Ben-Hadad of Damascus, in B.C. 845, the result was a drawn battle. But events fought for him in the West. Ben-Hadad was murdered by Hazael, and the throne of Ahab usurped by Jehu. When the Assyrian forces again appeared, in B.C. 841, there was no longer the formidable league of a few years earlier to oppose it. Hazael was besieged in Damascus; Jehu paid homage, and sent tribute by his ambassadors, whose portraits are sculptured on an obelisk of black marble now in the British Museum [see page 1664].

Assyria Gains Syria

The other campaigns of Shalmaneser were directed partly against the Armenian highlands of the north, from which it was always possible for the invader to swoop down upon Assyria, partly against the Hittites on the Orontes and in Cilicia, who stood in the way of his schemes for creating an Assyrian province in Syria. But before the schemes could be realised the old king grew too infirm to take the field. The command of his armies was entrusted to a general, and intrigue and conspiracy began at home. First Ashur, the ancient capital, then Nineveh and the neighbouring cities, revolted under his son Ashur-dan-pal, and for five years a rival prince reigned over the divided monarchy. Thanks, however, to the military abilities of another son, Samsi-Raman (Shamshi-Adad), and the veteran soldiers who followed him, the revolt was at last put down; Nineveh was taken and the rebel king perished in the ruins of his palace. Shalmaneser died shortly afterwards, and Samsi-Raman IV. was proclaimed his successor. He reigned for thirteen years, the earlier of which were occupied in campaigns against Armenia and the Medes, who for the first time appear on the horizon of Asiatic history, while the later years were distinguished by a successful invasion of Babylonia.

Shalmaneser's Son Revolts and Reigns

His son Adad-nirari IV. once more turned his attention to the West. The policy of Shalmaneser was resumed, and an Assyrian army again entered Syria. Damascus surrendered, and its king, Marih, purchased safety by submission and tribute.

But a new power had risen out of the north. While the Assyrians had been engaged in repressing the raiding tendencies of the semi-barbarous Aryan Medes on the eastern side of their territories a new dynasty had established itself in Armenia, on the shores of Lake Van, full of life and energy and eager to adopt all the arts and habits of Assyrian civilisation. The cuneiform script of Assyria was introduced in a modified form; cities and palaces were built in imitation of those of Assyria; Assyrian art was adapted to the older art of the country; above all, an army was formed modelled after that of the Assyrian kings. From their capital, on the site of the modern Van, the Armenian sovereigns went forth to conquer and to establish an empire which extended from Lake Urumiya on the east to Cappadocia on the west, and robbed Assyria of its fairest provinces in the north. The descendants of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser were in no position to resist the new force that had thus suddenly grown up beside them. They became feebler every year, and the revolt of Ashur in B.C. 763 brought matters to a crisis. The revolt spread to the provinces of the empire, and an expedition against Arpad in B.C. 754 was the last expiring effort of the old régime. Eight years later the army itself rebelled; the reigning king, Ashur-nirari II., disappeared from the scene, and on the 13th of Iyyar, or April, B.C. 745, a military adventurer, Pulu, or Pul, seized the crown and assumed the name of Tiglath-pileser IV.

Armenian Imitation of Assyria

Tiglath-pileser, the founder of the later Assyrian empire, was a man of unusual ability and military skill. His first task was to reorganise the kingdom, his next to create an army which, by the help of superior discipline and arms, should become an irresistible engine of war. Assyria was in a perilous condition. In the north it was threatened by the Armenians; westward its road to the Mediterranean had been cut off; to the south, Babylonia was restless and menacing; while the Medes on the east took advantage of its weakness to recommence their raids. The new ruler of Assyria had not even the prestige of birth and descent; his title had not been legitimised by the priesthood of Babylon, and the Assyrians had just tasted the pleasures of a successful revolt.

Pul, an Empire Founder

The Aramæan nomads of Northern Arabia and the Median raiders were the first to learn that order had been restored in Assyria. They were driven out of the Assyrian territories, and an expedition which reached the Caspian taught the Medes to respect Assyrian power. Then Tiglath-pileser turned to the Armenians and their northern allies. A hard-fought battle, not far from Malatiya, decided the fate of the campaign. Sarduris, the Armenian king, fled from the field, where 72,950 of his soldiers, with his state carriage and a vast amount of spoil fell into the hands of the victors. The Hittite and Phœnician princes hastened to pay



WHEN THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE WAS AT THE ZENITH OF ITS POWER: HEBREW CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE THE KING

homage to the conqueror, and the merchants of Nineveh found themselves once more able to share in the profits of the Mediterranean trade.

Tiglath-pileser, however, was not content with the almost nominal ties which had hitherto connected the conquered provinces of the Assyrian empire with the governing state. For the first time he introduced into politics the conception of a centralised government. Thenceforward the provinces of the empire were to form a single organism, strictly controlled by a bureaucracy, at the head of which was the king. The amount of taxation each should contribute was carefully defined, and the royal residence became an imperial city into which the wealth of its dependencies was poured. The empire was extended and maintained by a standing army, in the wake of which followed the civil functionaries. The army itself was provided with new weapons and instructed in new tactics. Thoroughly disciplined, and consisting as it did of conscripts raised partly in Assyria, partly in the dependent provinces, it soon became practical master of Western Asia.

Centralised Government Begun

With this new instrument at his disposal, Tiglath-pileser undertook what he determined should be a lasting conquest of the West. The king was as keen as his merchants to direct into the coffers of Nineveh the trade of the world, and for this the subjugation of the Phœnician cities was essential. But campaign after campaign was needed before the spirit of the Syrian states could be finally broken, and Tiglath-pileser was forced to have recourse to the new expedient of transporting a troublesome nationality from its home. Hamath vainly tried to preserve its independence by alliance with Azariah of Judah and other Syrian princes; it was taken by storm and reduced to the condition of an Assyrian satrapy. In B.C. 732 the same fate befell Damascus.

Rezon, the Damascene king, and Pekah of Israel had endeavoured to dethrone the young king Ahaz of Israel, and to substitute for him a creature of their own who would join them in the defiance of their Assyrian suzerain. Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser, who, nothing loth, soon made his appearance upon the scene. Samaria and its king were crushed, Rezon fled to his capital, where, after a siege of two years, he was starved out and put to death. Meanwhile, a pretext was found for exacting a heavy fine from Tyre, and the expenses of the wars in Syria were paid for with the 150 talents of gold—about $2,000,000—which the merchant princes of that city were compelled to provide.

In B.C. 735 a campaign into the heart of Ararat had effectually put a stop to all immediate danger from that quarter.

Syrian and Armenian Conquests

The Armenian king was forced to retreat to his capital, and there watch helplessly the wasting of his country by the Assyrian army. Leagues of fertile land were reduced to desert, and Tiglath-pileser added the insult of setting up a memorial of his successes just outside the gate of Van.

Tiglath-pileser had thus justified in deed his right to be king; it was now time that his title should be justified in law. In B.C. 731, accordingly, he marched into Babylonia, and two years later he was crowned king at Babylon, and his right to rule the empire of Sargon of Akkad acknowledged by the priests of Bel. The long struggle between Babylonia and its insurgent vassal Assyria was over; the vassal had prevailed, and the Babylonians, though with an ill grace, had to submit to Assyrian supremacy

Tiglath-pileser IV. died in December, B.C. 727, and was succeeded by a certain Ulula, who took the name of Shalmaneser IV. While besieging Samaria, he died or was murdered in December 722 B.C., and the throne was seized by another general, who assumed the name of Sargon, "the legitimate king," and subsequently endeavoured to justify his title by claiming to be descended from the ancient kings of Assur. The army was now all-powerful; frequent revolution, as in the northern kingdom of Israel, had destroyed among the people all feeling of veneration for the ruling monarch, and the throne consequently was the prize of the ablest or most influential military commander. Sargon,

Military Regime in Assyria

however, proved that he had the ability to conquer and govern, as well as to influence the soldiery, and he also succeeded in doing what his immediate predecessors had failed to accomplish—handing on his power to his descendants.

The year after his accession saw the capture of Samaria. Its leading citizens, 27,280 in number, were carried into exile, and the country placed under an Assyrian governor. In B.C. 717 came the fall of

Carchemish, with which the history of the Hittites finds its end. The city became the seat of an Assyrian satrap, and the ford across the Euphrates was henceforth under Assyrian control. Trade had definitely passed into Assyrian hands.

But the northern kingdoms made one last struggle for resistance. Rusas I. of Van placed himself at the head of a great confederacy which included the Minni of Lake Urumiya and Midas the Moschian in Asia Minor. Year after year the war lasted with varying fortunes. At last the time came when the Assyrians were victorious all along the line; their armies penetrated the barrier of the northern mountains, and the strongest fortresses of the enemy fell into their hands. Even the Medic tribes had to submit to the conqueror. The power of Ararat was broken for ever; the Assyrian king had nothing further to fear from its rivalry.

Sargon was now free to turn his face southward. The revolution which had placed him on the throne had cost Assyria the possession of Babylonia. Merodach-baladan, the Chaldæan, had emerged from the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf, and with his Aramæan followers had made himself master of Babylon. When the fortune of war began to set against the nations of the north he did his best to prepare for the coming storm. Alliance was made with Elam on the east, and ambassadors were sent to Palestine in the west to stir up disaffection there and form a league against the common oppressor. All, however, was in vain. Before the confederates were ready, Sargon had struck his blow. His tartan, or commander-in-chief, took the Philistine town of Ashdod by storm, while he himself swept Babylonia with fire and sword. Merodach-baladan was driven back to his ancestral marshes and the Assyrian conqueror crowned king at Babylon B.C. 709. Five years later he was murdered and succeeded by his son Sennacherib on the 12th of Ab, or July, B.C. 705. Brought up in the purple, Sennacherib had neither the ability nor the tact of his father. His reign was to a large extent a failure. From the first, Babylonia was in constant revolt, and the vassal kings he appointed over it were dethroned either by their subjects or by the Elamites as soon as the Assyrian garrisons were away. Elam, after so many centuries of seclusion thus once more entered the political world of Western Asia. With its help Babylonia continued to resist the Assyrian domination, and though Assyria was apparently successful its strength was drained in the contest and Babylonia triumphed in the end. What Elam was to Babylonia, Egypt was to Palestine. Ethiopian princes had conquered the valley of the Nile and put fresh blood into the old kingdom of the Pharaohs. Lavish in their promises of help they induced the nations on either side of the Jordan to rise against the Assyrian. Hezekiah of Judah put himself at the head of the confederacy, secure in the strong walls of Jerusalem and the expectation of Egyptian aid.

Babylonia Swept with Fire and Sword

Sennacherib at Jerusalem

In B.C. 701 a huge army marched out of Nineveh under the command of the king himself. Tyre, indeed, remained untaken, but Sidon was captured along with the other towns of the Phœnician coast. Judah was ravaged up to the gates of its capital, but it was in vain that Sennacherib called upon the Jewish king to submit. At Eltekeh a drawn battle was fought with the Egyptian forces, and when pestilence soon afterwards descended upon the invading army, Sennacherib had no resource left but to return to Assyria. The rebellious vassal at Jerusalem remained unpunished, like Greece after the retreat of Xerxes.

For the next few years Sennacherib had more than enough to occupy him in Babylonia and Elam. The great battle of Khalulê in B.C. 689 brought matters to a crisis. According to the Assyrian annals the chariot of Sennacherib waded through pools of blood and rode over heaps of slain. Countless numbers of Babylonians and Elamites strewed the ground, and the Assyrian victory was complete. But the Babylonian records tell a different story, and claim the victory for Bel of Babylon. As a matter of fact, the battle would seem to have been a drawn one, with the advantage on the side of the Assyrians. In the following year, when they appeared before Babylon, there was no force to resist them, and the holy city of Western Asia was taken and razed to the ground. Its temples and palaces were destroyed, and its ruins choked the canals. The act of sacrilege and brutality made a

The Sack of Babylon

profound impression upon the civilised world, and more than a century afterwards Babylonian historians held up the name of Sennacherib to execration. His right to rule was never legitimised, for it was never acknowledged by the Babylonian priesthood. When he was murdered by his two sons on the 20th Tebet, or December, B.C. 681, his death was regarded as the righteous vengeance of heaven. Another son, Esarhaddon, was at the time commanding the Assyrian army on the frontiers of Armenia. For forty-two days the conspirators held Nineveh; then they fled with their followers to the Armenian camp, and a decisive battle took place in Cappadocia, on the 12th of Iyyar or April. The Assyrian veterans gained the day, and at the close of it saluted Esarhaddon as king. At once he set out for Nineveh, which had no choice but to confirm the decision of the soldiery.

Heaven-sent Vengeance on Sennacherib

Esarhaddon, however, proved to be one of the best of the Assyrian kings. At once he entered on a policy of conciliation. One of his first acts was to go in person to Babylonia and there set about the restoration of Babylon. The temple of Bel-Merodach rose again from its ruins, the priests were recalled from exile, and Esarhaddon was acknowledged king of Babylon as well as king of Assyria. Babylon became the second city of the empire, where the king held court during part of the year.

But an unexpected danger threatened both Assyria and the whole fabric of Asiatic civilisation. One of Sennacherib's acts of folly had been to destroy the kingdom of Ellip, which formed a "buffer-state" between Assyria and the wild tribes of the east. Cimmerians or Scyths from Southern Russia crossed the Caucasus and settled in the devastated land, where they allied themselves with the Median tribes. Esarhaddon now found himself confronted by the northerners, who had overrun Armenia and attacked the border cities of the empire. Public prayers were ordered to avert the danger, and finally a battle in Cilicia drove the invaders to the Greek and Lydian settlements on the coast of Asia Minor.

World-rule of Assyria

The supremacy of Assyrian trade was the next object of Esarhaddon's concern. All attempts at rivalry on the part of Phœnicia were suppressed for the future by the destruction of Sidon, and the building of a new Sidon, which was filled with Assyrian colonists; while the tranquil acquiescence of Palestine in Assyrian rule was secured by the invasion of Egypt. In B.C. 674 Egypt was conquered and divided into twenty satrapies, each of which was placed under an Assyrian governor. Of all the kingdoms of the civilised Oriental world Elam alone remained independent.

The Bedouins of Northern Arabia had been coerced into order by a punitive expedition which penetrated through the trackless and waterless desert into the very heart of the peninsula. The expedition was an amazing one, and is a remarkable proof of Esarhaddon's military capacities, and the excellence of the Assyrian commissariat.

The Egyptians, however, did not submit to Assyrian rule with equanimity. A revolt broke out, and while on the march to suppress it Esarhaddon died on the 12th of Marchesvan, or October, B.C. 667. His empire was divided between his two sons, Shamash-shum-ukin receiving Babylonia, and Ashurbanipal the rest. At first the arrangement seemed to work well, the Babylonians being flattered by this acknowledgment of their equality with Nineveh. But after a time Shamash-shum-ukin became more Babylonian than his subjects, and indulged in the dream of restoring the ancient empire of Hammurabi, while, on the other side, Ashurbanipal's claim to be his suzerain became more and more articulate. With a restless Elam behind Babylonia, sooner or later a conflict was inevitable.

Ashurbanipal's Literary Ambitions

Ashurbanipal, however, was no lover of war. He was fond of ease and luxury; his desire was to be a patron of art and literature, and to be known as the founder of the greatest library in the world. The copy of an old book was the most precious spoil that could be sent to him from a conquered city, and his scribes were busily employed in re-editing the ancient literature of the country and compiling works for the use of students. If war broke out, he sent his generals to fight for him while he feasted—or fasted—at home.

Moreover, the earlier years of Ashurbanipal's reign were fully occupied in repressing the attempts of Egypt to recover its freedom. Time after time the Assyrian garrisons were withdrawn, only to be

immediately recalled to put down another revolt. Eventually, Thebes, the centre of disaffection, was utterly destroyed; for days the Assyrian soldiers were employed in hewing in pieces its temple-fortresses; two of its obelisks were carried to Nineveh as trophies of victory, and the former capital of Egypt was reduced to a collection of mud-built villages. The city never recovered from the blow.

The Cimmerian hordes, taught by the lesson they had received in Cilicia, still respected Assyrian territory. But Armenia and Lydia were each suffering at their hands, and each accordingly applied for help to "the great king." The unwonted sight was seen at Nineveh of ambassadors from the Lydian Gyges and Sarduris III. of Van, for whom an interpreter was difficult to find. Assyria seemed to have reached the zenith of its power; the whole civilised world lay at its feet, and the will of its monarch was as the will of a god.

A Colossus with Feet of Clay

But the feet of the colossus were of clay. Suddenly Babylonia burst into revolt, with the armies of Elam behind it, and the other provinces of the empire in its train. For long the issue trembled in the balance. But the disciplined veterans of Nineveh and the wealth of its merchants finally prevailed. Syria and Palestine returned to their allegiance, Babylon was invested by the Assyrian army and at last starved into surrender. The Elamite forces were driven back into their mountains, and Shamash-shum-ukin burned himself amid the ruins of his palace.

Egypt, however, was lost for ever. With the mercenaries he had hired from Gyges of Lydia, Psammetichus had succeeded in shaking off the Assyrian yoke and founding the twenty-sixth dynasty in B.C. 660. It was the St. Luke's summer of Egyptian history. An antiquarian revival dreamed of restoring both the art and the political power of the past, and for a while the imitation seemed successful. The ruined temples were rebuilt, the masterpieces of ancient sculpture were closely copied, and the land once more enjoyed peace and prosperity. The later Pharaohs of the dynasty even grasped at the Asiatic empire of the past; Necho made Palestine again the tributary of Egypt, and, like Thothmes, so many centuries before, fixed the boundaries of his dominions at the Euphrates.

But the Egyptian revival was evanescent. It was effected with the help of Greek mercenaries, and the wealth which filled the coffers of the Pharaoh was derived in part from the Greek traders of Naukratis. The European had entered the land, not again to quit it; the valley of the Nile was ceasing to be either African or Asiatic, and was about to become European. The decline of Assyria had allowed Egypt thus to claim once more its old position as a world power. The Elamite wars had ended in a barren victory for Ashurbanipal; Susa, the Elamite capital, was indeed levelled with the ground, the tombs of its kings had been desecrated, and the Elamite monarchy had ceased to exist. But the struggle had left Assyria in a state of collapse. Its treasury was empty, and the bare mountains and ravaged fields of Elam were unable to replenish it; while its fighting-men had perished in the Babylonian revolt and the Elamite wars, and none were left to fill their places. When the Scythian hordes once more crossed the Assyrian frontiers there was none to resist them. Resistlessly they poured over the rich plains and cities of the empire, and penetrated as far south as the borders of Egypt, where they were bought off by a bribe. Calah, the suburb of Nineveh, was taken and sacked. Nineveh was saved only by the strength of its walls. When Ashurbanipal died his empire and with it the kingdom of Assyria itself were tottering to their fall.

Europeans in Egypt in B.C. 650

The end came in B.C. 606. Sin-sar-iskun, the last Assyrian king, had vainly sought to check the growing power of his satrap in Babylonia, Nabopolassar. Cyaxares of Media led his legions against the doomed city; after a protracted siege Nineveh was taken, its ruler slain, its people carried into captivity, its palaces and temples burnt with fire. Assyria and its empire had passed for ever from the stage of history. Babylonia and Media divided the relics of its empire between them. In 605 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, overthrew the Egyptian forces at Carchemish, and put an end to the dream of an Egyptian empire in Asia. The death of his father shortly afterwards placed the Babylonian crown upon his head, and Babylon again became the capital of the Oriental world. Great architectural

Assyria Passes for Ever

works were undertaken to make it a worthy successor of Nineveh, and it was surrounded by fortifications which made it well-nigh impregnable. Nebuchadnezzar showed himself as able in the arts of peace as he was in war, a patron of architecture and learning as well as a pious worshipper of the gods. When he died, after a reign of forty-three years, the sceptre dropped into feebler hands. The priestly party intrigued against the sovereign, and eventually the throne was usurped by Nabonidus, who seems to have represented the mercantile class. The heart of Nabonidus was in antiquarian pursuits rather than in the government of his kingdom, and the army was entrusted to his son Belshazzar, while no heed was paid to the growing disaffection in the country due to his attempt to centralise religious worship in Babylon.

The Rise of Persia

But a new power was rising in the East. In the closing days of the Assyrian empire the Aryan clan of Persians had settled in deserted Elam, and had there revived the ancient kingdom of Ansan. They yielded a nominal obedience to the Median king, but for all practical purposes were independent. Their princes intermarried with the native Elamites, and one of them, Cyrus II., proved to be a military genius of the first order. By his overthrow of the Median monarchy, in 549 B.C., he became the master of an empire which rivalled that of Nabonidus. The conquest of the Median empire was followed by that of Lydia, which placed Asia Minor at his feet, and for the first time brought Asia into direct collision with Greece.

Then, in 538 B.C., came the invasion of Babylonia. The Babylonian army was defeated near Opis, and Babylon shortly afterwards opened its gates to the conqueror. Nabonidus surrendered, and the death of Belshazzar removed all further opposition to the invaders. They had, in fact, been welcomed by an influential party in Babylonia itself. Cyrus was regarded by the priests as the instrument of Bel-Merodach's vengeance on the godless Nabonidus, and Cyrus was not slack in posing as the orthodox worshipper of the Babylonian god and the rightful successor of Nebuchadnezzar. The exiles from Judah and other countries equally welcomed the conqueror, in whom they saw a deliverer from their Babylonian masters. The later years of Cyrus were employed in bringing the lands eastward of Persia under his sway. When he fell in battle against the Scythians, his son Cambyses pursued his father's career of conquest and added Egypt to the empire. The twenty-sixth dynasty ended in Psammetichus II., and Egyptian independence was no more.

Babylon Passes Under

But the Nile cast a spell upon its conqueror. He lingered in its warmth and sunshine while revolt was beginning at home. The Magian clan seized the supreme power, and placed one of themselves, Gomates by name, upon the deserted throne. On his way back from Egypt Cambyses died by accident or design, and the line of Cyrus was extinct. An avenger was found, however, in Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who, like Cyrus, claimed descent from the Achæmenian Teispes. Gomates was murdered, and Darius chosen king in 521 B.C. The earlier years of his reign were occupied in fighting against rivals and pretenders in various parts of the empire. But at last Darius prevailed and his rivals were overthrown.

Darius ascribed his victories to Ahuramazda, or Ormazd, the Aryan god. And it was indeed the Aryans and their god to whom the empire of Cyrus had now passed. Its reconquest by Darius made it the Persian empire, the complete organisation of which filled the latter years of his life. The new empire touched the borders of Europe, and Greek colonies sent tribute to Susa. At first the struggle lay between the Aryans in Asia and the Aryans in Europe, beween the Persians and the Greeks of Europe, who were destined to turn a fresh page in the history of the world. The struggle closed with the defeat of Asia. The heritage of the old civilisations, which Darius had united into a single whole, passed to Alexander the Macedonian, and Greek kings sat on the thrones of Hammurabi and the Pharaohs. The foundation of Alexandria was the mark and seal of the new order in human history; East and West, Asia, Africa, and Europe, all alike met and commingled there, but the founder came from Europe, and though the elements of its culture went back to the dawn of Oriental antiquity, the form which they received, the stamp which they bore, was that of Europe. In Alexandria the old civilisations of the Euphrates and Nile were reborn and became European.

Alexandria a Birthplace of Civilisation

ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE



THE NEAR EAST DIVISION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

Our geographical plan brings us, in this division, to the countries of Western Asia—Persia, Arabia, Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Turkey in Asia. The inset map indicates the great ancient empires of Nearer Asia, whose history is here treated of, including Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, the Hittite Empire, Phœnicia, Israel and Judah, ancient Armenia, ancient Asia Minor, Media, Persia, and the Græco-Bactrian Empire.



ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER & LEONARD W. KING, M.A.

BABYLONIA AND ITS PEOPLES

OF the two civilisations developed in the two great river-basins of the Nile and of the Euphrates and Tigris, the Babylonian civilisation has unquestionably exercised the greater influence on the moulding of the conditions in Nearer Asia, though Greek civilisation, and in consequence thereof our own, has been less influenced by the latter than the former. It is not yet possible to discover all the threads that were woven indirectly between Babylon and Greece, and the paths are still unknown by which some of the ideas and thoughts of the earliest Babylonians reached the civilised nations, European as well as others, dwelling outside the immediate sphere of Babylonian culture. In order to characterise the connection of Greece with Babylonian civilisation, it is enough to point to the one Babylonian word borrowed by the Greeks, μνᾶ, *mina*. As to the other aspect of the influence of the civilisation along the Euphrates, let us call attention to one of its products, which we still carry with us in our pockets—the watch, with its twelve divisions, corresponding to the ancient Babylonian division of the day into twelve double hours. The paths on which the Oriental world, lying apparently so far from us, established these connections with Europe are up to the present still shrouded in complete obscurity. Thus, to take a single example, it is still a matter for investigation to what extent and by what channels the laws embodied in the Code of Hammurabi may have influenced later systems of legislation. But in one striking instance the mythology of Babylon has survived in European beliefs, and the track of this connection may be followed; for it is now generally admitted that the biblical accounts of the Creation and the Deluge were in great part derived from a Babylonian source.

Our Babylonian Watches

Babylon and the Bible

The decipherment of the cuneiform writing and of the Egyptian hieroglyphs has practically doubled the space of time which our historical knowledge covers—that is to say, the period we can survey by means of written documents in comparison with that which was regarded as history for the districts of Western civilisation. It is true that excavations on early Greek sites have yielded abundant remains of the Mycenæan and of pre-Mycenæan cultures, while recent discoveries in Crete have included hundreds of clay tablets inscribed in the writing and language of an early Mediterranean people. Further, through periods of pre-Minoan culture, the civilisation of the Mediterranean races may now be traced back to the Neolithic Age. But in a more restricted sense of the term it may be said that the history of Greece can be followed back

to the seventh or eighth century B.C.; while the oldest written records of Babylon and Egypt go back to the fourth millennium B.C. The interval which divides their first founders from the Dorian migration and the beginnings of Rome is therefore as great as that which lies between our own days and those of the beginnings of Hellenic history.

Widespread Influence of Babylon

The regions influenced by the civilisation and history of Babylon stretch far beyond the countries watered by the two rivers. States which had reached so high a stage of civilisation as those of ancient Babylonia could not exist without laying under tribute the neighbouring countries, and bestowing on them in return their own achievements. Thus we see in remote antiquity that Babylonia encroached on Palestine, Armenia, Elam, even Arabia; trading, conquering, and depositing there her superfluous population and the products of her civilisation, but also exposed to the attacks of her barbarian neighbours, by whom she was often worsted. The history, therefore, of the other states and nations of Nearer Asia, taken all in all, is grouped round that of Babylonia. It is not mere accident that we possess few or no accounts of these except the Babylonian, in consequence of which their history seems to us influenced by Babylonia; for all the surrounding nations looked and were drawn toward the seat of that civilisation, whether they were under its supremacy, or they imposed their own rule upon it. This is most clearly demonstrated by the widespread use of the cuneiform writing, the most conspicuous achievement of the Babylonian intellect, the development of which has already been traced and illustrated on page 265 by Professor Petrie. It was the vehicle of intellectual intercourse in all Nearer Asia. Everywhere, so far as our view at present extends, we meet it: in Elam, in Armenia, and even in the heart of Asia Minor. In Palestine men wrote in cuneiform letters, and must accordingly have been acquainted with the Babylonian language and the Babylonian world of thought. Even in Egypt itself we shall find that the Babylonian writing and language were the means of intercourse with the countries of Western Asia. In fact, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Babylonian was the language of diplomacy and commerce, and its employment at this period throughout the Nearer East resembled very nearly the use of French at the present day.

Cuneiform the French of the East

If a study of the development of Babylonia implies in itself a history of almost all Western Asia, the task will be still more complex when we consider that the history, comprising more than 3,000 years, of a civilised world surrounded by barbarians must show the most varied succession of nationalities. It is not *one* people that meets us in Babylonia as the bearer of the "Babylonian" civilisation; it is a long series of most heterogeneous nations belonging to various races, which one after the other advanced into the great plain between the rivers, and lived out the rest of their existence under the dominion of that civilisation. The same holds good of the adjoining countries which were subject to its civilising influence, although, from want of information, we cannot trace the fact so clearly there.

Sources of Babylonian Immigrants

Just as the great civilisations of antiquity have been developed on great rivers, the natural highways of communication, so natural migrations take their origin in wide regions of steppes, which supply nomadic man with food for the animals by means of which he lives. For, owing to the vast districts required by a nomadic life, these extensive plains can contain and support comparatively few inhabitants. Thus the overgrowth of the population, which is periodically felt, compels the wandering tribes to seek more productive lands, whither the simple but sturdy son of Nature is invited by the alluring splendours of civilisation, and by the prospects of an easy victory over more effeminate and civilised races.

Three such cradles of the human race have to be considered in connection with the region of Babylonian civilisation—the European steppes, from which the peoples migrated over the Caucasus or round the Caspian Sea, and in the other direction through Asia Minor; the Inner Asiatic steppes on the north-east; and Arabia on the south and south-west. Of these, the first district may be almost excluded from our inquiry, since the approach on this side is the most difficult; more important is the Inner Asiatic



Mansell

CUNEIFORM, THE MOST CONSPICUOUS BABYLONIAN ACHIEVEMENT

These reproductions of Babylonian tablets illustrate the development of cuneiform writing. The first shows the Sumerian picture writing with archaic cuneiform equivalents; the third is a memorial tablet of a governor of Lagash, inscribed about B.C. 4500; while the second is an inscription of Xerxes, about B.C. 470, in the most modern form.

region. With regard to this and the European district, it must be noted that each of the waves of peoples coming from that quarter first beat against the states that were posted in front of Babylonia and were subject to her civilising influence—namely, those of Asia Minor, Armenia, Elam and Syria. Babylonia thus presented against invaders from these directions a natural bulwark of buffer states, and could not, therefore, be so easily overrun by them directly.

On the other hand, the third district, Arabia, with its extensive steppes, from earliest times the home of robber nomads, immediately adjoins the territory of Babylon itself. The only natural boundary here is the Euphrates; and the nomads could roam unhindered up to the towns built upon the right bank, even when a strong power attempted to prevent their crossing into the pasture grounds lying east of the river. It is a long stretch of frontier, running in places through wide steppes, which the Babylonian forces had to guard, and they were seldom able to defend the passage of the river against the nomads who pressed onward from Arabia. It was from this quarter that Babylonia was exposed to the most frequent and most lasting immigrations, and the nations who came from that side took possession successively of the plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. But Arabia, so far as our knowledge reaches, was the home of the nations which, according to a linguistic classification, we designate as Semites.

The Semites' Entrance to Babylonia

The history of Babylonia itself is in great part Semitic; that of the adjoining nations, so far as they are subject to its influence, is also largely Semitic, or supplied in the manner stated from the two other storehouses of mankind. The Semites, in fact, attained their highest civilisation in Babylonia. It is true that in its origin much of this civilisation was non-Semitic. Not only their method of writing, but much of their art and many of their religious beliefs, to say nothing of less important elements of culture, were derived from the Sumerians, who at a very early period occupied the whole of Southern Babylonia. But the Sumerian culture was adopted by the Semitic population to meet their own needs, and they brought to its development all that their natural gifts could produce. Even in the earliest times of which we have knowledge we may trace results of Semitic influence, and during the later historical periods it gradually became the preponderating element in Babylonian culture.

Babylonian Civilisation is Semitic

So far back as we can survey the history of Babylonia, its actors were largely composed of Semites. Accordingly, the distinct Semitic character of the population comes out in the language, however much other elements of population were mixed with the Semites. It is, however, obvious that our historical knowledge cannot reach the beginning of the Babylonian culture. The growth of the means to hand down history, the introduction of a written language, must indeed presuppose a long course of development in culture. It is a long cry from the picture-writing of savages to the written reports of campaigns and of the building of temples, such as the earliest Babylonian inscriptions give us, and to the official records drawn up according to set forms belonging to the same period; and it may be that the nations which reached that stage of development worked longer at perfecting their inventions than the three thousand or more years during which we know that cuneiform writing was employed.

The Lack of Babylonian Prehistory

We shall see that the oldest records with which we are yet acquainted come both from Sumerians and Semites. These records show very clearly the influence of both the peoples who had settled in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. On the one hand, the inscriptions of the earliest Sumerian rulers which have been recovered show linguistically numerous traces of Semitic influence. On the other hand, the earliest Semitic rulers of whom we have knowledge employ not only the Sumerian method of writing, but also in great part the Sumerian language, for their inscriptions. Of a time when there were no Semites or no Sumerians in Babylonia we have as yet no knowledge, and it is still a matter for conjecture which of these two races was first settled in the country. All that we can say with certainty is that Southern Babylonia was the centre of Sumerian influence, while it is in Northern Babylonia that the Semites were first settled.

Sumerians and Semites

It has recently been suggested that the Semites may have been the earlier of the two races to inhabit the country, and that they succeeded in establishing themselves in Northern Babylonia, and possibly also in the south, where they lived a primitive and agricultural life in an undeveloped state of civilisation. According to this theory the Sumerians were the conquering race, who, before their invasion of the country, had already attained a high level of culture, and brought with them into Babylonia not only the art of writing, but also the method of fighting in close battalions of heavily armed men; and that, in virtue of their better weapons, they imposed their own higher civilisation upon the Semitic peasant population, whom they found in possession of the country. Their conquest of Babylonia might, on this theory, be compared to the Dorian invasion in Greece or the Norman conquest in England. On the other hand, it is possible that the Sumerians preceded the Semites in their occupation of Babylonia, and in that case the conquering race was the less civilised of the two. Pressing into the country in overwhelming numbers, they would gradually have gained the upper hand in the northern districts, and have absorbed the higher civilisation of the conquered race. At present we have not sufficient evidence available for deciding definitely between these conflicting views. The earliest remains that have yet been recovered exhibit the Sumerians settled chiefly in the south, while in the north we find a Semitic population preponderating, and borrowing for their written records both the script and language of their southern neighbours.

The Latin of Babylonia

The first records which we possess are composed in the non-Semitic Sumerian language. This language is one of the principal characteristics of the creators of the Babylonian civilisation, the inventors of the cuneiform characters. It is also the most valuable testimony to their racial importance. For, long after men ceased to speak Sumerian; when the most heterogeneous nationalities had occupied Babylonia, and had gone the same way as the ancient Sumerians themselves; when the various Semitic peoples in the valley of the Euphrates had played their part; when Persians, Macedonians, or Parthians ruled there, down to the age immediately preceding the Christian era—Sumerian was still used in Babylonia as a sacred religious language. It played, therefore, a similar part to Latin, which has been the language of the learned world and of the Church in the Middle Ages and modern



TRIUMPHS OF THE EARLY BABYLONIAN ART

Some of these beautiful objects, found at Tello, and now in the Louvre, were executed over 6,000 years ago. The earliest are the copper votive figures (5 and 7) dating from the reign of the first Babylonian king, before B.C. 4500. The beautiful vase (10) is of silver, richly chased and engraved (11 and 12), and was made in the time of King Entemena, about B.C. 4500. Somewhat later are the copper figures of an early Chaldæan god (2) and a bull (6), the decoration for a sculptured vase of Gudea (8), and two gods in terra-cotta (3 and 9). These are all about B.C. 2500. The other objects are a finely-sculptured woman's head from Tello (1) and a Chaldæan bull in stone (4).

times; only, its survival in this form extended over a period nearly twice as long.

A Language that Lasted 3,000 Years

For considerable periods of their history the Sumerians speak to us in inscriptions of their own, and thus the past of this remarkable people, from the close of whose era the tradition of civilisation descends in an unbroken line to our own times, has been in some degree revealed. Moreover, by the preservation of the language, inscriptions and religious texts in the Sumerian tongue are in our hands, extending over a period which comprises more than three thousand years. The most ancient of the native Sumerian records are the inscriptions of the kings of Lagash, and Sumerian continued to be used as a living language under the later kings of Sumer and Akkad.

With the rise of Babylon under the Western Semitic kings of the first dynasty a great impetus was given to the increased employment of the Semitic tongue in the inscriptions of the period, and Sumerian gradually dropped out of general use. It can easily be imagined that in the succeeding ages the language, which was now only artificially preserved, must have gone through stages like those of Latin in the Middle Ages; for a revival in the spirit of classicism, like that of Latin by the Renaissance, was quite foreign to the Oriental character. Sumerian became, therefore, more and more corrupt when used by later ages. The texts are filled with Semiticisms: the later the period, the more the texts give the impression that they were composed of words merely adapted and declined according to Sumerian; that is to say, the originally quite distinct syntax had been given up. This Sumerian exhibits the same features not merely as the monkish Latin, but even as the Macaronic burlesques; only, what was merely jesting in the latter was seriously intended in the former. If we add the fact that the more ancient the inscriptions are, the more ideographic they are—that is, each separate word is written with a special hieroglyph—we shall realise that our information as to the pronunciation of the old Sumerian is still very unsatisfactory. We know the meaning of the old inscriptions indeed from the signs which are familiar to us from their significance in Semitic texts, but we learn the Sumerian pronunciation of the words only from the statements of later centuries.

Sumerian Pronunciation Unknown

Notwithstanding the numerous texts that have been recovered, we can therefore arrive at no certain conclusion as to many features of the language; but we may establish enough to show roughly the character of Sumerian, one of the oldest civilised languages of the world. It is an agglutinative language, whose construction is not dissimilar to that of the Turkish languages, and therefore completely different from that of the Semitic tongues. Let the following construction serve as an example: egal Ur-Engur lugal Uri galu e-Anna in-ru-a-ka-ta = palace + Ur-Engur + king + Ur + man + e-Anna + he built + genitive particle + in = in the palace of Ur-Engur, the king of Ur, the builder of the (temple) e-Anna. The connecting genitive, which in Semitic, as in English, stands between palace and Ur-Engur, goes to the end of the whole expression, which therefore composes a connected whole, something like a German compound word. In the same way that which is the most important word, and therefore placed at the beginning of our sentences, the designation of place "in" (= ta) comes at the end. We must notice also the periphrasis of a Semitic participle by galu....in-ru-a, man.... + he built.

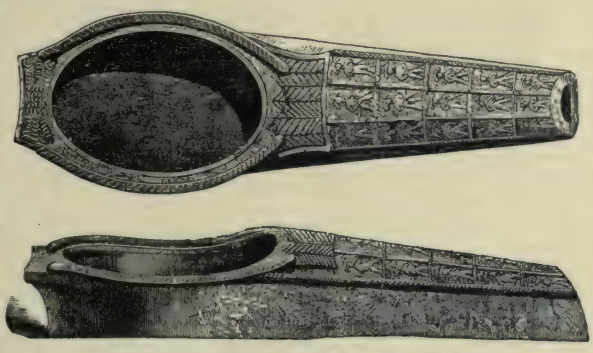
Construction of Sumerian Language

All attempts to establish an affinity with any language of the ancient world, even with the various languages of the neighbouring nations or of those still living, are precarious. Phonetically, Sumerian had already become to some extent corrupt, even as exhibited in the earliest inscriptions that have been recovered. Most words show only simple syllables of vowel and consonant, or consonant-vowel-consonant, the last of which has usually been lost; and a great number of originally distinct words are again phonetically assimilated. Sumerian has thus been worn smooth in the same way as Chinese.

We know nothing of the history of Babylonia before we already find Sumerians and Semites both settled in the country, and both split up into groups of independent city-states. One conclusion however, can be drawn with perfect certainty from the analogy of similar relations and of later times. The development of civilisation was not possible in an

idyllic and peaceful twilight on the fertile banks of the Euphrates. The same relations of hostility and friendship which we find later between the populations of different districts, and which exist between all civilised peoples not separated by insuperable difficulties of communication, must have existed even in the still dark ages of Babylonian history. Even then there must have been trade between the different places; the kings of separate cities must have exchanged communications, and have made war on one another.

Where the dark veil is lifted by means of historical documents—that is, by inscriptions to be reckoned among the most ancient monuments of mankind which speak to us in words—Semites meet us as rulers of the northern districts in the plain of the Euphrates and Tigris. By the term Semites, we designate, in accordance with the table of nations in Genesis, chapter x., the group of races which spoke the same tongue as the Hebrews, there included in the posterity of Shem. It may be noted that since the introduction of this term the fact has been established that some of the nations there classed among the descendants of Shem did not speak Semitic; however, the designation is now universally accepted.



SEPULTURES OF EARLY BABYLONIA

Glazed clay coffins discovered in the ruins of Warka, the ancient Erech, where they were found in amazing abundance. They were covered with elevated ridges forming panels containing embossed and sculptured figures, and were finished with a thick glazing of rich green enamel.

We may regard Arabia as the home of the Semites; indeed, on geographical grounds, no other land can be taken into consideration. Arabia is, up to the present day, the land where Semites have kept their purity of race, and where they live under the same conditions and in the same stage of civilisation as their kinsmen who, in the fourth millennium before the Christian era, attained the object after which their descendants sign; they won the rich civilised lands, which were certainly richer and better cultivated then than they are now. The only roads on which nomadic nations could migrate from Arabia led to Syria and Palestine. On the other sides the country is surrounded by the sea, and a migration westward or eastward presupposes that the people possessed ships, and had therefore passed from the stage of nomadism on the steppe to that of a settled life, or at least had taken up fishing, although this industry can support only a small people. No emigration on a large scale took place then from the south of Arabia; but when the kingdom of Saba and the nations in alliance with it had produced a sort of civilisation, there was emigration to Africa and Abyssinia. The real tide, however, of Semitic migration set toward the north.

Arabia the Home of the Semites

The Tide of Semitic Migration

We are in a position to determine roughly the course and the date of the later migrations, for we can fix their beginning and end with tolerable accuracy; for those of the first we depend to a great extent upon conjecture. They result as a natural consequence of the over-population of the country, and must, if the state of civilisation and conditions of life remain similar, be repeated at a similar interval of time. We can distinguish altogether three, and possibly four, great Semitic migrations toward the north. The last, to begin with that one which is traceable in the full light of history, is the Arabian. This culminated in the conquests of Islam. It begins somewhere in the seventh or eighth century B.C., when the advance of the Arabs into Syria is demonstrable. This is preceded by the Aramæan, and we can again roughly determine its beginnings. From the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C. we find Mesopotamia already flooded by Aramæan nomads. The advance of these tribes must have therefore begun somewhat earlier. The Canaanite-Hebraic migration precedes this, and, as



BABYLON AS IT APPEARED AFTER TWO THOUSAND YEARS

This picture of ruin and the uttermost desolation, reproduced by permission from "The Struggle of the Nations" (S.P.C.K.), shows the ruins of Babylon in the first half of the nineteenth century, before they were disturbed by excavations.

a result, we find that shortly before 2000 B.C., a population, to be described as West Semitic, or Canaanitic, was in possession of Babylonia. Lastly, at the very dawn of Babylonian history as revealed to us by the remains that have been recovered, we find Semites settled in Northern Babylonia, and engaged in acquiring the elements of Sumerian civilisation from their southern neighbours. It is not unlikely that the original home of these Semitic Babylonians was also Arabia, and that their settlement on the banks of the Euphrates was due to a migration similar to those which took place at later times. But, for fixing the date at which this earliest migration may possibly have taken place, the excavations in Babylonia have as yet furnished no evidence.

These are the four great groups of Semitic peoples who have in succession produced great effects upon the history of the Nearer East. It must be noted, however, that any calculation as to dates can give only approximate results, and that obviously a sharply defined division of the several migrations is impossible. In the migration of races, one wave pushes another before it, and the last portions of a great group of nations may be still in movement when the vanguard of the next is already drawing near. As an example, we may cite the case of the Hebrews and Aramæans about the middle of the second millennium B.C. The immigrating Western Semites of the second migration found existing in Babylonia a highly developed civilisation, which they adopted, like every barbarous people in similar circumstances, and its institutions were valid for them.



ALL THAT REMAINS OF NIPPUR, THE CITY OF ENLIL

Nippur was the principal religious centre of the whole of Babylonia.

Wherever our records speak to us, we find in Babylonia a number of towns whose divine cult was

i[illegible] high reputation, and whose importance as the centre of high-roads, and the focus of intercourse and civilisation, was maintained throughout all history. We shall mention here the most important, following the Euphrates upward from the south: Eridu, or Abu Shahrain, the seat of the Ea cult; Ur, or Mukayyar, the town devoted to moon-worship in Southern Babylonia; Lagash, also called Shir-pur-la, with phonetic reading of the ideographic style of writing, marked by the mounds of Tello, and known to us by the excavations of the French consul, De Sarzec, and a town not far from Tello, on the other bank of the Shatt el-Hai, whose name is expressed by the signs Gish-khu, but was probably pronounced as Umma. The rulers of this city waged a constant warfare with the early kings of Lagash, and their history is typical of that of the early Babylonian city-states. Further, Isin, which was later the seat of a Babylonian dynasty; Larsa, or Senkereh, where the South Babylonian sun-cult had its seat; Erech, Uruk, or Warka, the seat of Nanâ-Ishtar; Nippur, or Niffer, the city of Enlil, which has been examined by American excavators, and is now known to have been the principal religious centre of the whole of Babylonia. In Northern Babylonia the most important towns are Babylon, the city of Marduk, which did not assume the chief rôle until later; Kish and Opio, in the neighbourhood of the later city of Seleucia; and Kutha, or Tell Ibrahim, the city of Nergal; and more to the north Sippar, or Abu-Habba, the Sun-town of Northern Babylonia; and Dur-ilu, with the cult of Anu, probably marked by the mound of Der. Further to the north begins the steppe of Mesopotamia, and we now meet on the banks of the Tigris, going up stream, the important towns of Ashur, or Kala Shergat, Calah Kalkhi, or Nimrud, and Nineveh, at a much later period of the greatest importance as capitals of the kingdom of Assyria. More easterly, toward Media, lies Arbail, or Arbela, now Erbil, which commands the East Assyrian country, the district between the Upper and the Lower Zab. Here the roads to Media and the places on Lake Urumiya converge. Returning to the district between the rivers, we find the Sinjar range of hills, certainly once occupied by towns, even if nothing has



RUINS OF THE FAMOUS BIBLICAL CITY, "UR OF THE CHALDEES"
Ur was an important city-state of Southern Babylonia, and, like others in the Mesopotamian valley, a town of the most ancient past when first it appears in history. It was the seat of the worship of Sin, the moon-god.

hitherto been definitely settled on the point. The great steppe of Mesopotamia becomes again suitable for considerable settlements in the two valleys of the Khabur and Belikh. Here there are a number of hitherto unexplored "tells"—that is, sites of towns now covered by earth, and rising in the form of rounded mounds above the surrounding plain. Harran, the moon-city in the upper valley of the Belikh, was the most important, and flourished until a late period.

Babylonia's Dense Population

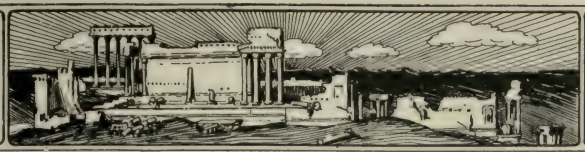
These are by no means all the chief towns of the region of Babylonian civilisation. On the contrary, we cannot picture to ourselves the density of the settlements with which all the districts that come under our notice—if we omit the parts of the steppe where water was deficient—were then covered. Babylonia, at the time of her prosperity, was, like Egypt, cultivated in a manner which resembles gardening more than our notions of agriculture, and was proportionately covered with settlements. The towns which we have named are only those which have played a particularly prominent rôle through their political and religious importance, or of which we have considerable knowledge in consequence of excavations on their sites. There are besides countless other "tells" which are still awaiting the spade of the excavator.

On the assumption that the Sumerians first occupied the whole of Babylonia, their displacement by the Semites may be described as follows. We may suppose that the Semitic immigrants occupied the country in the same way as at a later period their kinsmen who followed them, the Chaldæans and the Hebrews, can be shown historically to have taken possession of Babylonia and Canaan. They pressed into the open country, where they maintained their position, half on sufferance, half by force, and gradually gained possession of the towns; and thus their supremacy over the whole country was secured. Instead of nomads they were then settled townsfolk, who adopted the civilisation of the country unconditionally. Politically, an important change was thus effected in them. The free nomads, under the headship of a sheikh, became the subjects of a king; for their leader turned the existing institutions to his own advantage more quickly than his "brothers" who followed him. We must, then, assume that there were gradually formed a series of separate city-states corresponding to the old Sumerian centres of civilisation in the districts which were occupied by the several invading tribes. They had scarcely taken possession of these when their kings—just like the separate tribes in the nomadic era, so far as they were not connected by "blood relationship"—became natural rivals; and the struggle between them necessarily began and continued until it ended in the subjugation of the one by the other, and in the gradual formation of one or more great empires.

Sumerians Displaced by Semites



THE KHABUR, A HISTORIC RIVER OF MESOPOTAMIA
A tributary of the Tigris, at Arban, the site of Shadikanna, which was the capital of an Aramæan prince.



EARLY STATES OF BABYLONIA

WE should naturally expect to find as the earliest monuments of Babylonia inscriptions of kings of the various great towns which were at war with one another. This expectation has been fulfilled by the most recent discoveries. Small as they are in comparison with what may still be won from the soil, they are amply sufficient to give a picture of the political conditions of the period.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto known are those of kings of Lagash in Southern Babylonia, of Kish, and of the city of Gish-khu, or Umma, whose rulers we find at war with each other and alternately gaining the upper hand. There is no object in following them minutely, or in attempting to arrange in chronological order all the names of rulers that have been recovered. But a sketch may here be given of the principal facts that have been established. The result of these wars is the development of larger kingdoms; for the king of the victorious town is reckoned the lord of the subjugated princes, who call themselves "Patesi," or priest-kings. In the earliest period we know that Lugal-shag-engur, patesi of Shirpurla, or Lagash, was the contemporary of Me-silim, king of Kish, for a mace-head has been discovered at Tello, bearing an inscription of the latter king, which records his rebuilding of the temple of Ningirsu at Lagash at the time Lugal-shag-engur was patesi of that city. We may see in this fact evidence that Me-silim exercised suzerainty over Southern Babylonia, and it was in consequence of his position as over-lord that he was called in as arbitrator in a dispute between the cities of Lagash and Gish-khu, or Umma.

The Early Priest-Kings

The history of the rivalry which existed at this period between these two neighbouring cities may be summarised, as it is typical of the relations existing between the early city-states. After a treaty of delimitation between their respective territories had been drawn up under the direction of Me-silim, a stele was set up to commemorate the fixing of the boundary, and peace ensued between the two cities for several generations. But at length an ambitious patesi of Gish-khu, named Ush, removed the stele and invaded the plain of Lagash, where he succeeded in conquering and holding a fertile district named Gu-edin. But he was defeated by the men of Lagash, and his successor, a patesi named Enakalli, concluded with Eannatum, patesi of Lagash, a solemn treaty concerning the boundary between their cities, which is still preserved upon the famous "Stele of Vultures" in the Louvre, of which an illustration is given on page 262 of this work. A deep boundary ditch was dug, the old stele was restored and a new one set up beside it, and Enakalli agreed to pay heavy tribute in grain for the supply of the great temples in Lagash. Again there was a period of peace, but on Enakalli's death, Urlumma, the successor of Enakalli, broke the treaty by destroying the frontier ditches and breaking the steles in pieces; but he appears to have been defeated and kept in check by Eannatum I., the reigning patesi of Lagash. In the reign of Entemena, the son and successor of Eannatum, fresh trouble arose in consequence of raids on the part of the men of Gish-khu, and peace was restored only after a pitched battle and the capture of the latter city by Entemena, who henceforth ruled Gish-khu through a governor and administrative officers appointed by himself.

Rivalry of the City-States

Beginnings of Empire

The history of Gish-khu and Lagash illustrates the independent position enjoyed by the separate cities of Babylonia at this early period, and it also enables us to watch the process by means of which the more powerful of two neighbouring cities in process of time succeeded in gaining the ascendancy. But the temporary character of these political combinations is also well illustrated by the sequel; for in the reign of Urukagina, who styled himself King of Lagash, Lugal-zaggisi, the patesi of

Gish-khu, succeeded in capturing Lagash, which he laid waste, destroying its temples and putting its inhabitants to the sword. In consequence of this victory and of his successes against other cities in Southern Babylonia, he claimed the title of "King of the land." Other rulers of this early time, whose period cannot be exactly stated, are Lugal-kigub-nidudu and Lugal-kisalsi, kings of Erech and of Ur; Enshag-kushana, a king of Southern Babylonia; and Urumush and Manishtusu, who reigned in Kish at a time when that city was at the height of its power.

The earliest empire in the proper sense of the term was formed with its capital in the city of Agade, under whose kings the Semitic inhabitants of Northern Babylonia for the first time succeeded in enforcing their authority over the whole country. At this time the South Babylonian patesis were subject to the sovereignty of the North Babylonian kings, of whom Shargani-shar-ali, usually called Sargon, and his son Naram-Sin are known to us by a number of inscriptions. The first of the two styles himself King of Agade, in North Babylonia, and had therefore conquered the south from there; and accounts of his reign and that of his son prove that they extended their victorious career over Nearer Asia, so far as it ever came under the influence of Babylonian culture. They ruled not merely Babylonia and Mesopotamia, but Syria and Palestine. Sargon, indeed, is said, in a late copy of an inscription, to have sailed out into the Mediterranean, and an attempt has been made to prove that in Cyprus are to be found traces of the influence of Babylonia from the most ancient times. But, although this theory is now disproved by recent discoveries, it is certain that he extended his conquests to the Syrian coast. Wars with the northern barbarians necessarily followed, as well as expeditions to the south. In this way a great Semitic-Babylonian empire was founded, embracing the whole of Nearer Asia. The names of Sargon and Naram-Sin mark, therefore, the zenith of the power attained by the earlier Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia. This is shown by purely external evidence, for their inscriptions are, in distinction from those of Southern Babylonia, composed in Semitic.



Mansell

AN EARLY KING OF LAGASH
The statue of a Sumerian royal personage of Lagash, an important city-state.

Of the later patesis of Lagash, Gudea [see illustration on page 270 of this work] may be specially mentioned, owing to the number and length of his inscriptions, which bear witness that the dominion of Babylonian civilisation was as wide as all accounts make out. He had the materials for his buildings brought from distant countries: cedar from Amanus, stone for his statues from Arabia or Sinai. This is a proof of the extent of peaceable intercourse at that time. It is noteworthy that Gudea did not assume the title of king, so that we may probably regard him and his immediate predecessors as still acknowledging the suzerainty of the northern kingdom founded by Sargon of Agade. The fame of Sargon and his political achievements was handed down to the latest times, even when men were not altogether clearly informed about him. Sargon of Agade became a legendary hero, and when the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus, found an inscription of his son Naram-Sin, and asked his learned men for information as to its date, they could give him no correct answer, and finally reckoned an age of 3,200 years before Nabonidus himself—that is, about 3800 B.C., a figure which they considerably overestimated. In arriving at this very early date, it is probable that the scribes of Nabonidus reckoned as successive many of the early local dynasties of Babylonia which had ruled contemporaneously. If, as is now certain, we must reject this very early estimate of the period of Sargon's rule, it is difficult to ascertain his date with accuracy. It is probable, however, that no very long period separated the empire which he founded in Northern Babylonia from that of the kings of Sumer and

Akkad; in these circumstances we may conclude that he did not live at a period earlier than 2800 B.C. or 2700 B.C.

Within the sphere of the Babylonian civilisation, at one time fighting with the rulers of Babylonia, at another submitting to them, as can be best realised by the testimony of the Assyrian era, there were then Elam, with its border state of Ernutbal, and the tribes inhabiting the mountainous districts extending from Media to Cappadocia. To the north-east of it lived the barbarians of the Umman-Manda, the Manda hordes, the Babylonian "Scythians," and the inhabitants of Gutium, or the district of the "Kuti." We possess an inscription of one of the kings of the last-named country, in the language and style of the Naram-Sin period, about a votive offering in Babylonia, probably in Sippar, similar to the dedications of foreigners to the Greek oracles. Toward Asia Minor, beginning in Cappadocia, lies the district of the "Khatti" and "Hittites," who were soon to make themselves felt in Babylonia, and were to change the course of Babylonian history by bringing the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi to an end. Northern Palestine meets us as "the western land," and formed an integral part of the empire founded by Sargon of Agade. Arabia may have been more accessible to the earlier Babylonians than later to the Assyrians or even to us. In the south there must have been navigation on the Persian Gulf, for Dilmun, the island of Bahrein, was situated within the sphere of Babylonian interests, and has left monuments in cuneiform characters. It is also hardly imaginable that Gudea obtained his stone from Magan except by sea.



UR NINA, KING OF LAGASH

This bas-relief from Tello, now in the Louvre, shows the king, about B.C. 4500, performing a religious ceremony in the temple of Ningirsu.



NINGIRSU

The divinity of the city-state of Lagash. From a sculptured fragment in the Louvre.

The numerous monuments of this period display a high technical perfection. The first inscriptions and monuments of the kings of Lagash are indeed very rude, but later a stage is reached which is comparable to that of the old empire in Egypt. The inscriptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin, written in a peculiar ornamental script, and the statues of Gudea display great skill. Countless documents concerning the management of temples and estates dating from this period have been discovered on the site of



RUINS OF AKKAD, PERHAPS A SUMERIAN CITY

The kings of Sumer and Akkad gained the supremacy in Babylonia about B.C. 2500.

Lagash. Such is Babylonia, its range and its civilisation, in the third millennium B.C., when it reached, perhaps, a higher stage in the development of art and culture than was attained for many centuries later.

The Kings of Sumer and Akkad

The last inscriptions of the patesis of Lagash known to us, the direct descendants of Gudea, partly contain dedications to new kings, of whom many inscriptions are extant from towns in Southern and Northern Babylonia. These rulers term themselves "Kings of Sumer and Akkad," and their inscriptions, at least the South Babylonian, like those of Lagash, are composed in Sumerian. We have therefore to notice a great alteration since the preceding era: North Babylonia has yielded the supremacy to South Babylonia. The kings of Ur rule Babylonia in the place of those of Agade; for even the north belongs to them, as inscriptions found there prove clearly enough.

We have in this kingdom of "Sumer and Akkad" to distinguish generally between three dynasties. The first, of which the kings Ur-Engur and his son Dungi are best known to us, was termed the Dynasty of Ur, after the title and seat of government. The numerous inscriptions of the two kings tell us only about the erection of temples in all the important towns of Babylonia, but do not contain information as to their political activity and power. It follows, however, from the dispossession of the Semitic sovereigns of Northern Babylonia that they must have largely encroached upon their territory, and a recently-discovered chronicle definitely proves that such was indeed the case. We learn from this document that Dungi, who succeeded his father, Ur-Engur, the founder of the dynasty, undertook active operations against the north and finally broke the power of the Semitic rulers, who had inherited the empire built up by Sargon of Agade and his son, Naram-Sin. We learn that he succeeded in capturing and sacking the city of Babylon, and he is recorded to have laid hands upon the treasures which had been accumulated in Esagila, the temple of Marduk, the city-god of Babylon. Moreover, it is related that Dungi cared greatly for the city of Eridu, which is described in the chronicle as having still stood at this period "upon the shore of the sea"—that is to say, upon the Persian Gulf, whose waters had not yet receded owing to the detritus carried down by the Euphrates and deposited at its mouth.

Dynasty of "Ur of the Chaldees"

In Dungi's care for Eridu to the detriment of Babylon, we may see evidence of the Sumerian reaction inaugurated by the dynasty of Ur in Southern Babylonia against the Semitic supremacy of the north. This new record proves that Esagila, the temple of Babylon, had already begun to rival the more ancient shrine of Nippur, the seat of Enlil, as the most sacred temple of Babylonia. The Semitic rulers of Sargon's dynasty had doubtless lavished their offerings at the shrine of Marduk, which had consequently gained in prestige and importance, and had acquired the sanctity and influence of a national shrine. The blow which Dungi struck at its very existence was thus the outcome of a consistent policy, for, by sacking Babylon, and carrying off the treasures of its temple, he demolished the existing symbol and sanction of northern rule. The revolution which Ur-Engur and Dungi carried out was thus not only political, but was also based upon a racial and religious movement.

A Rival to Babylon

Moreover, Dungi did not confine himself to a destructive policy, for he at once set about the task of substituting a national shrine, which should furnish a counterweight to the former influence of Babylon, and by its position and associations should assist the transference of power to the Sumerian districts of the south. For this purpose he selected Eridu, the oldest and most sacred shrine of the Sumerians, which was situated in the extreme south of Babylonia. Here we may conjecture he deposited the temple treasures from Esagila, and, by reviving the splendour of the ancient Temple of Enki, he furnished Southern Babylonia with a shrine which he hoped would rival the fame previously enjoyed by that at Babylon.

The building inscriptions of Ur-Engur and of Dungi which have been recovered are evidence of the extent of the empire founded by these two earliest kings of Sumer and Akkad, for they prove that their influence was not confined to Southern and Northern Babylonia, but extended also to Elam. Moreover, the date-formulæ which have been recovered upon tablets and date-lists of the period prove that Dungi undertook other military expeditions, after his subjugation

of Northern Babylonia, in the effort to extend the boundaries of his kingdom. The fragment of a dynastic chronicle, which has recently been identified among the tablets from Nippur, proves that the dynasty of Ur lasted for 117 years, and, in addition to Ur-Engur and Dungi, comprised the reigns of Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, these five rulers following one another in direct succession.

The dynasty of Ur was directly succeeded by that of Isin, which took its name from the city forming its capital. The new dynastic chronicle states concisely that "the supremacy of Ur was overthrown, and that Isin took its kingdom." We may therefore infer that Isin obtained the hegemony among the Babylonian cities as the result of a war with Ur, in which Ibi-Sin was overthrown by Ishbi-Ura, who founded the dynasty of Isin, and reigned for thirty-two years. He was followed in direct succession by Gimil-ilishu, Idin-Dagan, Ishme-Dagan, and Libit-Ishtar. We possess short inscriptions of the two last kings named in the above list, but they throw no light upon the history of the period. From the fact that Libit-Ishtar was succeeded by Ur-Ninib, who is not stated in the chronicle to have been his son or brother, we may possibly infer that the latter usurped the throne. About this period we know that another son of Ishme-Dagan, named Eannatum, held the office of high-priest in the temple of the moon-god at Ur, which was then under the protection of a certain Gungunu, king of Ur, who also claimed the titles of "King of Larsa" and "King of Sumer and Akkad." It has therefore been suggested that at the end of Libit-Ishtar's reign an invasion of Babylonia took place, possibly from Elam, which overthrew the direct line of Isin. Eannatum, who would naturally have succeeded his brother in the event of the latter dying without issue, may have sought refuge with Gungunu, who had taken advantage of the political disturbance to set up an independent kingdom in Ur and Larsa. However this may be, it is clear from the chronicle that Ur-Ninib occupied the throne of Isin, and after a reign of twenty-eight years was succeeded by his son Bur-Sin II., and his grandsons, Iter-Kasha, and a brother whose name has not been recovered. Of the five succeeding rulers, the name of one only, Enlil-bani, is known with certainty, and since none of these rulers are recorded in the chronicle to have been related, it is possible that each was a usurper, and that a period of trouble and unrest followed the reign of Ur-Ninib's last descendant.



GUDEA, THE PRIEST-KING

Gudea was the most famous patesi of Lagash, and under his rule early Babylonian art reached its zenith.

Enlil-bani reigned for twenty-four years, but his predecessor ruled only for six months; and the reigns of his three successors lasted altogether for only twelve years, facts which may be cited in favour of the view that it was a period marked by palace revolutions and political unrest. The last two kings of the dynasty were Sin-magir and his son Damik-ilishu, who reigned for eleven and twenty-three years respectively. In an inscription of the former, which has been recovered, the king claims dominion over the whole of Babylonia, so that we may conclude that he succeeded in establishing his throne upon a firm basis. Thus the dynasty of Isin endured for 225 years and six months, and comprised no fewer than sixteen kings. During this period it is probable that the hegemony of Isin was disputed by other great cities of Babylonia. We have already noted the

appearance of Gungunu, an independent ruler of Ur, soon after the reign of Ishme-Dagan, and we may probably assign to the same period another king of Ur, Sumu-ilu, whose name has been found upon a votive model of a dog which was offered to the goddess Nin-Isin, "the Lady of Isin," on behalf of Sumu-ilu, by a high official of Lagash. Two rulers of Erech, named Sin-gashid and Sin-gamil, are also to be set in this period, or in that of the dynasty of Larsa, the city which probably succeeded Isin in obtaining the lead among the great cities of the land.

The Last King of Sumer

We thus come to the third and last independent dynasty of the kings of Sumer and Akkad, which had its seat in Larsa, the town of the Sun-god Shamash. From the times of these kings—up to the present are known Nur-Adad, Sin-idinnam, Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, who probably followed each other—as of their predecessors, we have a great number of records of business life, the dates of which are mostly fixed by great events, and thus supply us with much information as to wars and other important undertakings. There are absolutely no royal inscriptions with historical announcements; only the usual inscriptions as to buildings and dedications. The last two kings of the dynasty, Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, were not Babylonians, but Elamites. They expressly style themselves in their inscriptions sons of the Elamite Kudur-Mabuk, who seems to have conquered a considerable portion of Southern Babylonia, and established his son Arad-Sin in the cities of Larsa and Ur. We learn from the accounts of the earlier times that Elam was the mightiest opponent of Babylonia. A vigorous blow must at this time have been struck which made Southern Babylonia a dependency of Elam for a time. Arad-Sin was succeeded by his brother Rim-Sin, who was the last of the "Kings of Sumer and Akkad." The wars which he carried on with Hammurabi, the most famous king of the first dynasty of Babylon, and his final defeat and death at the hands of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son, will best be narrated when we have described the rise of Babylon to power under the West-Semitic kings of its first dynasty.

Elam in Babylonia

Coincidentally with the South Babylonian kings of Larsa, and partly with their predecessors, the dynasty of Isin, there reigned in Northern Babylonia, in the city of Babylon, a succession of princes which, in accordance with the lists of Babylonian kings, we designate the First Dynasty of Babylon. We have seen that after the days of Sargon and Naram-Sin, when the north had the supreme power, kings were again ruling in the south, in the dynasty of Ur, who styled themselves kings of Northern Babylonia. But now in the numerous business documents of that time and region the rulers of Northern Babylonia, up to the subjection of the south, which we shall soon mention, are not called "kings," although in point of fact they conducted the government. The conclusion may be drawn that we have to deal with the vassal kings of those South Babylonians. The South Babylonian kings of Isin accordingly had vassal kings in Babylon who exercised independent government within their own district. The same conditions continued under the several kings of the house of Larsa. The last king of this dynasty, Rim-Sin, the Elamite, was signally defeated by the fifth of these kings, after the relation of vassal had long been merely formal, and his power was finally broken by his successor. It has hitherto been assumed that when once the Elamites were driven from the cities of Southern Babylonia the independence of the south was ended for ever. We shall see, however, that a new foe was to arise, who succeeded in forming another independent kingdom in the south. But, in spite of the rise of this new kingdom on the shores of the Persian Gulf, it may truly be said that Babylonian history from this time becomes really a history of Babylon.

First Dynasty of Babylon

The dynasty under which the sovereignty was for ever transferred to the city, and which, in consequence, gave the name to the country, and thus to the whole civilisation, was not "Babylonian-Semitic," but West Semitic or Canaanite, for meanwhile the second of the great Semitic migrations mentioned above had been completed. This migration flooded Babylonia also. The advancing nomads forced their way from the open country into the towns, and Babylonia received another ruling population in place of that which had lived its day, and this in turn assimilated the Babylonian civilisation.



THE RISE OF BABYLON

THE HAMMURABI AND KASSITE DYNASTIES

THE founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, named Su-abu or Sumu-abu, came to the throne shortly before 2000 B.C., and a recently-discovered chronicle proves that he waged war, not with Southern Babylonia as we might expect, but with Assyria, whose existence as a kingdom is thus proved to have been far older than has hitherto been supposed. Su-abu's opponent in Assyria was Ilu-shuma, one of the earliest priest-kings of Ashur whose names have been recovered, and it is not unlikely that he seized the opportunity of a change of dynasty at Babylon to make a bid for his country's independence. Of the result of this early conflict between Babylon and Assyria we know nothing, and our information is equally scanty with regard to the foreign relations of Babylon under Su-abu's four successors, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, and Sin-muballit, for the date-formulæ of the period record building operations and the like, and do not reflect the history of the period. Under Sin-muballit's son, Hammurabi [see illustration on page 266 of this work], a change took place, for by signally defeating Rim-Sin, he expelled the Elamites from Babylonia, and extended the authority of Babylon over the southern portion of the country. He thus succeeded in welding together a mighty empire with its capital at Babylon. It is true that Rim-Sin was not finally defeated until the first years of the reign of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son. But it was Hammurabi who practically put an end to the empire of the southern kings of Sumer and Akkad, and raised Babylon to the position of the principal city in the land. So far as her external influence was concerned, we may conclude that Babylonia kept at this period also the supremacy over the West. The Nearer East is still Babylonian, and the conception that we have to form of the importance of Babylonia for the rest of Western Asia at that time corresponds in all main points with the earlier period. The East, which was in the possession of the "Canaanites," resembles on the whole that of the "Semitic Babylonians."

Hammurabi's Empire Welding

Upon the social condition of Babylonia during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon considerable light has been thrown by the discovery of Hammurabi's famous Code of Laws. This invaluable inscription is engraved upon a huge block of black diorite, which was discovered by De Morgan during excavations carried out in the "tell," or mound, of the acropolis at Susa in the winter of 1901–2. The laws, together with introductory and concluding texts, were engraved upon the monolith in forty-nine long columns of writing, of which forty-four are still preserved; and at the head of the stone is a sculptured representation of Hammurabi receiving the laws from Shamash, the Sun-god.

Hammurabi's Code of Laws

It would be out of place in the present work to attempt any discussion of the question as to how far the laws of Babylonia, as embodied in this document, have influenced other ancient legal codes, and in particular the Mosaic legislation. We are here concerned only with Hammurabi's code, as an important and recently discovered source of information concerning early Babylonian life and custom. It was drawn up and published by the king for the guidance of his people, and it regulates their duties and their relations to one another in all the pursuits and occupations of their daily life. It defines the responsibilities and privileges of the various classes of the population, and, since it formed an exhaustive set of regulations, it enables us to construct a fairly complete picture of Babylonian society during this early period.

The numerous contracts and letters of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon which have come down to us, and in particular the series of royal despatches of Hammurabi

himself, which are preserved in the British Museum, abundantly prove that the code was no dead letter, but was actively enforced under the personal supervision of the king. It may thus be employed as a trustworthy and accurate witness to the conditions which existed in Babylonia during the period at which it was drawn up.

From the code we learn that the population of Babylonia was composed of three principal classes, each of which occupied a separate and well-defined position in the social community. The lowest of these three classes were the slaves, who must have formed a considerable proportion of the population. The class next above them in the social scale consisted of free men, who were possessed of some property of their own, but were poor and humble people, as was implied in the name they bore—mushkenu. The highest, or upper class in the community, comprised the owners of large estates and landed property, the higher officials and servants of the State, and all the officers and ministers of the Court. The privileges and responsibilities which the two classes of free men in the Babylonian community respectively enjoyed are well illustrated in the code by the scale of payments as compensation for injury which they were obliged to make or were entitled to receive.

Babylonian Society in B.C. 2000

The penalties enforced upon a member of the upper class were far heavier than those his humbler free neighbour had to pay, but the latter's privileges in this respect were counter-balanced by a corresponding diminution of the value at which his injuries were assessed. Slaves could be owned by both classes of free men, though they were naturally more numerous in the households and on the estates of members of the upper class. The slave was the absolute property of his owner, and could be bought and sold, and deposited as security for a debt; but on the whole his life was not a hard one, for he was a recognised member of his master's household, and was a valuable piece of property, which it was to the owner's advantage to keep in good condition. Moreover, the slave had rights and privileges of his own which the code explicitly sets forth. Thus, under certain conditions, it was possible for a slave to acquire property of his own, and by so doing he was entitled, if he obtained his master's consent, to purchase his own freedom. Marriage between a male slave and a free woman was also possible, and the children of such a union were free, and did not become the property of the slave's master; while if the owner of a female slave had begotten children by her he could not use her in payment for a debt. Thus it will be seen that the law afforded protection even to the humblest members of the community.

Rights of Slaves

The code also supplies considerable information concerning the family life of the early Babylonians. We here have detailed regulations concerning marriage and divorce, the giving of marriage portions, the rights of widows, the laws of inheritance, and those which regulated the adoption and maintenance of children. It is unnecessary to describe or discuss these regulations in detail, but one striking fact which they emphasise may here be pointed out—the recognised status occupied by the wife in the Babylonian household. Evidence of the extremely independent position enjoyed by women at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon may also be seen in the existence of a special class of women, who followed the profession of religious votaries, though their duties were not strictly sacerdotal. Most women of this class, who are mentioned in the contract-tablets of the period, were attached to the temple of the sun-god at Sippar or to that of Marduk at Babylon, but it may be inferred that all the important temples in the country had similar classes of female votaries in their service. The duties of these women do not appear to have resembled in any way those of the sacred prostitutes in the service of the goddess Ishtar, at Erech. On the contrary, they occupied a position of considerable influence and independence. While they generally lived together in a special building, or convent, attached to the temple, they were free to leave it and to contract marriage. Their vows, however, entailed the obligation to remain virgins, and though a married votary was thus precluded from bearing children herself, she could provide her husband with a concubine for this purpose, while she still retained her position as the permanent head of the household.

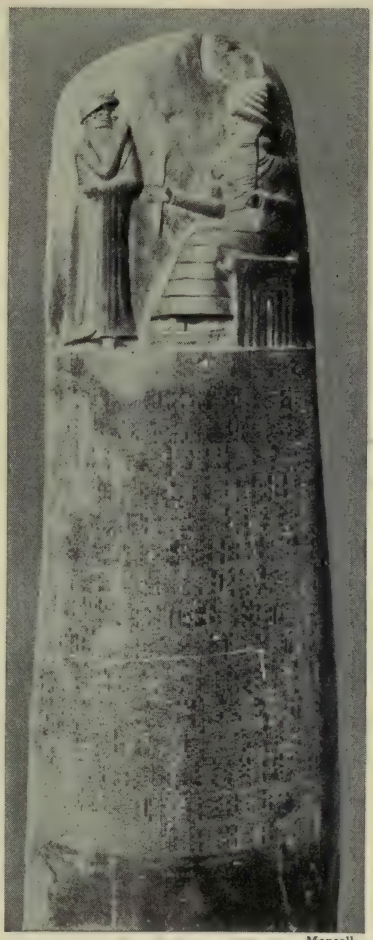
Independence of Women

Even when unmarried, however, the votary enjoyed the status of a married woman, and was protected from slander by special regulations. In return for these

privileges, she was obliged, under severe penalties, to maintain a high standard of moral conduct and was precluded from any occupation or act which was derogatory to her high position. She could possess property of her own, and on taking vows was provided with a portion by her father which, on her death, did not pass to the temple, but returned to her own family, unless her father had assigned her the privilege of bequeathing it. The social prestige enjoyed by the votaries is attested by the fact that they included within their body many women of good family, and even members of the royal house; while the rules of the order and the high repute which it enjoyed may be taken to indicate a very enlightened conception of the position of women at this early period.

The large body of regulations which deal with the duties of debtors and creditors are evidence of the extent to which the early Babylonians engaged in commercial pursuits and undertakings, and we learn that an active interchange of commodities was carried on between distant cities. Thus, a wealthy merchant would extend his business and obtain large profits by trading with other towns, and for this purpose he would employ agents, who may thus be regarded as the forerunners of the modern commercial traveller. The agent received from the merchant the money, grain, wool, oil, or whatever sort of goods he had to deal in, and he gave to his employer a properly attested receipt for the same. So far as his trading was concerned, he acted independently, and on his return he would pay to the merchant a fixed share of his profits, retaining the remainder as payment for his own services and the dangers he had incurred.

In the event of the caravan with which the agent travelled being attacked by robbers or by enemies in a foreign country, the loss of the goods was borne by the merchant at home; the code, however, regulates the procedure to be followed in such circumstances, while at the same time it attempts to protect the agent from any risk of being defrauded by his employer. Immense profits were obtained by merchants and agents who engaged in this foreign commerce, and we may conclude that at the period of the first dynasty, and for many centuries earlier, the great trade routes of the East were even more crowded with caravans than they are at the present day.



Mansell

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

Hammurabi, B.C. 2200, was one of the ablest of the world's rulers. He drew up the Code of Laws engraved on the block of diorite illustrated above, which is now in the Louvre. The king is shown receiving the laws from the Sun-god.

Water-transport was, however, usually employed for the carriage of grain, wood, and other bulky or heavy materials, wherever it was available, and the code contains detailed directions concerning the fees to be paid to boatmen engaged in the carrying trade upon the rivers and large canals of Babylonia. Other regulations sought to ensure good work on the part of boat-builders by fixing on them the responsibility for faulty or unsound work, while the boatmen were responsible for the loss or damage incurred through their own carelessness to goods entrusted to their charge. A still more important function of the rivers and canals in Babylonia was the irrigation of the cultivated lands, and the code contains detailed regulations for the repair of the channels and dykes and the right to the use of the water. A large body of legislation deals, in fact, with the agricultural life

of the early Babylonians, and regulates all cases of dispute which were likely to arise between owners of land and their farming tenants, owners and hirers of cattle and asses, or between shepherds and herdsmen and their employers ; while fines were levied in cases of damage or injury arising through carelessness in looking after cattle.

Penalties for Careless Doctors

It is of interest to note that Hammurabi's code attempted to protect the public from carelessness on the part of two important classes of the community—doctors and builders, and it was singularly just that death or injury arising from bad work on the part of either was held to merit punishment in kind. Thus, if a doctor through unskilful treatment caused the death of a member of the upper class, or inflicted a serious injury upon him, such as the loss of an eye, the doctor was liable to have both his hands amputated—a drastic, but certainly an effective method of preventing other unsuccessful operations on his part. Similarly, if his unfortunate patient had been the slave of a member of the middle class—of poor free men—and had died under his hands, he had to give the owner a new slave, or, in the event of his patient merely losing an eye, he had to pay the owner half the slave's value.

Death to the Jerry-builder

The penalties attaching to jerry-building were even more severe. For if a builder built a house for a man, and his work was so unsound that the house fell and killed the owner, the builder himself was put to death ; and if the owner's son was killed by the fall of the house, the builder's son was put to death. If one or more of the owner's slaves were killed, the builder had to restore him slave for slave, and besides compensating the owner for any damage to his goods, he had to rebuild the house anew, or such part of it as had fallen. These interesting survivals of the law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth prove that in the medical profession and the building trade, as practised by the early Babylonians, the payment of compensation alone had not been a sufficiently strong deterrent to prevent bad work.

From the brief discussion that has been attempted of some of the most striking enactments of Hammurabi's code, an idea will have been formed of the extent to which the administration of law and justice had been developed in Babylonia at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. The laws, however, were not the invention of Hammurabi himself, who merely codified them. They were based upon centuries of tradition, and were the result of innumerable judgments drawn up upon tablets and carefully preserved in the legal archives of the State. In discussing the enactments of the code therefore, we have not been dealing with a temporary phase in the life of ancient Babylonia. On the contrary, its enactments reflect the spirit in which justice had been administered in Babylonia for a long period anterior to the rise of Babylon under her West-Semitic kings, and we may conclude that it continued to influence the administration of the country during its subsequent domination by successive dynasties of foreign origin.

Second Dynasty of Babylon

In the native list of kings the first Babylonian dynasty is followed by a second, consisting also of eleven kings. Their Sumerian names, many of which are ingeniously interpreted, and the lengths of their reigns are preserved for us by the lists. Until quite recently we knew nothing more, since other information about this period was strangely deficient. Its total duration was 368 years, according to the list, but of the events which took place at this time we knew absolutely nothing. It seemed strange that so long a period of Babylonian history should have left no trace behind it on the sites of the ancient Babylonian cities which had been already excavated. If a dynasty of kings had occupied the throne of Babylon during this protracted period, how did it happen that among the many thousands of contract tablets which had been recovered, none had been found dated in the reigns of these eleven kings ?

The answer to this question has recently been supplied by a newly-discovered chronicle which is preserved in the British Museum. From this invaluable document we now learn that the second dynasty of the list of the kings never in reality occupied the Babylonian throne. In fact, the eleven kings of which the dynasty was composed ruled only in a district of limited extent in the extreme south of Babylonia on the shores of the Persian Gulf. This district was known as the *mat tamti*, or " Country of the Sea," taking its name from its position on the littoral of the gulf, to which the

Babylonians gave the name of "The Sea in the East," or the Eastern Sea. From the newly-discovered chronicle we learn that the territory of the eleven kings, who formed the so-called "Second Dynasty," was confined to this strip of coast, and was never extended so as to include the northern and central districts of Babylonia proper. We further learn from the chronicle that the rulers of this little state did not live in the period between the first dynasty of Babylon and the Kassites, as has hitherto been assumed on the evidence of the kings list; but that their reigns were contemporaneous with those of the later kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, and of the earlier Kassite rulers.

The exact date at which Iluma-ilu, the founder of this kingdom on the shores of the Persian Gulf, declared his independence is not certain, but we know that he waged successful wars with Samsu-iluna, the son of Hammurabi, and Abeshu, his grandson, who succeeded Samsu-iluna upon the Babylonian throne. From the narrative of the new chronicle it would seem that Samsu-iluna took the initiative in Babylon's struggle with the Country of the Sea. In his first expedition he succeeded in reaching the Persian Gulf, but he was defeated, and in a second campaign he met with no better success. His son Abeshu, after his accession to the throne, again attempted to conquer or curb the state upon his southern borders, but Iluma-ilu succeeded in eluding him. In fact, from this time forward the southern portion of Babylonia passed into the possession of the kings of the Country of the Sea.

Under the reigns of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-zaduga, the successors of Abeshu upon the Babylonian throne, we know little of the foreign policy of Babylon, with the exception of the fact that Ammi-zaduga inflicted a defeat upon the Elamites. It may be inferred, however, that Babylon had trouble upon her eastern border from the Kassites, who already in Samsu-iluna's reign had begun to make raids on Babylonian territory, and from the kings of the Country of the Sea in the south. When, therefore, under Samsu-ditana, the last king of the dynasty, Hittite tribes from Cappadocia and Northern Syria descended the Euphrates and attacked Northern Babylonia, the capital fell an easy prey to their onslaught. The great temple of Marduk, the city god, was destroyed, and the statue of the god himself was carried back by the Hittite invaders in triumph to their own country. In this manner we now know that the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi came to an end. How long a period elapsed between the Hittite conquest and the occupation of Babylon by the Kassites we cannot at present determine, but it is unlikely that they would have long delayed their descent upon the city when once its defences had been reduced and it lay at the mercy of an invader.



A BABYLONIAN SEAL CYLINDER AND ITS METHOD OF USE

A reproduction of an early Babylonian seal, showing the River-god, Sun-god, Ishtar, and other deities. Impressions of the seal were obtained by passing the cylinder, seen on the left, over soft clay, which was then baked.

The Kassites, who now occupied Babylon as the dominant race, and whose rulers are reckoned as the third dynasty upon the list of kings, at first occupied only Northern Babylonia. They formed, in fact, the vanguard of an advancing tide, and they left many of their own tribes behind them in the mountains of Elam. Even in later times,

under Sennacherib, traces of them are to be found in the Zagros Mountains. We are compelled to account for their appearance by a great racial movement which poured itself from the east and north-east over the civilised countries, just as the Turks and Mongols did some thousands of years later. We know very little about the past of that tide of nations which flowed on to Babylonia. Later discoveries will, perhaps, some day explain more clearly the form of its connection with Elam and the other neighbouring countries. The migration of these barbarians assumed in any case great dimensions. The mixture of races in Babylonia thus received a new component, and in the Babel-like confusion of tongues we hear the sound of Kassite, which is known to us only by a list of words and proper names. The scheme of the dynasties of Babylon reckons as Kassite its third house of thirty-six kings, a period of 576 years, extending from about 1700 to the eleventh century. We know most of these kings by name, and have information as to the events of that time from inscriptions, royal and otherwise, although there are here also considerable gaps in the tradition.

Appearance of the Kassites

An insight into the order of things at the beginning of this period is afforded us by the inscription of one of the early princes in this dynasty, the seventh, by name, Agum II. He styles himself " King of the Kashshu and Akkadians, King of the wide dominion of Babylon, who settled with numerous inhabitants the land of Umliash, the border land to Elam, King of Padan and Alman—frontier territories to Media—King of Gutium, the king who rules the four countries of the world." The whole enumeration of titles, different from that of the Babylonian monarchs, and the precedence given to the Kassites, show that the Babylonians did not quickly absorb their new conquerors; a later king, Karaindash, bears the usual Babylonian titles, and only adds at the end " King of the Kashshu," which his successors actually omit. These barbarians thus only gradually adapted themselves to civilisation, and became Babylonians. It is interesting to note that the inscription of Agum II., from which his titles above enumerated are taken, commemorates the recovery from Khani in Northern Syria of the statue of Marduk, which had been carried off by the Hittites on their capture of Babylon in Samsu-ditana's reign. Thence Agum brought it back to Babylon.

Barbarians Become Babylonian

A fact of considerable importance with regard to the Kassite occupation of Babylonia has recently been demonstrated, to the effect that their conquest of the whole country did not take place at one time. There were, in fact, two Kassite conquests. The first occurred shortly after the Hittite invasion, and was confined to Northern Babylonia, to which the empire of the earlier Kassite kings was limited. During this period the kingdom of the Country of the Sea continued its independent existence on the shores of the Persian Gulf. But we may infer that the Kassites, who had remained behind in the mountains of Elam, continued to harass Southern Babylonia, and it was probably to put an end to trouble from this quarter that Ea-gamil, the last king of the dynasty founded by Iluma-ilu, invaded Elam.

But his temerity was the signal for a fresh advance of the Kassite hordes, who, under the leadership of one of their chieftains named Ulam-Buriash, drove him from the country, and, following him into Southern Babylonia, signally defeated him, and brought his dynasty to an end. The chronicle from which we learn these facts states that Ulam-Buriash exercised dominion over the Country of the Sea, and that fresh conquests were made there by his nephew Agum. It is therefore probable that from this time forward the Kassites occupied the whole of Babylonia, but it is not clear whether the two halves of the country were at once united under one administration with its centre at Babylon. It is probable that the unification of the kingdom was only gradually achieved, and that during the process the country underwent more than one convulsion. The result of these several invasions and the racial conflicts which ensued was naturally to exhaust the resources of the land, and render its rulers incapable of adopting an aggressive foreign policy.

Kassites Conquer the South

The feebleness of Babylonia and the exhaustion of the population are clearly visible in two further occurrences of this time. The third Semitic migration, the Aramæan, makes its mark in the age of the Kassites (1700–1100 B.C.), and the dominion of Babylonia over the west is disputed and finally destroyed by a new

power, which now develops itself from a "town kingship" and seeks aggrandisement—namely, Assyria. The future belongs to these two. The Kassites, the temporary lords of Babylonia, shared the fate of their kingdom, which was forced to resign its suzerainty. As the sovereignty had moved up stream from the south to Babylon, so it moved further to Assyria. The history of Nearer Asia after the encroachment of Assyria, which begins at this period (about the sixteenth century B.C.), is changed essentially by this fact.

Assyria Becomes a Power

The struggle between Assyria and Babylonia for supremacy began under the Kassite dynasty, and, owing to the abundant sources of information now open to us, we can follow its vicissitudes more accurately than the events of the earlier age. This struggle and its result constitute the most important subject for subsequent political history. The history of Babylon and that of Assyria concern us, therefore, in the first place, in so far as they touch each other and are interconnected. Thus we are confronted by two streams of development flowing side by side, the course of which we can best indicate in a combined account. On the other hand, Babylon almost always asserted her independence, and after she had been for a time subdued, she emerged at the end once more the conqueror. At the beginning of this war Babylon was the predominant power, and never ceased, even when under the influence of Assyria, to have a separate history and development. If, therefore, we wish to do more than merely chronicle the wars between Ashur and Babylon, if we wish to do justice to the importance of Babylon as the principal seat of the ancient civilisation, which even Assyria acknowledged, we must follow up separately the history of this independent state.

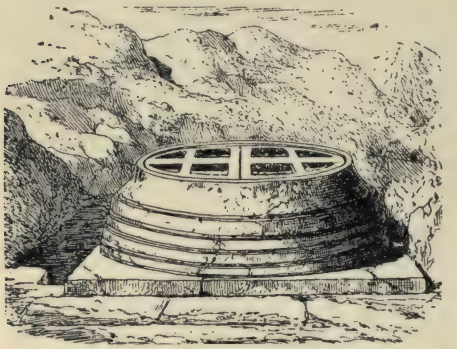
We have seen, in the first place, what districts were claimed by Agum II., the ruler of Babylonia; his power no longer extended to Mesopotamia and the west. The next known inscription, the one already mentioned of King Karaindash, claimed only the sovereignty over Babylonia. We shall see that attempts to recover Mesopotamia were not made until the power of Assyria, which had its seat there, was expelled. The dominion of Babylonia in Palestine had been replaced by that of Egypt. It seems as if Karaindash may have been the head of a new family within the Kassite dynasty; his successors, at least, speak of him in their letters in a way which suggests this idea. We must place him about 1500. All that we know of him, besides the above-mentioned inscription, is that he concluded a treaty with Assyria and engaged in a correspondence with the king of Egypt. This last fact is proved to us in a document which one of his successors, Burnaburiash, sent some fifty to seventy years later to Amenophis IV., and for the knowledge of which we are indebted certainly to one of the most surprising of all the discoveries made in the soil of the ancient East. In the winter of 1887–1888, at Tell el-Amarna, in Middle Egypt, which marks the place of residence of Amenophis IV., over three hundred clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform character were discovered. One of these tablets is reproduced by photography on page 274 of this History. They represent a small part of the State archives, and contain the letters which kings of Nearer Asia and vassal kings from Syria and Palestine addressed to Amenophis III. and IV. There are in the first group letters of the kings of Babylon, Ashur, Mitani, or Mesopotamia, the king of the Khatti, and of others. It is obvious that these letters give most valuable information as to the history of the Nearer East, and we shall therefore frequently have to refer to them in what follows. The Babylonian letters, which concern us first, tell us little of Babylon's greatness and power; but the existence of the collection is in itself evidence of the extent of Babylonian influence. The letters are written in cuneiform characters, and, with few exceptions, in Babylonian Semitic. And, what is still more significant, there are two letters among them of the Pharaoh, the one to the king of Babylon, the other to a vassal of Northern Palestine, which are also composed in that language. Cuneiform writing and Babylonian language were, therefore, the means of intercommunication throughout the whole of the Nearer East. A knowledge of Babylonian literature was the necessary preliminary to mastering them. This is evident from tablets found there containing a Babylonian myth, written in

Letters of Nearer Asia to Egypt

Egyptian Letters in Cuneiform

Babylon and apparently used in Egypt for teaching purposes.

The two kings, from whom we have recovered eleven letters addressed to the two Pharaohs, were called Kadashman-Bel and Burnaburiash. The former wrote in the last years of Amenophis III., the latter to his successor. The letters generally mention no great State events. They deal principally with marriages between the two royal houses. The Pharaohs received Babylonian princesses into their harem, but were not so liberal with their own flesh and blood to their Babylonian friends—these did not at least receive princesses. What Pharaoh sends in gifts is generally stated to be



AN EARLY BABYLONIAN TOMB

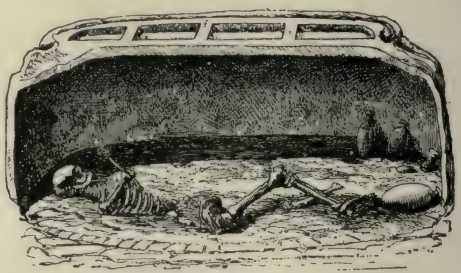
A flat-roofed tomb constructed of baked brick from Ur.

too little ; the money is carefully confided to the purifying agency of the furnace and found unduly alloyed, and better metal and more of it is always demanded.

More important for history are the relations between these two regions of civilisation, exhibited in the fact that Babylonia and Mitani send as presents productions of their industries, among them the much-admired lapis lazuli, skilfully worked in Babylon. Egypt, on the contrary, sends primarily gold. It almost appears as if diplomatic negotiations were left to verbal intercourse and to the cleverness of corrupt court officials, for political questions are seldom discussed. One letter vividly pictures the manners of the age. Some Babylonian merchants, travelling for the king—the kings engaged in business, and enjoyed, it would appear, immunity from taxation—were arrested in Akko, where they apparently wished to take ship for Egypt, by a prince of Palestine, and were in some way badly used, although no reasons are assigned for this treatment. The Babylonian now demands from Pharaoh the release of the prisoners and compensation, since Akko was subject to his suzerainty. A political controversy is only once discussed. The Assyrian king, Ashur-uballit, had found encouragement at the Egyptian court in his schemes of aggrandisement at the cost of Babylonia. Burnaburiash pointed out the inadmissibility of such action, since Assyria was his vassal state, and no direct negotiations could therefore be carried on with it. He referred also to the correct attitude of his father, Kurigalzu, who, when once asked to join cause with the Canaanites, the subjects of Egypt, had refused to countenance such an act of treachery towards Egypt. That such loyalty was not so free from suspicion as these assurances of friendship would make it appear, and that in Egypt no very implicit confidence was placed in the warm friend of Egyptian gold, is proved by the fact that when one of the Phœnician princes wishes to blacken the character of another at court, he accuses him of being a secret adherent of the king of Mitani, of the Khatti, or of Kash—that is, of the Kassites of Babylon.

Relations with Egypt

Political Machinations in Egypt



INTERIOR OF EARLY BABYLONIAN TOMB

Interior of the Ur grave. Jars and dishes containing daily fare for the dead man were left with the body.

We can, indeed, assign to a somewhat later date an attempt of Babylonia to win back the West, when disorders broke out in Egypt after the death of Amenophis IV. Burnaburiash, notwithstanding the anxiety displayed in his letter to Amenophis IV. about the encroachments of Assyria, and although wars between him and the Assyrians are proved to have taken place, had given his son Karakhardash a daughter of the energetic

Ashur-uballit as his chief wife; and her son, Kadashman-kharbe, became the successor to the throne—a sign of the Assyrian influence. We are acquainted with the attempt, just mentioned, made by this Babylonian king to regain a firm footing in the west.

Assyria, indeed, was at this time encroaching on Mesopotamia, and Babylonia had nothing left but the road diagonally through the Syrian desert. Kadashman-kharbe tried to secure this road by punishing the nomads, the Suti, who roamed those parts, and by digging wells and building fortresses and towns, which he settled with Babylonians. By this means he hoped to transform it into a commercial highway, which should facilitate communication with the coast and make the detour by Mesopotamia unnecessary. It is possible that his plan was suggested by a route already in existence; but in any case he had recognised that it was better policy to satisfy his rival with districts which had first to be conquered, and meanwhile to deprive those districts of their greatest value by diverting from them the traffic so important for Babylonia. That would, indeed, have been a solution of the dispute, then urgent, as to the possession of Mesopotamia. Perhaps Kadashman-kharbe arrived at a peaceful arrangement with Assyria about this plan. If he had carried it out he would, at any rate, have shown himself to be a man who could support his power by more effective means than arms, especially when Babylon, an industrial state, was confronted by the military power of Assyria.

Kadashman-kharbe cannot have reigned long. He was murdered, and in fact fell the victim of an insurrection stirred up by the Kassites. We are not told what the immediate incentive to the deed was. We may perhaps trace the reason to the fact that the kings and the ruling classes of the Kassites had meanwhile, after 1400, become "Babylonised"—that is, that they felt, and affected to feel themselves, Babylonians. Those of the Kassites who had gone away empty-handed at the division of the spoil, or had lost their share, as often happens in the commercial life of communities engaged in industries and trade, may have formed a party of malcontents, who longed for the good old times when the Kassite was lord and the Babylonian the spoiled. The insurgents therefore raised to the throne a man of low birth, whom the two chronicles which record the fact call Shuzigash and Nazibugash—a "son of nobody." This was a welcome opportunity for the grandfather, Ashur-uballit, who was still living and had been restlessly active in extending his kingdom, to secure the supremacy for Assyria. He appeared in Babylon as the avenger of his grandson and the restorer of order, suppressed the revolt, and had Kurigalzu, the infant son of his murdered grandson, crowned as king.



CONTEMPORARY RECORD OF BURIAL OF THE DEAD

From a stele in the Louvre, showing how the Sumerian and Chaldæan dead were piled up after battle. The priests are heaping up earth to form a mound.

But the force of circumstances is stronger than blood relationships and gratitude for benefits of doubtful intention. So long as Ashur-uballit lived, and under his son, Assyria was occupied with the conquest

of Mesopotamia. But when Adad-nirari I. drove the Mitani thence, Babylon, having no doubt lost the route which Kadashman-kharbe had attempted to open up, had no other course but to secure Mesopotamia for herself, and with it the communications with the west. Since, however, Assyria possessed this country, war ensued between it and Babylon. Under Kurigalzu and Adad-nirari I. the contest for Mesopotamia began between the two states. We have an interesting account of a war of the Babylonian king, Kurigalzu, against Khurbatila, king of Elam, in which he defeated him and took him prisoner on Babylonian soil—that is, in one of the attacks of Elam on Babylon. He must have followed up his victory, for on the back of an inscription which a dependent of King Dungi, of the old dynasty of Ur, had consecrated to the goddess Nana of Uruk stands the words, "Kurigalzu, king of Karduniash [the designation of the Kassite kings of Babylonia] hath captured the palace of the town Shasha [Susa, formerly Shushan] in Elam, and hath presented this tablet to Ninlil of Nippur in gratitude for the preservation of his life."

Contest for Mesopotamia

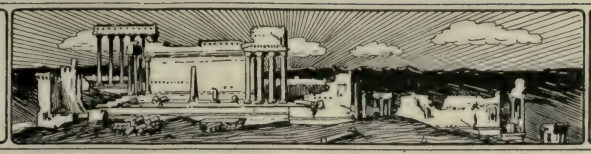
The tablet was, therefore, carried off from Uruk in a former raid of the Elamites, was then discovered, on a victorious campaign of Kurigalzu's against Elam, in a temple—if in Susa, then probably in the temple of the goddess Shushinak, mentioned in the case of Ashurbanipal—and was deposited by the king in the temple of Nippur more than nine hundred years after its completion. Finally, rediscovered during the American excavations, it has been brought to Constantinople. Not only have books their destinies! These wars prove to us that the conditions were then present which we find continually during the succeeding period. Babylonia lay as a coveted prize between Assyria and Elam. For a time it was able to face the two on equal terms, and, even if occasionally vanquished, it regained the superiority. The struggle fills up the succeeding centuries until the end of the Assyrian empire. In the last period we shall then find Babylonia as a vassal of one of these two states.

Conquests of Assyria and Elam

Even now the same ebb and flow of events is noticeable. Soon after Kurigalzu, as we shall see in dealing with Assyrian history, Babylonia and Babylon came into the power of Tukulti-Ninib I. of Assyria. Shortly after, under Belnadin-shun, who reigned for only one year and a half, Kidin-khutrutash, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, pillaged Dur-ilu, and conquered Nippur, the favourite resort of the Kassite kings, where they often held their court. Other expeditions, with similar incidents, were made by the Elamites in the reign of Kadashman-kharbe II. and Adad-shum-iddina, when the city of Isin especially suffered. Several songs of lamentation have come down to us, which bewail, in the form of penitential psalms, the devastation of the country, and especially of the city named. In the many centuries of Babylonian history similar circumstances often recurred, but these psalms suit this period admirably, and, even if they did not originate in it, they may have been adapted from similar songs of an earlier time, and sung at this period in the temples of Babylonia. We shall see under "Elam" that Babylonia, for the rest of this dynasty, was probably subject to Elamite supremacy.

End of the Kassites

It will be seen that we are once more at the end of a period. The Kassites had long succumbed to Babylonian influence and had played out their part, and the Kassite dynasty is drawing to a close. It can reckon but four kings more; among them Marduk-aplu-iddina. Merodach-baladan I. alone seems to have offered successful resistance to Assyria and to have retained Mesopotamia. The change of dynasties presents, as always, a period of disturbance and weakness, and brings a line of kings to the throne whose task was to resist Assyria and to renew the struggle for Mesopotamia. We shall see that there is good reason to believe that the earlier rulers of this new dynasty succeeded in establishing themselves as independent kings in Isin during the rule of the later kings of the Kassite dynasty in Babylon, and that the rule of the latter was brought to an end by the powerful king Nebuchadnezzar I., who also freed the country from the yoke of Elam.



BABYLONIAN EMPIRE IN ECLIPSE

THE PREY OF ELAMITES AND ASSYRIANS

THE new dynasty is called in the list of kings the dynasty of Isin, from the Babylonian city of this name. It thus forms the second dynasty of Isin. It is probable that the first two or three kings of the dynasty were contemporaneous with the last rulers of the Kassite dynasty upon the throne of Babylon, because a boundary-stone has recently been discovered at Nippur inscribed with a text of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I., the third or fourth king of the dynasty of Isin, which would make it appear that this monarch was the first of his dynasty to secure control over the whole of Babylonia. In this new inscription, which is dated in the sixteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, it is stated that Enlil "broke the weapon of his [*i.e.*, Nebuchadnezzar's] enemy, and placed the sceptre of his enemy in his own hand, that he might pasture Sumer and Akkad, and rebuild the sanctuaries of the City of Mankind, and regulate the tithes of Ekur and Nippur." It is not clear from the context of this passage who "the enemy" is whose weapon was broken by the god Enlil, and it might be urged that the passage refers to a defeat of the Elamites, from whose supremacy Nebuchadnezzar certainly freed his country. But upon another inscription of his reign Nebuchadnezzar bears the title of "plunderer of the Kassites," so that we may infer that it was the Kassites he defeated, and, further, that it was the sceptre of the Kassite kings of Babylon which Enlil placed within his hand. We may conclude, therefore, with some probability, that Nebuchadnezzar's immediate predecessors were merely kings of the city of Isin at a time when the last Kassite kings were still in possession of the throne of Babylon.

Dynasty of Isin

In addition to his achievements against the Kassites, Nebuchadnezzar I. comes before us as conqueror in wars with Elam, and lord of Mesopotamia and also of the "western land"; he therefore, for the last time indeed, extended the suzerainty of Babylon right down to the Mediterranean. His wars with Elam prove that, under his predecessors, the misery which the invasions of Kidin-khutrutash had already caused had become still more acute. Babylon itself had been captured, and the statue of Marduk carried away to Elam. Such a rape of the god signified the loss of national independence and a degradation of the country to a state of vassaldom. Just as Marduk served in the temple of the stranger god, so the ruler of Babylon was no king, but a servant of the Elamite. So long as the image of the god was not in Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar did not style himself king, but governor, of Babylon. He did not assume the title of "king of Babylon" until he had brought back the statue of Marduk, which he could only do after a decisive victory over Elam. Songs have been preserved to us which bewail the absence of Marduk from Babylon and commemorate his return. By Nebuchadnezzar's successes some limit appears to have been set to the advance of the Elamite, for a time at least. We shall see, when we come to describe the history of Assyria, that the victories of Nebuchadnezzar had great subsequent effects, and that a successful attack by Assyria, which led to the capture of Babylon under Tiglath-pileser I., produced no permanent results.

Babylon Captured by Elam

Not many facts are known of the reigns of the immediate successors of Nebuchadnezzar I. Marduk-nadin-akhe, who succeeded Bel-nadin-apli upon the throne, fought with Tiglath-pileser I. and won back Mesopotamia from him. He was succeeded by Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, who appears to have extended the borders of Babylonia, and to have ruled a confederacy of a large number of petty kings, or princes, over whom he had forced his suzerainty by conquest. He established friendly relations with Ashur-bel-kala, king of Assyria, and on his return after

Babylon's God Carried off

visiting Assyria took up his residence at Sippar in preference to Babylon. He was succeeded by a usurper, Adad-aplu-iddina, in whose reign a disaster overwhelmed the country. This was the invasion of the Sutu, tribes of Aramæan origin, who overran both Northern and Southern Babylonia, and ravaged the country from end to end. We know that the great temple of the sun-god at Sippar was destroyed by them, and for many years the effect of this invasion must have been felt. Not even the full names of Adad-aplu-iddina's three successors are known, but we may infer that they occupied themselves in rallying the resources of Babylon and in making good the havoc wrought by the hordes of the Sutu.

Aramæans Ravage the Land

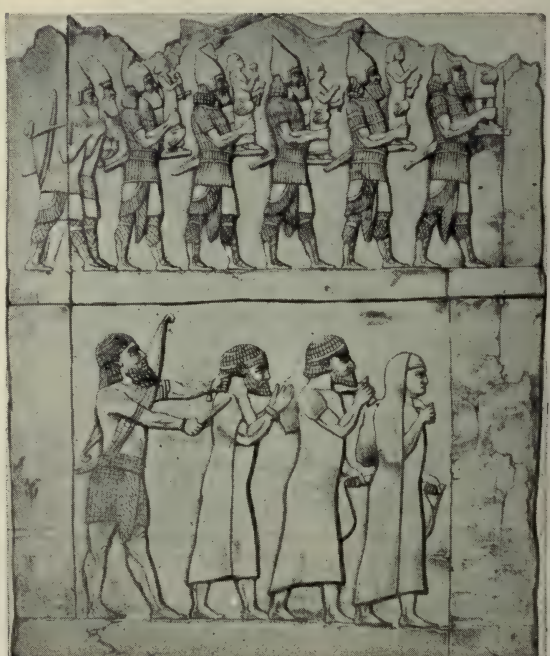
The dynasty which succeeded that of Isin upon the Babylonian throne came from the "Country of the Sea," from which it took its name. Two of the three kings of which it was composed bear Kassite names, and were probably descendants of the Kassite rulers of Southern Babylonia. That the dynasty occupied Northern Babylonia and ruled at Babylon may be inferred from the fact that its founder, Simmash-shipak, was buried in the palace of Sargon. During his reign he partly rebuilt the temple of the sun-god at Sippar, which the Sutu had destroyed in Adad-aplu-iddina's reign. Simmash-shipak was succeeded by Ea-mukin-zer, who reigned for only a few months. The last king of the dynasty was Kashshu-nadin-akhe, in whose short reign of three years the temple at Sippar experienced fresh misfortunes.

Another short dynasty of three kings succeeded that of the Country of the Sea. It is termed in the kings list the dynasty of Bazi, and in it we may probably see another line of foreigners who occupied the Babylonian throne. The three rulers were termed Eul-mash-shakin-shum, Ninib-kudurri-usur, and Shilanum-shukamuna, and the total length of their reigns was little more than twenty years. They were succeeded by an Elamite, whom the native chronographers reckon as having formed a dynasty by himself. His name has recently been recovered as Aa-aplu-usur, but beyond the fact that he ruled for six years, nothing else is known of his reign.

We see, therefore, that Babylonia was completely powerless and the prey of every foreign invader, of the Elamites above all, if they were not dislodged by the Assyrians. The period of these three dynasties embraces about the years 1000–960, and at its expiry we shall find Assyria, which had been hitherto powerless, once more bent on advance.

We do not know who overthrew the Elamites, or what other causes brought a new dynasty into power. The list of kings from this point is mutilated, and we have until about 750 practically no accounts except the Assyrian. From these latter we can learn quite clearly what was the distinctive feature of this period, even if we cannot give an account of the separate reigns. Babylonia, the prize for which the two great states of Assyria and Elam were disputing, was at this time flooded by a migration similar to those of the Semites, who had settled there, and had thoroughly adopted Babylonian customs. From this

Babylonia Completely Powerless



INVADERS CARRYING OFF THE NATION'S GODS

After every invasion the Assyrians, or Elamites, carried away the Babylonian gods, thereby reducing the country to vassaldom.

migration we can picture to ourselves the constant ebb and flow of such a method of occupation; a similar instance is afforded by the circumstances attending the seizure of Palestine by the Hebrews. The Chaldæans thenceforth pressed into Babylonia, inhabited the open country, and tried to gain possession of the towns.

However prominent the Chaldæans may be in the subsequent history, and however many details we have recovered of their relations to Babylonia, we cannot yet form for ourselves any satisfactory picture of their national characteristics. All the Chaldæans, indeed, who are mentioned bear thoroughly Babylonian names. No new element in the language can be ascertained to have been introduced by their invasion of Babylonia, so that we can obtain no clue to their original race. Since they evidently advanced from the south and first occupied the districts on the Persian Gulf, they may possibly be regarded as Semites, who immigrated from Eastern Arabia, while the previous migrations, starting more from the west, went first toward Mesopotamia and Northern Babylonia. According to this theory, the Chaldæan migration would have taken place between the Aramæan and the Arabian, and the Chaldæans would have their nearest kinsmen in these two groups of nations, or would be identified with one of them. If they were Semites, their rapid assimilation of the conditions existing in Babylonia is explained, for other stocks akin to them in language were already settled there, and Aramæan tribes had, as we shall see, already spread over Babylonia. The scanty facts that we can collect at present for a characterisation of the Chaldæans accord well with this view. The designation of Ur, the City of the Moon, as Kamarinē is traced to Berossus. That may be explained from Arabic, in which *qamar* signifies the moon. The chieftains of the Chaldæans are termed *ra'sani:* that is the Arabic pronunciation of the word for chieftain (Hebrew, *ro'sh*). The only god whose cult may perhaps be reckoned to have been introduced by the Chaldæans is the war god—designated as, or identified with, Girra, whom Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Neriglissar bring into prominence.



"Struggle of the Nations," S.P C.K.

MARDUK-NADIN-AKHE

This successor of Nebuchadnezzar regained Mesopotamia from Assyria.

Who were the Chaldæans?

Thus we find henceforth by the side of a series of Aramæan tribes of Babylonia a number of Chaldæan principalities or stocks, which are designated by Babylonians and Assyrians as a "house," or tribe, of their princely family. For example, Bit-Iakin, a district in the "Country of the Sea," from which these rulers had shortly before this time occupied the throne of Babylon, Bit-Sa'alli, Bit-Shilani, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Adini, Bit-Dakuri, in the immediate vicinity of Babylon and Borsippa, and others. The one aim of each of their princes naturally was to gain possession of the adjacent large towns, and, as a culminating triumph, to become king of Babylon. The Chaldæan was the third candidate for the royal throne of Babylon who appeared at this time by the side of Ashur and Elam, and the Babylonian population was less and less able to assert its independence. With such a state of affairs no continuity of development was possible. On the whole, the Chaldæans and Elamites joined cause, while the Assyrian kings endeavoured to appear as the protectors of the national independence, or what they chose to regard as such. The course of the struggle displays a continual fluctuation, until the Chaldæans attained their object with the fall of Assyria, and Babylon, under a Chaldæan dynasty, once more assumed a place among the great powers. The facts we can collect from the period when Assyria had not as yet regained the supremacy in Babylonia are very few, and hardly go beyond accounts

Chaldæans Rule in Babylon



WILD ANIMALS AS TRIBUTE FROM THE PRINCE OF SUKHI

Sukhi, one of the chief Aramæan Euphrates states, was under Babylonian influence, but was subjugated by Ashurnasirpal, king of Assyria.

of wars with Assyria. The first king of the dynasty, who was probably Nabu-mukin-apli, reigned for thirty-six years. It seems as if in a record dating from his time the dominion over Mesopotamia was still ascribed to him, about 960 B.C. He must have been the last Babylonian king who could pride himself on the possession of that district; for about this very time the Assyrian kings also bear, without further interruption, the title in question. The list of kings assigns to his successor, whose name is broken off, a reign of eight months; after that there is a great gap until Nabonassar, who came to the throne in 747 B.C.

Some of the names of the kings in this period we cannot determine conclusively. We know Shamash-mudammiq from his war with Assyria under Adad-nirari III. He died during this war, and Nabu-shum-ishkun became king with Assyrian help. He was, therefore, certainly a Babylonian; his predecessor, a Chaldæan. This is in accordance with the fact that a successor, who showed hostility to Assyria, was apparently in turn a Chaldæan. Then follows, possibly, an unknown king. After this,



THE PROUD ASSYRIAN HUMILIATING HIS CAPTIVE

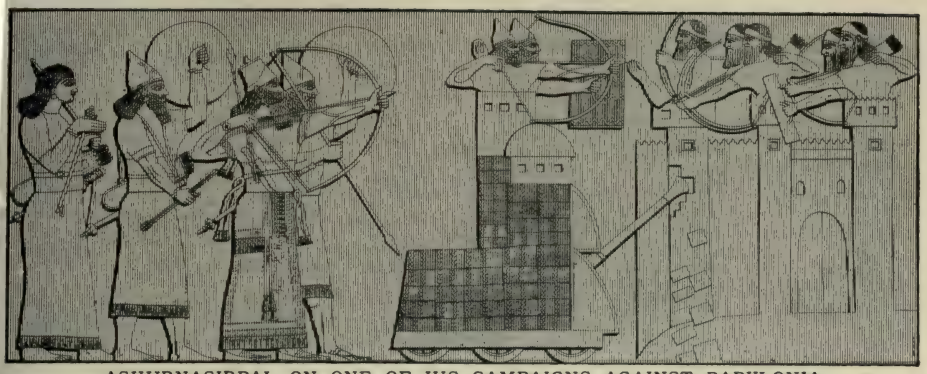
A bas-relief from Nineveh, showing an Assyrian king placing his foot on the neck of a captive king, and apparently about to strike him with his spear.

Nabu-aplu-iddina reigned at least thirty-one years, and died in 854. He was an opponent of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser, and during the reign of the former tried to force his way along the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. In the year 879 B.C. he supported the prince of Sukhi on the Euphrates, who was under Babylonian influence, against Assyria; but Ashurnasirpal defeated the Babylonian forces. The manner in which he speaks of this victory suggests that Nabu-aplu-iddina was a Chaldæan; and this is borne out by the eagerness with which, in an inscription of his own, commemorating the restoration of the temple of Sippar, he represents himself as a good Babylonian. Under his reign Assyria did not venture to encroach on Babylon itself; Ashurnasirpal contented himself with Mesopotamia, and seems later to have extended his power toward Northern Babylonia.

Nabu-aplu-iddina's death, in 854 B.C., was, as usually happens in the East, the signal for disputes about the succession between his two sons Marduk-shum-iddina and Marduk-bel-usati. In accordance with the directions of the deceased monarch, they had divided Babylonia



TRIBUTE OF IVORY AND WOOD FROM SUKHI TO ASSYRIA



ASHURNASIRPAL ON ONE OF HIS CAMPAIGNS AGAINST BABYLONIA

During the days of Babylonia's weakness the Assyrians repeatedly invaded the country, besieging and sacking the cities. This bas-relief shows the king himself in the fight, and also illustrates the use of the battering-ram.

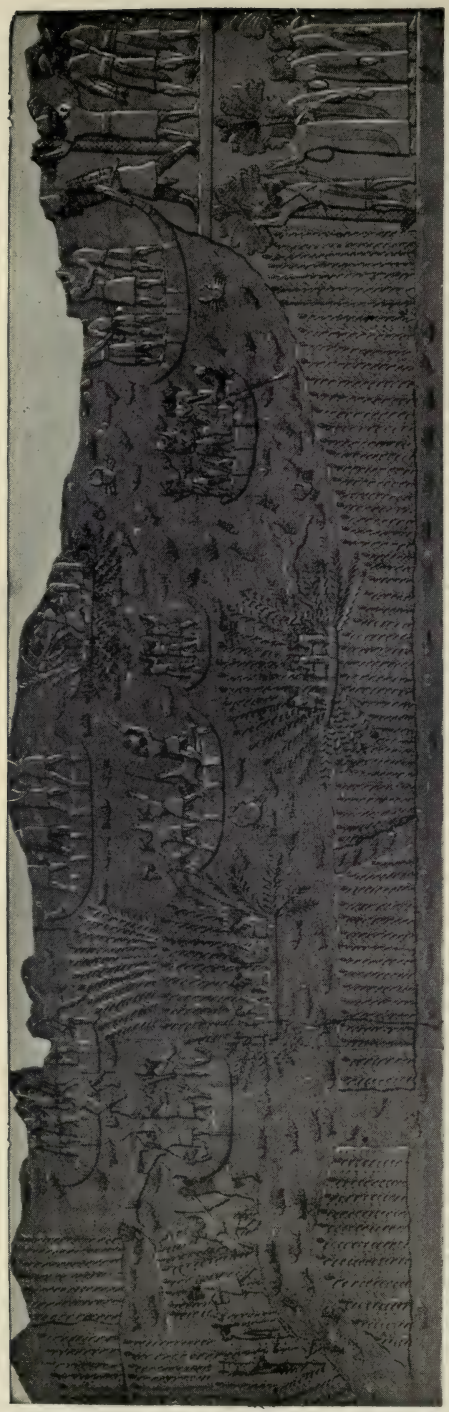
between them, so that the former received Northern Babylonia with Babylon, the latter Southern Babylonia, and with it the original home of the Chaldæans. The war between the Chaldæan prince and the Babylonian king naturally broke out at once, and the Chaldæan forces displayed their invariable superiority to the Babylonian. The Babylonian Marduk-shum-iddina summoned the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., to his aid, and in return he consented to hold his crown from him as a vassal; the Assyrian king did not neglect such a favourable opportunity of realising the object of Assyrian policy, the practical sovereignty of Babylonia. The "Chaldæan peasants" of Marduk-bel-usati fled before his veteran troops back into their swamps. Shalmaneser marched into the towns of Babylonia, offered the sacrifices as supreme lord of the country, and received the homage of the Chaldæan princes, while Marduk-shum-iddina reigned under Assyrian protection. Shalmaneser naturally possessed from the first the north of Babylonia, which, from the time of Ashurnasirpal was under the immediate government of Assyria. It seems, indeed, that at the close of his reign, when the revolt of his son Ashur-danin-apli drove him out of Assyria, he relied on this part of his kingdom, and that his son Shamshi-Adad made it and Mesopotamia the base of his operations for the subjugation of Assyria.

The impossibility of interfering effectively in Babylonia at this time could not fail to present to the ever watchful Chaldæans another welcome opportunity of attack. So soon, therefore, as Shamshi-Adad was free from some of his most pressing enemies he turned his attention to Babylon, where, after the death—or the expulsion—of Marduk-shum-iddina, in



ASHURNASIRPAL IN HIS CHARIOT BEFORE A BESIEGED CITY Mansell

A spirited Assyrian bas-relief from Nineveh. Note the emblem of Ashur, the Assyrian god, in the top left-hand corner, assisting the besiegers by shooting an arrow. This bas-relief is now in the British Museum.



A BAS-RELIEF ILLUSTRATING HOW THE ASSYRIANS CONQUERED THE CHALDÆANS IN THE SWAMPS OF SOUTHERN BABYLONIA

823 B.C., we now find Marduk-balatsu-iqbi as king, a Chaldæan prince, who was supported by the Kaldi, Babylonian-Aramæan tribes, and Elam. He was thus another of the Chaldæan chiefs who by Elamite aid—standing thus in the same relation to Elam as Marduk-shum-iddina to Assyria—mounted the throne of Babylon. We see, therefore, for the first time, a condition of things which we shall find repeatedly—Ashur or Elam as the suzerain of the reigning king in Babylon.

No early success of Shamshi-Adad against the Babylonians is mentioned in his inscription; on the other hand, campaigns against Chaldæa and Babylon in 813 and 812 are recorded. The first presupposes a defeat of the Chaldæan king by Assyria, and with it the establishment of the Assyrian supremacy. The second coincides with the year of the accession of Adad-nirari IV. Perhaps the Chaldæans, who were not thoroughly subdued, on the accession of the new king, returned to the attack. Ba'u-akhi-iddina seems at this time to have been king of Babylon. He was conquered and captured by the Assyrians; and Adad-nirari, just as Shalmaneser previously, now sacrificed in the towns as supreme sovereign. It is not certain whether all this happened in 812, or only on the expeditions of 796 and 795 against Northern Babylonia, and of 791 against Chaldæa, about which we know nothing. This much is certain in any case, that this age is marked by attempts of the Chaldæan princes to gain the Babylonian throne under Elamite protection and supremacy, varied by periods during which Assyria asserted her supremacy, as long as other claims were not made on her. On every change of monarch, or when Assyria is otherwise engaged, fresh attempts are made to shake off her yoke. The same spectacle we find elsewhere, and to it the prophets testify most clearly in the case of Judah and Israel—namely, two great parties in the country, who rely on two different great powers, with a continual shifting and changing from one to the other.

We are not told whom Adad-nirari set up as king in Babylon, and we possess little information about the ensuing period, since after Adad-nirari the Assyrian power once more diminished and its influence over Babylonia waned. But Assyria did not abandon her supremacy without a

s ruggle, for many expeditions against Chaldæa are recorded. Thus, there was one immediately on the new monarch's accession in 783 and 782 under Shalmaneser III., and under the same king in 777; also, under his successor, Ashur-dan III., immediately on his accession in 771, there was an expedition to Northern Babylonia, and in 769 one to Chaldæa. The explanation is afforded by the former condition of things, and we can imagine the course of events from the expeditions of Shalmaneser and Adad-nirari. Since we possess no inscriptions of the Assyrian kings recording these events, and have only the brief notices in the chronicles concerning them, we do not know the names of the Babylonian kings against whom the expeditions were directed.

Assyrian influence must have been completely destroyed in the succeeding revolts between 763 and 746, and Babylonia was thus left at the mercy of the Chaldæans. The first fact we learn is the name—from the Babylonian list of kings—of King Nabu-shum-ishkun II., who reigned until 748. We possess a record concerning him, from which we may picture the condition of Babylonia at this time. Nabu-shum-imbi, the governor of Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon, makes a report concerning certain building operations in the temple of Nebo, and says: "Then in Borsippa, the town of law and order, there arose sedition, havoc, uproar, and revolution; under the rule of the king Nabu-shum-ishkun, of Bit-Dakuri, the Babylonians, men of Borsippa and Dushulti from the bank of the Euphrates, all Chaldæans, Aramæans, Dilbateans, turned for a long season their arms against each other, and defeated each other, and waged war with the men of Borsippa about their boundary. And Nabu-shum-iddina (a high official of the temple of Nebo), instigated on his own responsibility a revolt against Nabu-shum-imbi, the governor of Borsippa. In the night, like a thief, he collected foes and bandits, and led them into the temple of Nebo. . . . . They raised an uproar. But the men of Borsippa and others, who came to the rescue, surrounded the house of the governor and protected it with bows and with arrows." Thus we find what we should expect: the king of Babylon is a Chaldæan of the stock of Dakuri, and the Chaldæans and Aramæans take possession of the territory of the towns which are divided by internal feuds. It is not surprising that under such conditions the wealthy classes hailed the appearance of an Assyrian king as their salvation, and the same phenomenon will meet us again in the subsequent history. The Chaldæan dominion signified anarchy for Babylonia; for a strong Chaldæan prince and a stable government were hardly compatible with the want of cohesion among the Chaldæans themselves, and with the natural opposition between the greedy invaders and the wealthy, timid population of the towns.

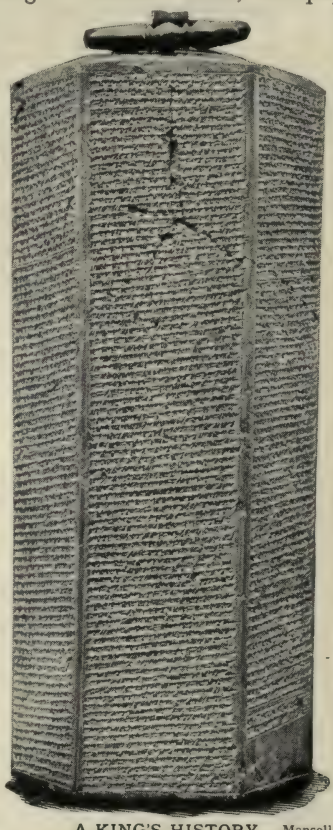


THE GOD NEBO Mansell
In whose temple at Borsippa there arose revolt against the Chaldæans

The next king is Nabu-nasir, or, in the form under which the Ptolemaic canon has preserved the name, Nabonassar; he reigned from 747 to 734 B.C. The circumstances just mentioned continued under his rule, and disturbances in Borsippa such as those described by Nabu-shum-imbi led to an attempt on the part of that city to shake off his yoke, which the king took strong measures to suppress. There are scarcely any actions of Nabonassar himself to relate. Berossus, the historian of Babylon under the Seleucids, states that he issued some enactments—it is not yet certain what their nature was—relative to establishing an era. As a matter of fact, the Ptolemaic canon, which has brought Nabonassar's name into prominence, as well as a Babylonian chronicle, which was written under Darius, begin with reference to his reign in the year 747. In the third year of Nabonassar, 745 B.C.,

was inaugurated a new era for Assyria with the accession of Tiglath-pileser IV.; and Babylonia was immediately aware of the changed order of things. The object of the first expedition of the new king was Babylonia, where he chastised the Aramæans and the most northerly Chaldæan tribes, and placed Nabonassar under his protection. We may conclude from this that he was not a Chaldæan, but a Babylonian. Tiglath-pileser, who henceforth styled himself king of Sumer and Akkad and king of the four quarters of the world, came on his expedition as far as Nippur. Presumably the Chaldæans submitted, and he could not pursue his object further, owing to disturbances threatening from Armenia and Syria. Nabonassar, therefore, reigned under Assyrian protection. If a revolt at Borsippa shows that his power did not extend beyond the city boundaries of Babylon, it was not, on the one hand, to the interest of Assyria to spare Nabonassar his little difficulties; on the other hand, Tiglath-pileser was really for the moment too much occupied to trouble himself more about Babylon than was urgently necessary. It says, however, much for Nabonassar's reputation that for fourteen years no Chaldæan made an effort to make himself master of Babylon.

Nabonassar died in the year 734 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Nabu-nadin-zer, abbreviated to Nadinu, so that the name appears as Nadios in the Ptolemaic canon. He reigned two years, 734 and 733, when one of the rebellions, which might be expected, broke out. The king was deposed by a governor of a province, Nabu-shum-ukin, a Babylonian therefore, and consequently a leader of the anti-Assyrian party. The latter enjoyed less than two months of royal sovereignty, when he had to give way to the Chaldæan Ukin-zir, or Chinzer in the Ptolemaic canon, the prince of Bit-Amukani from 732 to 730. Assyria was thus forced again to interfere; for a Chaldæan on the throne of Babylon could have no other object than to win for himself the whole of Babylonia, which Tiglath-pileser had until then possessed. So soon, therefore, as the latter had arranged affairs in Syria, and had captured Damascus, where the siege alone had secured three years of uninterrupted rule to Ukin-zir, he turned against Babylonia, occupied Bit-Amukani, the home of Ukin-zir, as well as other Chaldæan provinces, and took Ukin-zir himself prisoner. In order to put an end to the endless disorders, he resolved, in spite of the troublesome character of the obligation, to be present annually at the New Year's festival in Babylon, to reside there as much as possible, and to assume in person the crown of the kingdom of Bel; and for the remaining two years of his life he commanded that he should be proclaimed as king of Babylon. Further, the rights of the Babylonians were to be guaranteed. He, like other Assyrian kings who adopted a similar policy, bore as king of Babylon another name: thus Shalmaneser IV. was known in Babylon as Ululai, and Ashurbanipal as Kandalanu. Tiglath-pileser is entered in the Babylonian lists as Pulu, a name by which he is mentioned in the Old Testament.



A KING'S HISTORY Mansell
This clay prism is inscribed with accounts of eight campaigns of Sennacherib.

Tranquillity prevailed then during these two years, 729 and 728, and during the reign of his successor, Shalmaneser, who from 727 to 722 also had himself crowned king of Babylon. So soon, however, as the great revolution in Assyria began, which, on his death, brought Sargon to the throne, a Chaldæan prince, Marduk-aplu-iddina II., or, as we usually call him with the pronunciation given in the text of the Old Testament, Merodach-baladan, king of the "Country of the Sea," used the opportunity to wrest to

himself the Babylonian crown, having come to an agreement with Khumbanigash of Elam. Sargon, it is true, quickly tried to expel him, but his Elamite protector was also on the spot. A battle was fought near Dur-ilu, in which Sargon claimed the victory for himself, and the Babylonians for Khumbanigash. In any case, Sargon was compelled to relinquish the attempt to expel Merodach-baladan from Babylon. He had, however, retained a portion of Northern Babylonia, and with it Dur-ilu. Merodach-baladan calls himself king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad. He reigned as Merodach-baladan II. under Elamite protection from 721 to 710, so long as Sargon, precisely like Tiglath-pileser IV., was distracted by the affairs of Syria, Palestine and Armenia.

Sargon, after ending his wars in these countries, turned his attention to Babylon, and drove out Merodach-baladan, who, after the loss of his capital in the sea country, Dur-Iakin, sought refuge in the court of Susa. Sargon was received in Babylon by his own party, and, above all, by the priests, as the saviour of the city and the restorer of order. He assumed the title of "Governor of Babylon"—that is, he represented a king, though no one reigned as such by name. From 709 to 705 he held Babylon and the whole of Babylonia on these peculiar terms until his death.



MERODACH-BALADAN OF BABYLON
A Chaldæan king who was twice driven from his throne, by Sargon and Sennacherib of Assyria. The sculptor, following the custom, makes the king appear taller than the vassal whom he is investing with a fief.



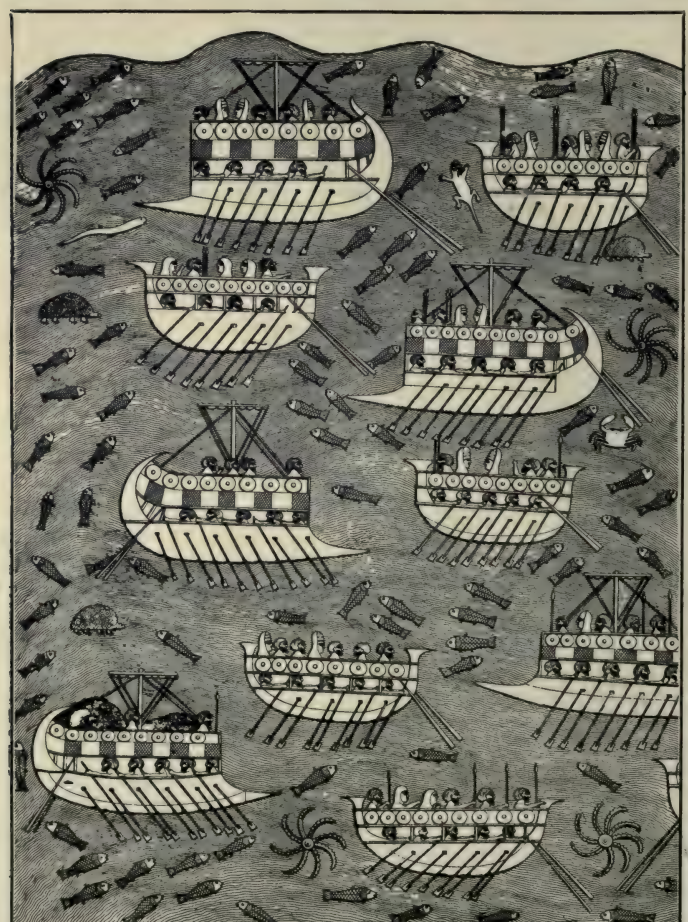
Mansell

CONQUESTS OF TIGLATH-PILESER IN BABYLONIA
Tiglath-pileser IV., an Assyrian king, ruled in Babylon as Pulu after besieging and taking the principal Chaldæan cities. From a bas-relief.

Under the rule of Sennacherib, Babylon enjoyed tranquillity for two years more; then a revolt broke out, which brought a Babylonian, Marduk-zakir-shum, to the throne for a month. Merodach-baladan then seized the opportunity to occupy Babylon once more, with the help of Elam. His sovereignty did not, however, last long this time, for Sennacherib was not so taken up by other wars as Sargon had been during his previous occupation of the throne, and he appeared before Babylon nine months after Merodach-baladan's return. The latter was defeated at Kish, together with his Elamite auxiliaries, and fled, to Elam probably, where he awaited a fresh opportunity to make a descent upon Babylon. Sennacherib treated Babylon merci-

fully, for it was not the Babylonians who had revolted, and only the property of Merodach-baladan and his followers was confiscated. The Chaldæans were again driven back to their country, and the districts occupied by them were restored to the towns. Even the Aramæan tribes were again kept within their own borders.

Sennacherib installed as king in Babylon Bel-ibni, probably a Babylonian prince, who had been brought up at the court of Nineveh (702 to 700). In the following year, 702, two other provinces were secured on the frontier toward Elam. Bel-ibni may have had the best intentions of remaining loyal to Assyria, but circumstances were too strong for him. Perhaps Sennacherib's ambition to make Nineveh the first city of the East was already recognised. In any case, Bel-ibni was forced, while Sennacherib was occupied with Palestine, to break off with him, and—he can hardly have acted voluntarily—to enter into an alliance with Merodach-baladan, that is to say, with his own rival, with another prince of the Chaldæans, Mushezib-Marduk, and with Elam. In Sennacherib's absence he submitted. But just as the people of Palestine had taken up arms too late, so a miscalculation was made in Babylonia and Elam on the present occasion. Sennacherib raised the siege of Jerusalem, after he had already occupied the whole country, and, turning against his more formidable opponents, quickly broke up the alliance. Merodach-baladan fled from the sea-country to Elam, taking his gods with him; the Chaldæan Mushezib-Marduk withdrew into his swamps; and Bel-ibni was forced to return with his followers to the place whence he had come—namely, to the court of Nineveh. We see from this treatment of him that he had joined Elam and the Chaldæans only under compulsion, otherwise assuredly a severer penalty would have been meted out to him. At Babylon, Assur-nadin-shum, a son of Sennacherib, was installed as king, and reigned from 699 to 694 B.C.



SENNACHERIB'S NAVY ON THE PERSIAN GULF
An expedition sent by Sennacherib to disperse the Chaldæans, who constituted a danger which continually menaced Babylonia. From an Assyrian bas-relief.

Merodach-baladan must have died soon afterwards, for he is never mentioned again. Disturbances occurred in Elam, and thus Babylonia enjoyed quiet for five years. In the year 694 Sennacherib made an expedition in order to drive out that part of the population of the sea-country which had

fled at one time with Merodach-baladan to Elam, and had settled in some towns on the coast, and thus to do away with a danger which continually menaced Babylonia. He describes in detail how he built ships for the purpose, which were brought on the Tigris up to Opis, thence to the Euphrates, and so down to the Persian Gulf. He himself cautiously kept far away from the dangerous element, but ordered his army to be transported by sea to Elam. His forces marched some way up the Karun, devastated the provinces on the coast of Elam, and dispersed or captured the Chaldæans who were settled there.

While the Assyrian army was stationed in Elam, Khalludush, king of Elam, did not remain idle. He entered Babylonia near Dur-ilu on the ordinary military road, captured Sippar, took Assur-nadin-shum prisoner, and carried him back with him to Elam. He appointed Nergal-ushezib, a Babylonian, king in Babylon. Sennacherib tells us only of the heroic courage with which he had faced the raging sea and of his success in Elam. We hear of the Elamite counter-move from the Babylonian chronicles alone. Nothing more transpires as to Assur-nadin-shum, the deposed son of Sennacherib.



FIGHTING IN THE CHALDÆAN MARSHES

An Assyrian representation of a skirmish in Sennacherib's campaign against Merodach-baladan and his Elamite auxiliaries.

An Elamite King in Babylon

The new king possessed at first only the north of Babylonia; he tried now to drive the Assyrians out of the south also, and captured Nippur. But Uruk, which seems to have joined his side, was recaptured by the Assyrians, and soon afterwards the latter appeared in front of Nippur. Nergal-ushezib met them in the open field, but was defeated and taken prisoner. He had reigned only a year and a half—694 to 693 B.C. While Sennacherib in this same year undertook a punitive expedition against Elam, the above-mentioned Chaldæan, Mushezib-Marduk, seized the opportunity to establish himself firmly in Babylon, and reigned from 692 to 698. He allied himself closely with Elam, and actually sacrificed the temple treasures of Marduk in order to pay to the Elamite, Umman-menanu, his "presents," or what was, in reality, his tribute. This shows that once more the sacerdotal party supported Assyria. It was not so easy a task this time for Sennacherib to drive out Elam—for that was the real issue at stake. In the year 691 a battle was fought at Khalule, in Northern Babylonia, with Umman-menanu, his vassal, Mushezib-Marduk, the son of Merodach-baladan, and the other Chaldæans. Sennacherib gives a very magnificent account of the battle, in which he naturally claims the victory. The Babylonian chronicle makes Umman-menanu the victor, and is correct in so far as Sennacherib gained no success, for Babylon remained under Elamite protection. In the year 689 Umman-menanu was struck down by apoplexy.

In the same year Babylon fell into Sennacherib's hands, and Mushezib-Marduk was carried prisoner to Assyria. We must assume that in this revolt there was no strong pro-Assyrian party in Babylon, for it is clear that Sennacherib's policy aimed at the ruin of Babylon. The alliance with the Chaldæans had been, therefore, a struggle of desperation, and Sennacherib now lost no time in reaching his goal by the shortest road. Babylon was completely destroyed and its

Babylon Destroyed by Sennacherib

gods taken to Assyria. It has hitherto been supposed that during the years which followed its destruction by Sennacherib the city of Babylon ceased to exist as a centre of political activity. The Babylonian chronicle states that an interregnum of eight years now took place, while the list of kings assigns these eight years to Sennacherib. But a chronicle that has recently been discovered allows us to form a picture of what took place during a portion of this troubled period. It has hitherto been conjectured that no attempt was made to rebuild the capital until the reversal of Sennacherib's policy by his son Esarhaddon, upon the latter's accession to the throne. But we now know that the Babylonians themselves did not remain inactive, and that at least

The City Laid Waste

learn from the new chronicle that they were not left for long in undisturbed possession, for a certain man named Erba-Marduk, the son of Marduk-shakin-shum, "smote them with the sword and defeated them, and he took the fields and the gardens from them and gave them unto the men of Babylon and Borsippa." It is also recorded that in the same year Erba-Marduk set up the throne of Marduk in Esagila, and the chronicle implies that he rebuilt that temple, and also the temple of Ezida in Borsippa. It is therefore certain that Erba-Marduk made good to some extent the damage done to the city of Sennacherib, though the resources at his disposal did not enable him to attempt the rebuilding of Babylon on the lavish scale inaugurated a few years later by Esarhaddon. Moreover,



ASHURBANIPAL OVERCOMES THE ELAMITES

Ashurbanipal's successes against Elam deprived that country of power of making encroachments on Babylonia. This bas-relief shows his soldiers carrying off Elamite spoil and captives, and scribes taking count of the heads of the slain.

one native king occupied the Babylonian throne during this period. It is probable that during the year following the withdrawal of the Assyrian army, and the deportation of Mushezib-Marduk, Babylon did lie desolate and in part deserted by its inhabitants.

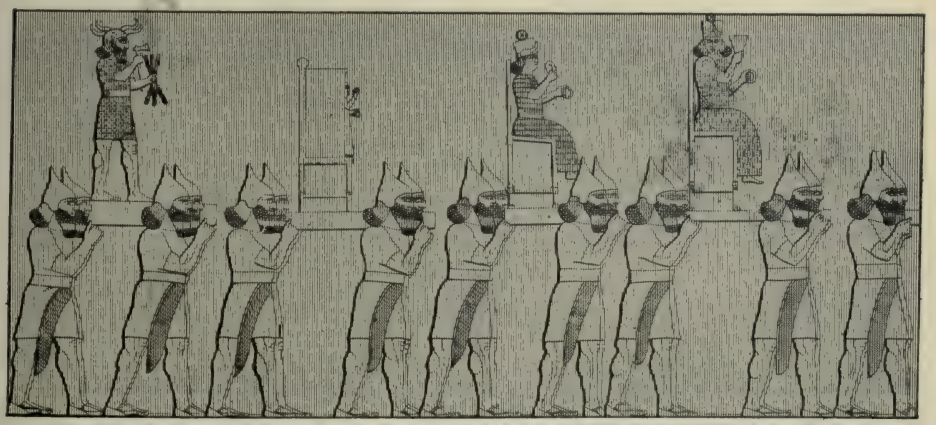
It needed the appearance of another foe to call forth a leader, who should rally the citizens and attempt to restore order and organised government. The necessary impetus was soon given by the descent of Aramæans, who saw in the destruction of the defences of Babylon a favourable opportunity for seizing the fertile plain in the neighbourhood of the capital. Their raid was at first successful, for they seized and occupied the cultivated lands and gardens in the neighbourhood of Babylon and of Borsippa. But we may see evidence of a shrewd policy on his part in the rebuilding of the temples, for by re-establishing the worship of Marduk and Nabu, he strengthened his own claims to the throne. He had already secured the gratitude of the Babylonians by the recovery and restoration of their lands; his subsequent revival of the national religion, and his performance of the coronation ceremony, which consisted of grasping the hands of the national god, raised him from the position of a popular leader, and set him upon the Babylonian throne. It is thus clear that he was recognised as king by the official priesthood, but how long he succeeded in retaining his position it is not possible at present to determine. That other external foes beside the Aramæans hoped

Babylon Rebuilt by Assyria

to profit by the comparatively defenceless state of Babylon is clear from the fact that Esarhaddon, before rebuilding the city, had first to expel Chaldæan settlers who had succeeded in gaining a foothold in the district.

After the murder of Sennacherib, the first act of his son Esarhaddon after his accession was to give commands for the complete rebuilding of the town and the temple of Marduk. While Sennacherib had been the representative of a purely Assyrian, and therefore strongly military policy, Esarhaddon, like Sargon, had to rely upon the priests. The rebuilding of Babylon thus entirely came within the scope of their efforts. The other party, however, was not dissolved upon the death of Sennacherib; it was indeed deeply rooted in Assyrian polity. The two parties seem to have found leaders in the two princes, Ashurbanipai and Shamash-shum-ukin. We shall see in treating of Assyrian history how, just when Babylon was ready, and the question at issue was a reoccupation of the throne of Babylon, the military party forced Esarhaddon to allow its head, Ashurbanipal, to be crowned king of Assyria, and thereby to ensure its power. His father could only secure Babylon for Shamash-shum-ukin, and perhaps Southern Babylonia. In the year 668 the statue of Marduk was brought back to Babylon, and the two princes were proclaimed kings of their respective realms during their father's lifetime. The existing condition was, however, the same as the old: Babylon was the protectorate of Assyria, and the new king of Assyria sacrificed in Babylon, Sippar, and Kutha to the Babylonian gods as their protector.

The old feud was thus revived, and an outbreak of hostilities was only a matter of time. After a series of years full of prosperity and brotherly love had been recorded in the inscriptions of both kings, the struggle began anew. Shamash-shum-ukin sought alliances in whatever countries he could find enemies of Assyria, and that was practically wherever the Assyrian power was felt or feared. Elam, the Arabs, the western countries, Palestine and Gutium (the northern countries), armed against Assyria. In the war which now broke out the question was once more to be decided whether Assyria or Babylon was to rule the East. The war really began toward the "fifties" of the seventh century B.C. by the refusal of Shamash-shum-ukin to allow his brother Ashurbanipal to offer the sacrifices, to which he was entitled as protector, in the Babylonian towns. It ended with terrible sieges of Sippar, Kutha, and Babylon, and the death of Shamash-shum-ukin in the flames into which, according to Ashurbanipal's account, his despairing subjects cast him. The war ended in 648; and Babylonia had suffered so much during its progress that it remained quiet for some time. The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal wore the royal crown of Babylon from 647 to 626 B.C. under the name of Kandalanu. His successes against Elam deprived that country of the power of making further encroachments on Babylonia. The land thus enjoyed rest until his death.

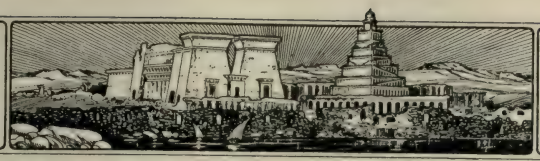


BABYLONIAN GODS TAKEN BY THE ASSYRIANS TO SERVE IN ASSYRIAN TEMPLES

In the year 689 B.C., after the expulsion of the Elamites, Babylon fell into the hands of Sennacherib. He completely destroyed the city and carried off its gods, as represented above, to serve Assyrian gods in Assyrian temples.



BABYLON, THE METROPOLIS OF THE ANCIENT CIVILISED ASIATIC WORLD, IN THE DAYS OF ITS SPLENDOUR AND POWER



THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

ITS LAST BRIEF ERA OF SPLENDOUR

AT the death of Ashurbanipal we find on the throne of Babylon a Chaldæan, Nabopolassar. We do not know which of the petty Chaldæan principalities was his native country. It is very probable that at first he wore the crown of Bel, with the approbation, or at least with the consent, of Assyria. During the first period he avoided any open rupture with Ashur-etil-ilani—that is to say, he recognised his protectorate. At first he possessed only Babylon; the rest of Babylonia remained Assyrian. We have no information as to the separate stages in his advancement to power. All that is certain is that Babylon did not venture on any action against Assyria on her own resources, but concealed her plans until the alliance with Media was formed. As the royal house of Assyria was related by marriage with that of the Ashkuza, Nabopolassar's son was obliged to marry a Median princess. We have seen that Nabopolassar after 609 B.C. was in possession of Mesopotamia, and that the downfall of Assyria was chiefly the work of the Medes. When matters had come to this pitch, he was already old or sick; his son Nebuchadnezzar II. was already holding the reins of government. He was assigned, therefore, the duty of subjugating the western provinces, a task which in itself would have presented little difficulty, since the Assyrian governors, after the fall of Nineveh, failed to hold their own in the provinces where the Assyrian rule was universally detested. It was therefore to be expected of these that they would submit to their new ruler, and any attempts by isolated states to assert their independence were from the first hopeless.

Alliance with the Medes

In the meanwhile, however, it had become necessary to recover these provinces from another power than Assyria. Necho II. of Egypt rightly judged that the opportune moment was come to win back the provinces which had been lost since the days of Thothmes and Amenophis. While the Medes were encamped before Nineveh and Nabopolassar occupied Mesopotamia, he advanced into Palestine, where he met with only isolated cases of resistance—for example, that of Josiah at Migdol, 609 or 608 B.C.—and gradually, without great difficulty, he occupied all Palestine and Syria. He had his chief camp for some time at Ribla, in the north of Bekaa, and from that position directed affairs in Jerusalem. In the year 605 he advanced as far as Carchemish, and was on the point of crossing the Euphrates, the boundary of the district, which, since the fall of Nineveh in the interval, was already occupied by Babylonia. Here Nebuchadnezzar, as leader of the Babylonian army, met him and defeated him, so that Necho was forced to relinquish any attempt to establish himself in Syria or Palestine, and retired before the advancing Babylonian army into Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar met with little opposition, and, receiving the homage of governors and princes, occupied the territory as far as the Egyptian frontier. Thus this king, the last among the Babylonian monarchs who met with success in his military operations, accomplished on his first appearance what had been vainly attempted for so many centuries. The West was once more subject to Babylon, as in the palmy days of Babylonian power and civilisation.

Nebuchadnezzar Gains the West

This result had not been obtained by any new awakening of the national strength of Babylonia. Babylon, even now, as for centuries past, was in the hands of conquerors who availed themselves of the old fame of the metropolis of culture in order to adorn their power with its historical title. After centuries of struggle between Assyrians and Chaldæans for the crown of Bel, the advantage had in the end rested with the often repulsed, but still indefatigable, intruders. Nebuchadnezzar, before

Chaldæan Rules in Babylon



A MEMORIAL OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR
This vast marble slab, found among the ruins of Babylon, is believed to represent Nebuchadnezzar giving instructions to his generals. He was the last successful Babylonian king.

whom even Palestine now trembled, was a Chaldæan. For this reason the representatives of the last Babylonian dynasty are called in the contemporary accounts of the Bible by the name of Chaldæans.

Towards the end of 605, when Nebuchadnezzar was still occupied in Palestine, he received the news of Nabopolassar's death and of the outbreak of riots which were intended to bring a Babylonian to the throne. With rapid decision he made forced marches by the shortest road through the desert to Babylon, and entered it at the right moment to conduct the procession of Bel on the New Year's festival in the method prescribed by immemorial custom, and thus to proclaim himself king of Babylon. He held the power from 604 to 562 B.C. His name has become famous from the mere fact that he put an end to the independence of Judah, but his long reign really signified a last spell of prosperity and power for Babylonia.

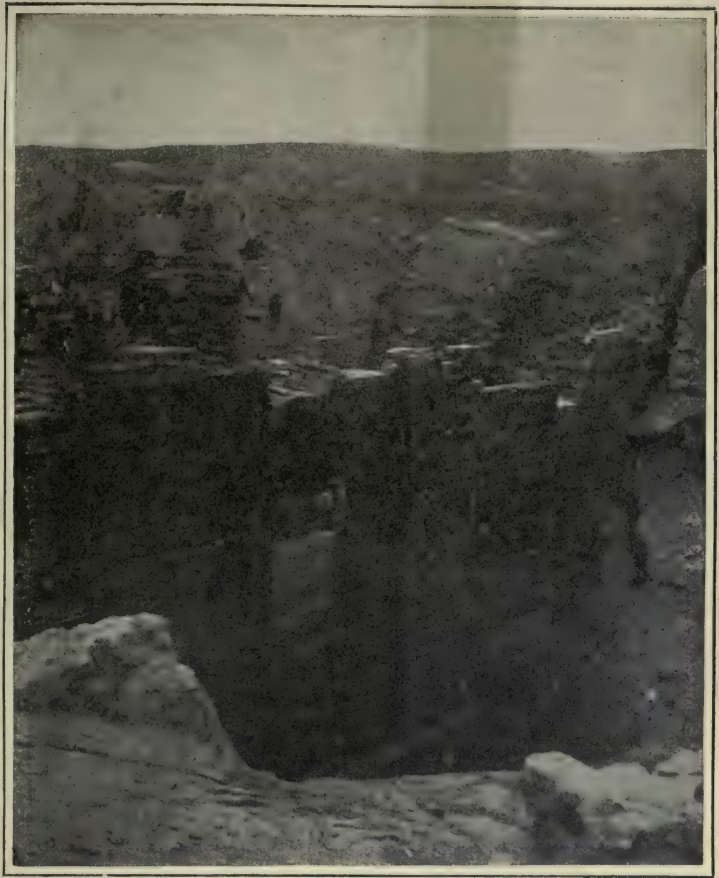
An outward proof of this may be seen in the immense building operations, about which his numerous inscriptions tell us. The whole of Babylon was rebuilt by him, partly in continuation of works begun by his father, Nabopolassar, and fortified on a scale which excited the wonder of his age. He it was who erected the " Median wall," a line of defence which ran from the Euphrates near Sippar to the Tigris, somewhere by Opis, near the site of the later city of Seleucia ; this was intended to dam up the water, in order, should need occur, to transform the country higher up into a swamp, and thus to render it impossible for an army to advance in the district between the two rivers. A similar construction, starting from the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of Babylon and reaching the Tigris at a point not far from the eastern end of the other dam, completed the work of defence. Nebuchadnezzar was also the constructor of the celebrated terraces, the " hanging gardens of Semiramis " [see page 226 of this History], and he rebuilt the famous temples in all the larger towns.

Contrary to the custom of the Assyrian kings, who relate at length their own campaigns as a preface to any report of



THE LION GOD, SYMBOL OF BABYLONIAN POWER
Before going to war, the army of Nebuchadnezzar defiled before this massive monument, and each soldier bowed low to the symbol of his monarch's power.

their building operations, the Chaldæan kings of Babylon, and notably Nebuchadnezzar, omit from their building inscriptions any record of their achievements in war. It follows, therefore, that we have practically no accounts by Nebuchadnezzar of his campaigns. Besides the expeditions in Palestine, we know only of his thirteen years' ineffectual siege of Tyre, and one or two wars with Egypt. A small fragment of a chronicle refers to one such war in 568 B.C., but too little of the text is preserved to enable us to recover any details of the campaign. We do not yet know whether Nebuchadnezzar ever really invaded Egypt, as Ezekiel prophesied. He did not, in any case, permanently subdue the country, and it is unlikely that he achieved victories like those of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.



WHAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE

This remarkable photograph shows part of the ruined palace of Nebuchadnezzar, the door being bricked up to within a quarter of the top. Many treasures of the great king were found inside. It also illustrates how completely the sands of centuries have embedded the palace, and the manner in which they have had to be dug away to disclose the building.

The west was the only field for expansion which Babylonia could still command. The east and north, where of old the kings of Assyria fought, are out of the question: Elam and Urartu do not exist. There the one great Median empire rules from Elam to the Halys, the boundary of Lydia. The existence of Babylonia depends on its relations with this barbarian empire, which now really sways the destinies of Nearer Asia. Babylon stands in the same relation to it as Italy did to the German Empire of the Middle Ages. So long as Nebuchadnezzar lived the relations between the powers appear to have been friendly. The Medes had in reality by the overthrow of Assyria brought the dynasty of Nabopolassar for the first time into power in its own country. It was due in a large degree to the good will of Cyaxares that they handed over these districts to it; and it would almost seem as if the marriage alliance with this barbarian royal house had been of greater importance to Nebuchadnezzar than such marriages usually are when diplomacy is more highly developed. Herodotus tells us of Nebuchadnezzar's intervention in Median affairs on an occasion when there was war between Media and Lydia, the third great power of this period; and it may be noted that in the course of this war the eclipse of the sun occurred which Thales predicted. Nebuchadnezzar is said to have acted as mediator between the powers, together

with a certain Syennesis of Cilicia, by whom he was probably advised.

But the young dynasty, which had won its fame in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, practically disappeared with him. After his death his son, Amel-Marduk—the Evil-Merodach of the Bible—became king; he reigned only two years—561 and 560 B.C.—when he was deposed because "he was unjust and ruled tyrannically." Since this verdict is given by the historian Berossus, a priest of Bel, writing in the Seleucid era, and in almost identical words by Nabonidus, we must see in it a verdict of the priestly class, whose claims Nebuchadnezzar, with all his temple building, had never quite satisfied. We know nothing else of Amel-Marduk, except that he treated with kindness Jehoiachin of Judah, who had been brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He was murdered, and his brother-in-law, Nergal-shar-usur, or Neriglissar, was raised to the throne, which he held from 559 to 554 B.C. No attempt was yet made to go outside the Chaldæan royal family. It is not clear whether Neriglissar himself was a Chaldæan. Of him, too, we know very little; but good service in the defence of the country is ascribed to him by Nabonidus. Did the Medes now interfere in favour of the dethroned royal house? His successor was his son Labashi-Marduk, a minor; he was deposed after a reign of but nine months, because, as the above-mentioned sources both agree in reporting, "he displayed evil tendencies." The real cause is apparent in the choice of the successor, a Babylonian, who approved himself a man after the priests' hearts, for he was indefatigable in building temples and endowing them.

The Last Kings of Babylon



CYRUS, KING OF PERSIA
Who subjugated all Mesopotamia and Lydia, and put an end for all time to native Babylonian development.

Nabonidus, this last king of Babylon, who ruled from 555 to 538 B.C., is a strange figure. He looked on unperturbed while the land was occupied first by the Medes, and then by the Persians, being fully engrossed in the excavation of old sites of temples and in the arrangement of the chronology of their founders. Reports as to his discovery of old inscriptions are very valuable for us, but neither they nor his eagerly prosecuted restorations of the temples were of any use to his tottering throne. The Medes do not seem to have looked on passively at the overthrow of the dynasty, which was allied to them by marriage and friendship. Perhaps Neriglissar had already been obliged to act on the defensive; but now, when the rupture with Babylon was complete, they invaded Mesopotamia. Even then, at the outset of his reign, Nabonidus showed himself in his true colours. While Harran, the old city of Sin, in the heart of Mesopotamia, was being invested by the Medes, he did nothing but dream that the gods would set Harran free. And indeed, they granted him his wish, for Astyages was overthrown by Cyrus, and Mesopotamia had peace for some years. But the conqueror of the Medes soon proved to be a far more formidable opponent. Meantime, however, Nabonidus hastened to rebuild the temple of Sin at Harran with grateful heart; for this end he tithed and taxed his subjects "from Gaza, the border of Egypt, the Mediterranean, and Syria, up to the Persian Sea."

Meanwhile the Persian Cyrus secured the foundations of his power. He subjugated the Lydian empire, in addition to the countries already possessed by the Medes, so that the only great nation which could have lent any support to Babylonia was now powerless to do so. Then Cyrus proceeded against Babylonia, which was hemmed in on all sides. Nabonidus himself did not move, but lived in retirement, or was kept prisoner by a hostile party in his palace. His son, Bel-shar-usur, or Belshazzar, was regent and commander-in-chief; the Bible makes him the last king of Babylon.

Cyrus the Persian in Babylonia

Cyrus first occupied Mesopotamia, having crossed the Tigris from Arbela, south of the ruins of Calah. In the next year, 546, he advanced from Elam into

South Babylonia. Nabonidus ordered the gods of the great towns Ur, Erech, etc., to be brought into Babylon, and felt himself secure under their protection. We have no accounts of the next five years, but in the year 539 B.C. we find Babylonia surrounded on every side. The respite may perhaps be explained by the effectiveness of the defence by inundation, for which purpose the Median wall of Nebuchadnezzar and the supplementary works, starting from the neighbourhood of Babylon, were constructed. All this time Cyrus was unable to advance into the region of Babylon either from Mesopotamia or from Southern Babylonia. The surrounding country, therefore, like Holland under similar circumstances in later times, had been changed into a swamp, within which the "kingdom of Babylon" lay, large enough to maintain itself so long as an army did not invade it.

A reminiscence of this is preserved in Herodotus' account that Cyrus was occupied for two years in diverting the course of the Diyala, in order to make his army familiar with the process of draining canals, a knowledge which was of good service to him at the siege of Babylon, when he changed the channel of the Euphrates. The real object was probably not that suggested by Herodotus, but the construction of a passage for crossing into the district protected by the inundations; for the mouth of the Diyala is near Opis, where the Median wall ends. This theory is confirmed by the fact that the Babylonian army under Belshazzar met him there, between Opis and Sippar, after the passage had been effected; it was defeated in 539, and no more opposition was offered. Babylon surrendered to the vanguard of an army under Ugbaru, or Gobryas, the governor of Gutium; the great fortifications of Nebuchadnezzar were not defended; the Persians were received as preservers. Cyrus was proclaimed king when he entered four months later; and one of the first acts of his reign was to conciliate the priesthoods of Babylonia by sending back the gods from Babylon to their own towns.

Five-years Siege of Babylonia

This concludes Babylonian history. Babylon had become a Persian province. The ancient glory, indeed, which so shortly before its setting had shone forth unexpectedly, was not yet entirely forgotten. Several attempts were made to recover her independence, but these revolts were always quickly put down. Nabonidus was merely supplanted by Cyrus, and in Southern Babylonia, which had been abandoned by Nabonidus, and from which he had actually taken away the gods, the people certainly looked upon Cyrus as a sort of saviour. The latter was also shrewd enough to hold the reins of government more loosely in the provinces. He not only restored to the Babylonian towns their gods, but showed the same favour to many provinces which had long been confiscated, at the same time giving them self-government; for example, Judah, and possibly Sidon also. Those provinces, therefore, could not fail to see in Cyrus a liberator from the yoke of Babylon.

Babylonian History Ends



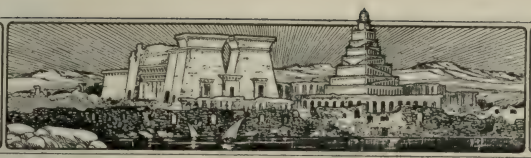
BRONZES FOUND IN NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE

Figures of a lion and lioness dating from 1800 B.C.—that is, from the first Babylonian empire.

A new era in the history of Eastern civilisation now opens. Persia, before the capture of Babylon, had already occupied Asia Minor, and had thus come into touch with Greek civilisation. The Persian empire, it is true, as heir of Babylon, still possesses to a certain degree a comparatively high state of culture. But this civilisation is tottering with age, because it is no longer supported by fresh national life. It is easily outstripped by the vigorous vitality of the Greek spirit, which is soon destined to extend its sway over and beyond the regions where Babylonian culture has for so long predominated.



AN IMAGINATIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE SACK AND PILLAGE OF BABYLON
From the painting by John Martin



THE MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILISATION

ITS LONG VITALITY AND FINAL DECAY

OUR knowledge of the Ancient East is still very young. All that has been learnt of it from the exploration of the ancient monuments dates from the middle of the last century; and much of this knowledge must be discounted, so long as science has to work with insufficient means. We are still very far from being in a condition to speak of any systematic examination of the soil of these old homes of civilisation; all that we possess in monuments and antiquities, and therefore all sources for the history of these countries, form only an infinitely small fraction of that which a more fortunate age may expect to recover. Every attempt to present a connected picture of the course of the development of the ancient nations of the East must therefore prove inadequate. We can at most learn something of those periods, for which chance has placed ampler sources of information in our hands, and we can seek to trace the forces which have determined the course of events. Of other periods we know little as yet, and all that we can do for them is to supply the names of a few kings or rulers of whom little else has been recorded.

How Little we Know

An essential feature of the sources hitherto accessible is that they furnish us with more information about political occurrences than about the nature and extent of the forces at work in the inner life of the people. The inscriptions of the Assyrian kings were the first to become known, and a considerable number of them have been recovered; thus the section of history based on them is that which is known in greatest detail up to the present time. But these inscriptions record almost exclusively wars, sieges, victories, and lists of spoil. What we would gladly know of the social and political life of the people can be gathered only from scattered allusions throughout the texts.

Our survey of the history of civilisation in the Ancient East must, therefore, to some extent prove defective and unsatisfactory, owing to the want of materials for study. Our sources of information are more detailed for isolated periods, such as the era of the first dynasty of Babylon, for Assyrian history from Tiglath-pileser onwards, and again for that part of Babylon from Nebuchadnezzar down to the Persian era. For thousands of records of these periods are in our possession which belong to the business life of the people—namely, contracts, legal decisions, receipts, commercial transactions of every sort, and private letters. These indeed supply a motley of isolated facts as to the private life of the times in question, but in the bewildering crowd of details we can scarcely recognise with certainty the broad principles, the typical cases which have to be considered in the development of national history. Before these great materials can be thoroughly worked, before the numerous records of different periods are thoroughly assimilated, much work and study are required. And it will probably be long before those periods, which are separated from each other by hundreds of years, can be connected together by filling up the gaps through the discovery of new records.

Material Largely Unworked

But, even if science had already succeeded in making full use of these countless records, yet they would reveal only one aspect of the popular life in Babylonia and Assyria—namely, the commercial life, and that, indeed, principally from the private side. So far as they concern the life and the development of the entire people and the state—that is, in their bearing on political economy—very little light is thrown upon the subject for considerable periods; and about much else which we in modern times recognise to be

Economic Life Unknown

important in the life of a nation we must be content for the present to know little or nothing. Trading relations and commercial life in all its aspects, the conditions of the tenure of real property in its bearing on the welfare of the state, the rules of administration, etc.—these are matters of which royal inscriptions can tell us hardly anything, and which naturally do not find expression in a commercial or legal contract. To our general want of information on these subjects during long periods of Babylonian history, two periods, however, now present striking exceptions. The famous code of laws drawn up by Hammurabi has furnished material for sketching a picture of the social life of the Babylonians during the period of the West Semitic kings of the first dynasty. The other period is the succeeding one of the Kassite kings, whose numerous deeds and charters illustrate the system of land tenure during the period at which they were drawn up.

The Lateness of our Knowledge

But we know little as yet about the beginnings of civilisation in Babylonia. The long periods when men were settled in the valley of the Euphrates before the time when our present knowledge begins are still hidden in the mists of antiquity. We may be compelled for a long time yet to forego any attempt to determine from contemporary sources, or even merely from the products of civilisation, how the first settlers in the valley of the Euphrates, adapting themselves to the needs of the soil, raised themselves gradually from a state of savagery to a higher stage of civilisation. How and under what conditions men arrived at that intellectual result so important for the historian—the development of writing—is a question for which as yet no sources of information are forthcoming. It is clear that the most remote antiquity to which we can go back was already acquainted with a perfected system of writing.



A BABYLONIAN LAND-CHARTER
There exist deeds of the Kassite kings which explain the Babylonian land tenure system. The essential clauses of these were often inscribed on sculptured boundary stones like the "Michaux" stone here illustrated, which is now in the Louvre.

The valley of the Euphrates, now to a large extent desolate and marshy, was one of the most fruitful tracts in the world. The fertility of the soil is described as marvellous at all periods, of which we have some, though unfortunately very scanty, accounts. The Euphrates and the Nile are two rivers the deposits of which give the tiller of the soil the richest reward for small exertions. In the almost rainless climate of Egypt and Southern Babylonia these river-valleys were the only places which enabled an agriculture still in its infancy to work the soil profitably. On the other hand, the distress in times of drought compelled the Bedouins from the scantily watered steppes to seek pasture there for their numerous herds, and, by growing crops for fodder, to supplement the voluntary gifts of Nature in preparation for the dry season of the year. The complete transition from nomadic to settled life in these plains can thus be explained by the nature of the land.

The step from an agricultural life in the open country to the building of fortified towns is not so great, and must have been taken very early in a land which was exposed on all sides to the inroads of the nomads. But even the gradual stages leading to such conditions are, in point of time, far anterior to the date when our knowledge of the Euphrates district begins. The old seats of civilisation, such as Kish, Agade, Nippur, Lagash, Ur, Erech, Larsa, and Eridu, were towns with a most ancient past at the time when they, for the first time, appear in the light of history. They had already been long developed into that which they continued to be for 3,000 years of the most varying political phases, seats of ancient sanctuaries, sacred since immemorial ages, and towns with a purely urban population engaged in trade and industries.

Oldest Cities of the World

We may assume that even then the conditions of the tenure of real property and professional activity existed in much the same form as that in which they were maintained throughout the later periods of Babylonian civilisation. In distinction to the Western forms of culture, the growth of which we can follow from their beginnings, we here meet with an already systematised form of national life, such as corresponds to the stage of development of European civilisation which was concluded in the Middle Ages; this form endured for 3,000 years, though exposed to the most varied upheavals. Each new migration which spread over the country quickly adopted the existing civilisation, and was subjected to its influence. It is certain that even the less successful among the conquerors must have had their share in the booty; but no fresh distribution of the land among a peasant class ever resulted on a considerable scale, so that we can never follow the course of the national life from the beginning. The leaders of the different conquests always took the place of the old kings. If they did not wish to destroy the whole civilisation, they were obliged to adopt it with its temples and towns, its settled ownership of the soil, and its social classes. This is the principal reason why the individual nationalities so soon die out: they do not start their development from the very beginning, but mount with a sudden leap to a higher stage, beyond which they cannot go. Another reason which no doubt hastened the absorption of the conquering races was intermarriage with the inhabitants whom they found settled in the country. We find, therefore, from the time when our knowledge begins, that the constitution of the land was one of feudal tenure under the domination of the priesthood. The lord of the country is the divinity. He entrusts it to the priesthood and the king; there is therefore temple property and State property. The king has the disposal, above all, of the open country, which he grants to his vassals in fee. His authority does not extend to the territory which falls under the dominion of the god; this belongs to the town in which the god dwells, and, naturally, together with that reserved for the temple, to the patricians in the town. The ground is cultivated by small farmers, who have to pay as rent their share of the profits to the owner—temple, king, noble, or citizen. This system has never been favourable to the prosperity of the peasant class. Even if, after a conquest, confiscated land were divided among the masses of the immigrating people, these could not long maintain their position by the side of the great proprietors, but would be forced to sell the land and become tenants. The small farmer is, usually, personally free—as free as a man can be who retains from the proceeds of what has been wrung from the soil in the sweat of his brow as much as suffices for a thrifty Oriental livelihood. War, indeed, supplied with its prisoners the necessary demand for non-free labourers, the use of whom we have to imagine to ourselves as more common in the industrial operations of the town than in the cultivation of the soil. Out of these is formed the numerous class of freedmen who meet us often in business life.

Babylonia Absorbed all Invaders

Land Tenure System



Mansell

A BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONE

This fine boundary stone, like the one on the opposite page, has sculptured upon it representations of Babylonian deities, whose curses were called down upon the person who should remove the stone or alter the boundary which it marked.

We must, on the whole, picture to ourselves the land as parcelled out into small farms which are cultivated by the tenant for the owner. With the simple means and implements required for farming on a small scale, but with all the grim industry applied to every patch of earth which this system enforces, it was horticulture rather



"Dawn of Civilisation," S.P.C.K.

CHALDÆAN FARM OXEN

The Chaldæans kept considerable flocks of domestic animals, including oxen, asses, sheep, and goats, which were pastured on waste land, where they were liable to the ravages of lions and other wild beasts.

than agriculture. The most important condition for a productive cultivation of the soil in the climate of the East, with its rainless summer, is a regular supply of water, and it is the task of the agriculturist to irrigate as large an area as possible. On the other hand, the immense streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, when the mountain snows melt, bring down with them such a volume of water that they flood the most fertile parts of the country, block up the watercourses with their mud, and turn the fields into swamps, as is now the case with great tracts which were once thriving. Thus want of rain, on the one side, and floods on the other compel the dweller in the Euphrates valley to modify these conditions. He is forced to keep the surplus against the times of drought, and he is naturally driven to control the conditions of the water supply.

The country then, from the beginning of our knowledge of it, and as a preliminary condition of cultivation on an extended scale, was intersected by a network of canals intended to receive the flood water and to convey it from the districts threatened with inundation to the arid parts where it irrigates the soil in the dry season. These canals in some places lie higher than the surrounding country, so that the required water can be let in through sluices. In other places they are lower; then the water

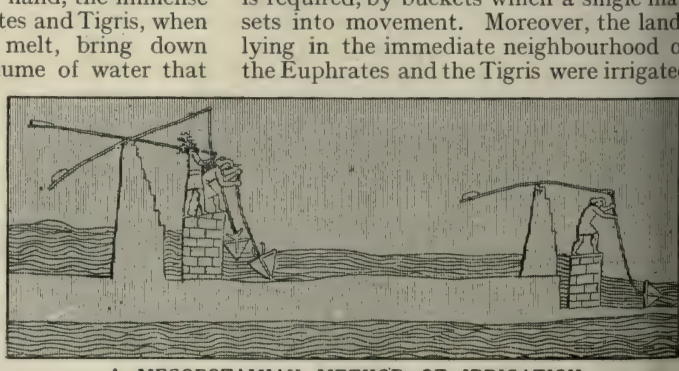


Dawn of Civilisation," S.P.C.K.

AGRICULTURAL LIFE IN CHALDÆA, ILLUSTRATED BY ARTISTS OF THE TIME

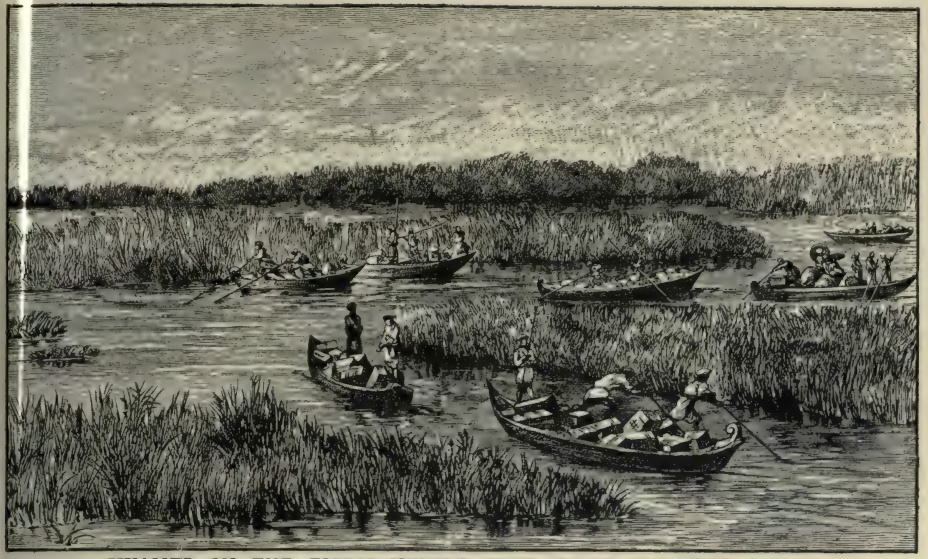
A seal-cylinder picturing the pastoral life of early Babylonia. On the right is the goatherd driving forth his flock from the goat-house with the crack of his whip. The rest of the lower part of the tablet shows the flock scattered to pastur

precisely as in the valley of the Nile, is raised to the land by well-wheels, or, if less is required, by buckets which a single man sets into movement. Moreover, the land lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris were irrigated



A MESOPOTAMIAN METHOD OF IRRIGATION

A bas-relief representation of the shadduís by means of which water was raised through successive levels, from the rivers to the fields. They are still in use on the Nile.



SWAMPS ON THE TIGRIS WHERE ONCE WERE THRIVING FIELDS

Want of rain at one time, and disastrous floods, caused by the overflowing of the Euphrates and Tigris with the melting of the mountain snows, at another period of the year, compelled the Mesopotamians to control the water supply.

by contrivances similar to those employed by the peasants at the present day. Since the banks of the Euphrates are lower than those of the Tigris, a primitive form of water-wheel is employed for raising the water from the level of the stream to that of the surrounding country. The wheel is formed of rough boughs and branches nailed together with spokes joining the outer rims to a roughly-shaped axle. Around the rim are tied a number of clay bottles or cups for picking up the water, and the wheel is kept in motion by the current, which hits a few rough paddles fixed to the wheel in such a way that they project beyond the rim. The wheel is set up at a spot where there is a drop in the river-bed, and the water runs swiftly over the shallows. Its axle is supported on pillars of rough masonry, and as it is turned by the current, the cups or bottles empty themselves into a trough made from half the trunk of a date-palm, hollowed out; and the water flows thence through a small aqueduct to the irrigation channel on the bank. This is the most advantageous method of raising the water, for, so long as the wheel is in order and the stream is high enough to turn it, a constant supply of water is assured without the labour of man or beast; and the water can be cut off at any moment by the simple expedient of blocking the wheel or tying it up.

The higher banks of the Tigris render the use of water-wheels impracticable, and here the water has to be raised by other means than that of the current of the stream. The method employed at the present day is to raise it in skins, which are drawn up to the level of the bank by cattle, horses, or donkeys. A well-like recess is cut into the banks, and over its mouth a wooden spindle is supported upon struts. The skin is raised or lowered in the recess by means of a rope, which passes over the spindle, while the funnel end of the skin is held up by a second rope running over a lower spindle, until its mouth is raised to a level with the trough into which the water is poured. The skin, when full of water, is raised by the beasts fastened to the rope, and they obtain a good purchase for hauling up the heavy



A CHALDÆAN KITCHEN

From a terra-cotta tablet showing Chaldæan farm hands preparing a meal. One makes dough into round cakes, and another tends a pot boiling on the hearth, while two others indulge in a quarrel.

weight by being driven down an inclined plane dug out at the top of the bank. Two separate skins and sets of beasts are often employed, and as one is let down the other is pulled up, so that a constant flow of water is kept up in the irrigation channel. There is little doubt that the ancient Babylonians employed both these primitive methods of raising the water from the rivers and canals to the higher level of the fields, while representations have been found upon Assyrian bas-reliefs of the "shadduf" in operation, which is more commonly seen in Egypt at the present day than in Mesopotamia. This contrivance consists of a beam, supported in the centre, while at one end is a bucket for receiving the water, and at the other end a stone is fixed as a counter-weight. By using two or more shaddufs, one above the other, water can be raised, through successive levels, to a considerable height.

Babylonian Irrigators Now in Use

While the adoption of these smaller contrivances was within the means of the individual owner of the land, the construction of large canals was the work of the State. We find, indeed, among the scanty information which we possess as to the kings' activity at home, records of the cutting of canals, thus showing that the importance of this duty was fully realised. In the older times, when dates were not yet fixed by the reigns of the kings but by the important events of the respective years, we find under the descriptions of the years by the side of "In the year when this or that war was waged," also, "When the king dug this or that canal." After the conquest of South Babylonia Hammurabi says, for example: "When Anu and Enlil had granted me the land of Sumer and Akkad to rule, and entrusted their sceptre to my hands, then I dug out the canal, named 'Hammurabi is the blessing of the people,' which bringeth abundance of water into the land of Sumer and Akkad. Both the banks thereof I changed to fields for cultivation, and I garnered piles of grain, and I procured unfailing water for the land of Sumer and Akkad for ever." Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar make similar reports of irrigation works. These constructions were sometimes used, as in Holland, for the protection of the country, as we find shown in the later days of Babylonia, when Nebuchadnezzar built the "Median wall," and Nabonidus with its help changed his whole "kingdom of Babylon" into an island. Famous canals, which ran through Babylonia, are the Palakuttu and Nahr-sharri, the "canal of the king," and we meet their names even in the Hellenistic era. The former mainly follows the course of the Euphrates on the south side; the latter effects a connection between the Euphrates and Tigris in an oblique line.

Babylon's Canal System

We must thus imagine the whole country between the rivers intersected by a network of canals of every size down to simple irrigation ditches. It was only through the efficiency of this system that the whole low-lying district was habitable.

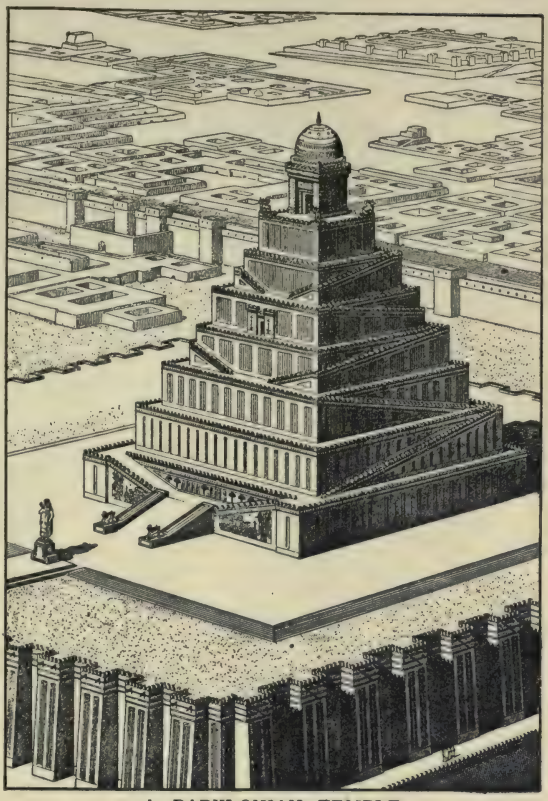


A BABYLONIAN TYPE OF WATER-WHEEL IN USE TO-DAY Frith

For irrigation the Babylonians used a water-wheel made of rough boughs nailed together, with clay bottles on the rim for picking up the water. The wheel was turned by the current, or by animals, and the bottles emptied themselves into a trough on the bank of the river. The photograph shows a modern Persian wheel of similar construction.

Accordingly, until the ruin of those countries by the Mongols, the superintendence of the irrigation works formed one of the first duties of the government. The destruction of the canals changed a great part of the land into marshes; and the first task, on an attempt to make this most fruitful of all districts once more valuable to mankind, would be to restore the old watercourses, the beds of which are still visible in many places.

These works, which are restricted in size and extent by the nature of the Babylonian lowlands, are neither possible nor necessary in the higher districts, especially in Assyria, with its hills and neighbouring mountains, and a climate closely resembling that of Central Europe. On the other hand, we find instances of water being brought from a long distance for the supply of the towns. As instances, we may cite the aqueduct of Bavian, by means of which Sennacherib brought the water from the mountain streams to Nineveh, or the tunnel of Negub, through which Esarhaddon conveyed the water of the Zab to Calah in place of earlier works of Ashurnasirpal.



A BABYLONIAN TEMPLE

This reconstruction by Chipiez exhibits the characteristic of Babylonian brick architecture, the terraced tower called a zikkurat. Their summits were thought to be the dwelling places of the god. Hence, probably, the story of the Tower of Babel.

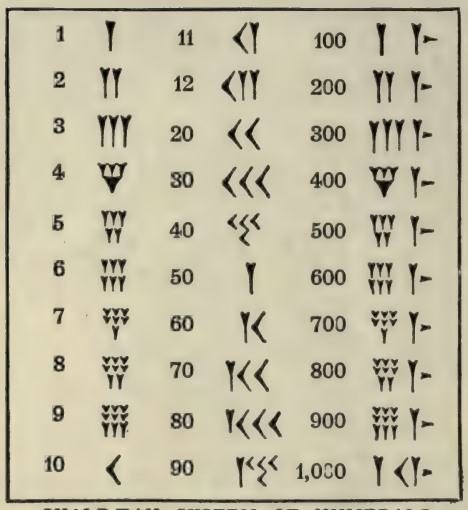
In architecture the inventive faculties of man are greatly dependent on the material at his disposal. Babylonia possesses neither stone nor suitable building timber. While the Egyptians found in the upper valley of the Nile the stone necessary for their great buildings, and the river brought it down to the plains, the Babylonians had to fetch even the stone for their statues from a distance, and usually by land; Gudea, for instance, obtained the material for his statues from Magan on the Sinaitic peninsula. We do not therefore find in Babylonia colossal statues like those of the Egyptians, and their buildings were constructed from clay, the material which the land supplied them in abundance. Babylonia is the land of brick buildings, and the influence of its civilisation on the East is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that the art of building in brick was imitated in places where stone was available, such as Elam, Assyria, and even Syria. The want of timber and stone columns led to the invention of a pillar made of bricks. But, so far as we can see, this was seldom employed. The kings preferred to obtain cedar trunks from Amanus, and, when those forests failed, from Lebanon, for the necessary wooden columns and supports, but at no time were they extensively employed. In this respect Assyria followed in the steps of Babylon.

Babylonia the Land of Brick

Importance of the Temples

The ordinary brick was dried in the sun. It was burnt when additional strength was required, and for the decoration of the walls it was enamelled with bright patterns and designs. The land supplied abundance of asphalt as cement for the burnt bricks, and these were employed in foundations, for pavements, and for strengthening the walls of unburnt brick.

A characteristic product of Babylonian brick architecture is their "terraced



CHALDÆAN SYSTEM OF NUMERALS

The Babylonians were keen mathematicians and compiled numerous mathematical tables to assist them in the calculations which their astronomical investigations required. Their simple system of notation, adopted in the days of the first monarchy, is illustrated above.

towers" called by the Babylonians *zik-kurratu*. These were pyramidal erections built in several storeys; they formed an important feature of the great temples, and their summits were thought to be the dwelling-places of the god. The story of the Tower of Babel was probably connected with these buildings.

The temples are by far the most conspicuous works of Babylonian architecture. To a higher degree than even the churches and convents of the Middle Ages they united in themselves all the intellectual and material products of Babylonian civilisation. We have already noted that a great portion of the country belonged to them, and we may see in them the centre of the intellectual life of the people. The priesthood not only exercised an influence through religion, but was entrusted with the care of science and of the technical arts. Each great temple formed a town with a government of its own, and we have ample evidence as to how it managed its affairs. Countless clay tablets from Tello furnish information as to the administration of the temple lands in Southern Babylonia, and the documents of the Kassite period which have been found at Nippur throw a flood of light upon the organisation of this important religious centre.

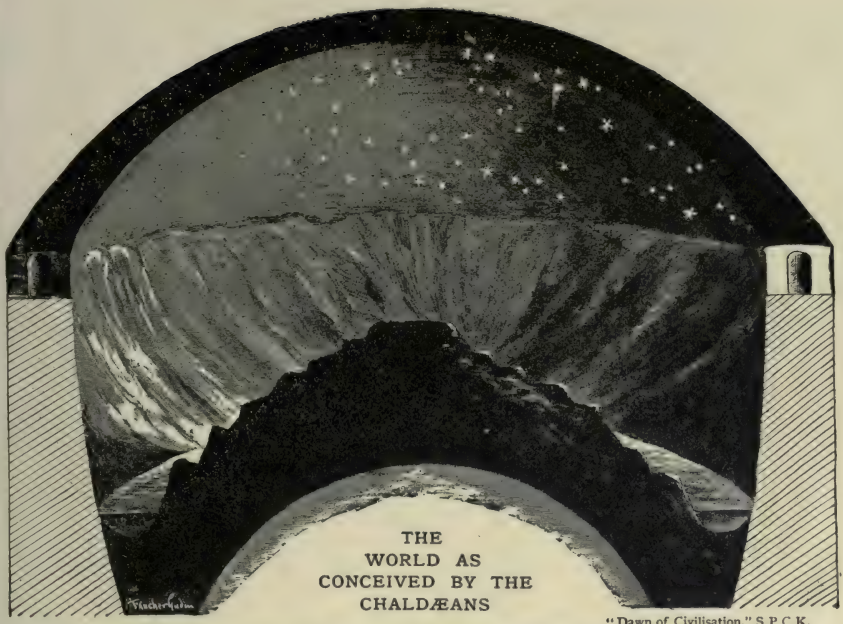
Any survey of the intellectual influence exerted by the temples is, from the nature of our sources of information, more difficult. It is obvious that the duty of giving instruction and fostering learning fell upon the priesthood. The art of writing could be thoroughly learned only from them; they were thus the guardians and patrons of all literature, whether religious or secular, and of the sciences, even those which entered closely into the sphere of practical life. Among the Babylonian priests there were keen mathematicians, and numerous tables have been recovered which were compiled to assist them in their calculations. These comprise multiplication tables, division tables, tables of squares, tables of square roots, geometrical progressions, and the like. Metrological texts have also come down to us, and recent research has shown that the Babylonians could not only ascertain the area of a square or a rectangle by calculation, but could also calculate the area of a right-angled triangle from the length of its two legs, of a rectangle from its base and altitude, and of a trapezoid from its two bases and altitude. From these facts it may be inferred that the Babylonian priests had acquired considerable proficiency in mathematical study, and their



"Dawn of Civilisation," S.P.C.K.

CHALDÆAN MAP OF THE WORLD

The early Babylonian idea of the earth was a disc surrounded by the sea in the form of a stream. Chaldæa occupied the greater part of the map.



THE WORLD AS CONCEIVED BY THE CHALDÆANS

"Dawn of Civilisation," S.P.C.K.

Like the Egyptians, the Chaldæans took the world to be an enclosed chamber floating on the waters of the universe. The earth was the floor, rising at the centre to the mountain source of the Euphrates. The heavens were a dome resting on a wall surrounding the earth, with the oceans collected in the ditch between.

progress in this branch of knowledge was doubtless of considerable assistance to them in making astronomical calculations.

We have abundant proofs that the priests from the earliest periods occupied themselves with the study of the sidereal heavens. Babylonia is the home of astronomy and of astrology, which is inseparable from it in the Eastern mind, and the Chaldæans were reputed to be masters of these sciences even in Græco-Roman times. The movements of the stars were accurately observed and noted. Omens were derived from them, and every possible constellation was consulted. An eclipse is an event which is recorded in the Assyrian eponym canon in a similar way to a war. If the ability of a Thales to foretell an eclipse for the year 585 excited the astonishment of the Greek world, he had obtained his wisdom from the Babylonians, as, indeed, Pythagoras must also have borrowed the suggestions for his symbolism of numbers from the East, with which he is said to have become acquainted as an Assyrian mercenary. A large number of observations of the heavens and the stars are extant, and an even greater number of omens of the most ordinary augural type, which we would gladly exchange for other information.

Babylon the Home of Astronomy

Closely connected with the observation of the revolution of the stars is the settlement of the chronology. The Babylonians were the teachers of classical antiquity with regard to the system of the calendar. We still retain their divisions of years, months, and weeks. The designation of the seven days of the week after the gods, which correspond to the two great stars and the five planets known to them, has come down to our times, as well as the division of the day into twelve double-hours, which we still find upon the dial of our watch. The numerical system was closely connected with these divisions. It is a sexagesimal system with the divisional quantities five and twelve, apparently based on astronomical observations and calculations. By the side of it, and combined with it, the decimal notation was employed. Our sources of information do not yet enable us to trace the origin of either system to its source, or to determine which is the more ancient of the two. The system of weights and measures was based on the same method of computation.

Calendar System due to Babylon



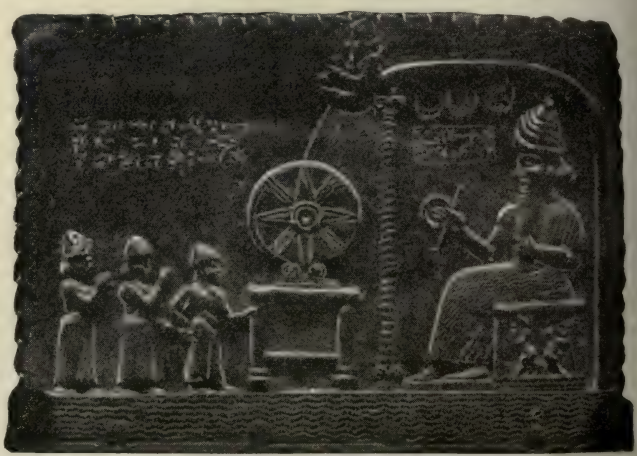
WORSHIP OF SIN, THE MOON-GOD Mansell

The Babylonian gods were personifications of natural forces, and at first each god was worshipped in his own city. Thus Ur was the seat of the moon-cult. This scene is taken from a Babylonian seal, B.C. 2500.

We are faced with a perplexing problem when we are called upon to give an account of the exact duties of the temples and the priesthood, and to explain in detail the observance of cults and the progress of religious development. The phases and forms of men's ideas on this subject during three thousand years furnish matter for a special and comprehensive inquiry, and yet our sources of information on this head are more defective than in the field of political history. Yet a study of the religious and historical inscriptions which have come down to us enables us to gain some insight into the characters of the gods themselves, as they were conceived to exist in the minds of their worshippers.

The gods of the Babylonians present as complex a character as the race by whom they were worshipped, and in giving a summary of the principal facts concerning them it is necessary to bear in mind that the religious system of the later Babylonians was the product of a long period of gradual development. Speaking generally of the pantheon as it existed during the later periods, we may explain the greater gods as personifications of natural forces. Babylonian religion may thus be regarded as a worship of Nature, and the gods themselves may be to a great extent classified as personifications of various natural powers. Thus at the head of the company of the gods, as they were conceived by the later Semitic Babylonians, stood the great triad of deities—Anu, Enlil, and Ea—whose general spheres of influence embraced the entire universe. Anu was regarded as the god of heaven; Enlil, the god of the earth and of mankind; and Ea, the god of the abyss of water beneath the earth. Under the Sumerians we even find these three deities mentioned in close connection with each other. Other gods who personified great natural forces were Sin, the Sumerian Enzu, the moon-god, and Shamash, the Sumerian Babbar, the sun-god. Other gods personified the storm and atmospheric conditions, pestilence, fire, vegetation, and the like; while others again were connected specially with battle and the underworld; and, as the result of a later development, the separate planets were associated with the greater gods in the same way as special deities had from the earliest times been associated with the sun and moon. The goddesses, with one exception, were not very sharply defined or differentiated from one another, being to a great extent the female counterparts of their respective husbands. Thus it is possible, with the help of the altar inscriptions, to recover the outlines of a very complete pantheon of Babylonian deities.

In tracing the growth of this elaborate system of Nature-worship we are met with a difficulty which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. We have already noted that during the earliest periods of



SHAMASH, THE SUN-GOD Mansell

A scene from a sculptured tablet showing the worship of the sun-god in his temple at Sippara. His emblem is shown on the altar in front of the god.



MARDUK, THE CHIEF OF THE GODS, DESTROYING TIAMAT, OR CHAOS

Marduk, or Bel-Merodach, the city-god of Babylon, was, after the rise of Babylon, made chief of the gods. His destruction of Tiamat, the representation of chaos, is the central episode of the great Babylonian epic of the Creation. After destroying the monster, Marduk created the universe in the form shown on page 1637, out of the two halves of her body.

history Babylonia was split up into a series of independent city-states, and it was only after many centuries of separate existence that a permanent fusion was effected between them. Yet we can trace the existence of many of the great Babylonian gods back into this remote past. At this time each is worshipped by the people of his own city, and the fortune of the god is bound up with that of his worshippers. Taken in the aggregate, the worship of all these city-gods under their later attributes presents a consistent picture of Nature-worship in its various departments; but it is not clear how the local distribution of the great natural gods among a number of cities, originally independent, is to be explained. In the present state of our knowledge it is scarcely possible to trace the process by which a local city-god became associated with one of the great powers of nature; and it is also in many cases difficult to decide whether the worship of any particular deity was of Sumerian or Semitic origin. What is certain, however, is that the great cities were from the earliest periods associated with the worship of special deities. Ur was connected with the moon-god; Larsa, with the worship of the sun; Uruk, with seat of Nana, or Ishtar, the female principle; Nippur, with the temple of Bel. But each of these, together with many other still unknown seats of civilisation, had developed in its temple a special mythology during the centuries and tens of centuries of its existence. Thus was produced a confused medley of different systems in the effort to bring a conception of the particular divinity, based on the nature of things, into harmony or rivalry with the doctrines of the other centres of culture.



RAMMAN, THE STORM-GOD

The worship of this god is an example of the adjustment of the Babylonian beliefs and those of their Western conquerors.

In addition to this the various foreign nations which in turn conquered and colonised Babylonia brought their own beliefs with them, and then an adjustment had to be made

between the newly introduced ideas and those which had been long established in the land. We may cite as an example the introduction of the cult of the storm-god Adad, or Ramman, by the Western Semites. Even when the religious texts recovered up to the present have been published and translated it will be a gigantic task to disentangle the threads that run through the different temple traditions, and to trace them back to their original sources. It may be noted, however, that the farther we go northward, the purer is the Semitic element which meets us in the earlier periods of history; and, further, the repetition of the cults proves that the country was distinct from Southern Babylonia. Just as there was a South Babylonian sun-god of Larsa, so there was a North Babylonian sun-god of Sippar; the Ishtar of Uruk was matched by Ishtar of Agade in the north. We know less of the north in the earlier times than of the south. In the later periods other towns became prominent, such as Kutha with the cult of Nergal, god of the lower world. The moon cult, which had its chief seat in Ur, was of inferior importance in Northern Babylonia; but we hear of its most famous shrine at Harran in Mesopotamia.

A Medley of Worships

We do not yet find any mention of Babylon in the inscriptions of the earliest period, and it owes its importance to political occurrences of a comparatively late period, though recently discovered evidence tends to prove that already under the first kings of Ur its rank as a religious centre was considerable. It appears to have become the chief city of Babylonia under the first Babylonian dynasty. Its elevation to the position of capital of the Babylonian empire and its consequent supremacy in the domain of politics were accompanied, in conformity with Eastern ideas, by the development of a justification of this pre-eminence in the religious beliefs of its inhabitants. Precisely as Athens, having attained the hegemony, tried to prove her antiquity in mythology and history, so the wise men of Babylon took pains to prove that Babylon was the seat of the most ancient civilisation and the centre of the world.

Comparative Lateness of Babylon

The former city-god, Marduk—in biblical pronunciation Merodach—becomes the god round whom the whole creation of the world turns. We have now recovered the greater part of the creation myth of Babylon, in which Marduk plays the chief rôle, and we may conjecture with some probability that similar works of more ancient origin, reproducing the events of the time when their cities flourished, were taught in the temples of Southern Babylonia. The epic of creation expresses the supremacy of Babylon, which was founded by the dynasty of Hammurabi. It is Marduk who fights the war of worlds for the sovereignty of the Dii Superi, who are threatened by Tiamat (Chaos), and it is he who, after cleaving the monster, imagined under the form of a snake or a dragon, creates the universe out of the two halves of her body.

Until recently only fragments of the great Babylonian epic of the Creation had been recovered, the portion of the text which was best preserved relating the battle waged by Marduk against Tiamat on behalf of the gods. But at the beginning of this century many additional tablets and fragments of the great poem were discovered, and these enable us to fill in completely the outlines of the story, and at the same time to separate the older elements which have been incorporated in the epic along with the later additions in honour of Marduk, the city-god of Babylon. We now know that in its later form the epic was divided into seven great sections, or Tablets, and that Marduk's fight with Tiamat was only the culminating episode in a longer story of antagonism between the forces of order and disorder in the universe. We gather that the Babylonian account of the creation of the gods was similar to that given in Damascius, and that it was Apsu, the male representative of primeval chaos, and not Tiamat, his consort, who began the revolt against the gods.

Babylonian Epic of the Creation

Moreover, the defeat of Apsu, which preceded that of Tiamat, was not the work of Marduk, but that of his father, Ea, and Ea continues to play an important part in the narrative. One of the newly discovered fragments of the poem is of peculiar interest, since it contains an account of the creation of man, with which the acts of creation culminated; and we gather that the Babylonian legend closely corresponds with that given by Berossus, Marduk getting another god, probably Ea, to cut off his—Marduk's—head, that

ıe might use his own blood for the creation of mankind. To summarise briefly the composite character of the Creation epic, t may be stated that the recently recovered texts enable us to separate the legend nto five principal strands; these consist of the birth of the gods, the legend of Ea ınd Apsu, the Dragon-Myth, the actual account of Creation, and the Hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles of honour. Since the poem in its present form is a glorification of Marduk, and an explanation of how the god of Babylon secured the position of the greatest of the gods, it is but natural that prominence was given to those episodes in which Marduk is the hero, while those in which he plays



Mansell

THE SEVEN TABLETS OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

The great Babylonian epic of the Creation was divided into seven great sections, or tablets, one fragment from each being illustrated here. It comprised (1) a description of a state of chaos; (2) the war of the gods; (3) defeat of Tiamat by Marduk; (4) Marduk as chief of the gods; (5) creation of heavenly bodies; (6) creation of animals and man; and (7) the hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles of honour.

no part are assigned a subsidiary and unimportant place in the narrative.

The central episode in the poem is thus the fight between Marduk and Tiamat, but we have evidence that this legend existed in other forms than that under which we find it here set out. For another legend which has been recovered ascribes the conquest of the dragon to some other god than Marduk, and the fight is recorded to have taken place, not before the Creation, but at a time when men already existed and cities had been built. Thus the Dragon-Myth existed in more than one form in Babylonian mythology, and it is not improbable that many of the great cities in Babylonia possessed local versions of the legend, in each of which the city-god figured as the hero who slew the monster. In accordance with this theory the priests of Babylon ascribed the conquest of the dragon to their own local god, and made the death of Tiamat a preliminary to his creation of the universe. Moreover, other Creation legends existed in which the creation of the world was not connected with the death of a dragon, and although in one of these Marduk figures as the creator, in others Anu, Enlil, and Ea are described as creating the sun and moon, or the gods generally are referred to as having created the heavens and the earth, the cattle and the beasts of the field. But there is no doubt that the version of the Creation story which originated in Babylon represents the belief most generally held in Babylonia and Assyria in the periods subsequent to the rise of Babylon to a position of pre-eminence under the West-Semitic kings of the first dynasty.

Varieties of the Creation Legend

The briefest comparison of the Biblical accounts of the Creation with that which was current at Babylon suffices to show the close connection existing between them. In each account the existence of a watery chaos preceded the creation of the universe, and the Hebrew word *tehom*, rendered as "the deep" in the Book of Genesis, is the equivalent of the Babylonian *Tiamat*, the name of the female monster of the deep personifying chaos and confusion. In the details of the Creation there is also a close resemblance between the two narratives; we may cite the creation, or existence, of light preceding that of the heavenly bodies, the creation of a firmament to divide the upper from the lower waters, and the separate acts of creation connected with the earth and vegetation, the heavenly bodies, animals, and, finally, man. It is even possible that the

Connection with Bible Accounts

connection of the Sabbath with the biblical story of the Creation was suggested by the mystical number of tablets upon which the Babylonian poem was inscribed. Such points of resemblance demonstrate a close connection between the Hebrew and the Babylonian narratives, and the local Babylonian colouring of the stories, and the great age to which they can be traced back, definitely prove that they originated in Babylonia, and were not inherited independently by the Babylonians and Hebrews from a common Semitic ancestor. We may therefore conclude that Babylonian tenets had become naturalised in Palestine even before the conquest of that country by the Israelites. Many such Palestinian versions of Babylonian beliefs the Israelites no doubt absorbed on their occupation of the country, and during the subsequent periods of their history they were subject to the direct influence of Assyria and Babylon. It is clear, therefore, that at the time of their exile the Jews did not come across Babylonian religious conceptions for the first time, but recognised in them many beliefs differing from their own in some essential respects, but presenting an equally striking resemblance on many points of detail. It was doubtless, however, in the period of the exile that the strongest influence was exerted by the religion of Babylon upon that of the Jews. The Babylonian myths of the Creation are thus recognised as the prototypes after which the biblical myths were formed. How, then, did Babylonia become the teacher of the spiritual life of Nearer Asia? We have at present hardly any other evidence of this beyond the remains of Assyro-Babylonian literature hitherto won from the soil, and the records of Jewish spiritual life preserved for us in the canonical books of the Bible. But so long as we have no more material for study, we must try to form our conception of the influence exerted by Babylonian religion from these remains.



THE BABYLONIAN HERCULES

Gilgamesh was the hero of the national epic of Babylonia, which exercised even greater influence on the Babylonians than the epic of the Creation of the World.

Babylonia a Spiritual Teacher

Religion has indisputably played a part in the civilised life of these nations which we moderns are prone to underrate. The priesthood is the nursery of knowledge; therefore all teaching, every attempt to investigate the nature of things, every proof and justification of the existing order, and every attempt to introduce change is referred back to the primitive doctrines of the beginning of things, and by this authority is either approved or discountenanced. To the direct intervention of the priesthood we may therefore trace many of the beliefs which were current both among the Babylonians and the Jews, and the close resemblance in their development of thought explains the ease with which the latter submitted to the influence of their more powerful neighbour. Even monotheism in its perfected form cannot be claimed as exclusively a product of the Jewish mind, though in certain respects it met with singular favour in Judæa. The polytheism of Babylonia finds its historical explanation in the circumstances of times long past in the march of civilisation. If the Babylonian or Assyrian prayed to his god, he did so with the same words as the Jew: his contrition, his submission to the divine will, his trust in his god, were precisely similar—only that the former people had found an expression for such feelings and thoughts, while the Jew learnt much of it from them. Even if the Babylonian prayed to Marduk or the Assyrian to Ashur, there was little difference between his thought and that of the Jew of the eighth

Parallels to Judaism

century or so, who supplicated Jahve, or Jehovah. The Jew did not dispute the god of those who dwelt outside the dominion of his Jahve. If it was a false god, it was only so in the sense that every Babylonian saw the true lord of the world in the temple of his own city.

The mental activity of man is manifested in the development of mythology, which comes next to the doctrines of religion and is closely connected with them. So far as this is a doctrine of divinities and temples, we have already realised how limited the range of our knowledge is. We must raise the same lament over the remains of anthropomorphic mythology, the hero legends, which form the first theme of the non-religious poetry of a people. A quantity of fragments testify to the former existence of a whole series of epics; but of only a few of them have we sufficient remains to be able partially to restore or to guess their contents. The best known is the Epic of Gilgamesh. In it the deeds of the Babylonian Hercules are glorified, and it has given Hellenism the attributes with which to endow the legendary form of Alexander in the so-called Alexander romances. The work received the form in which it is preserved for us at Erech; it reflects the condition to which the old Ishtar-Nana town, considered to have been founded by Gilgamesh, had been reduced by the oppression of Elam.

Babylonian Hero Mythology

National Epic of Babylonia

This epic exercised an even greater influence on the Babylonians themselves than that of the Creation, for the hero Gilgamesh and his companion Ea-bani appear in countless representations in Babylonian art, and the legend was peculiarly the national epic of the Babylonians. In its latest form it was written upon twelve tablets of equal length, and all are concerned with the heroic deeds of Gilgamesh. They recount his early exploits, the creation of Ea-bani by the goddess Aruru; their expedition against Khumbaba of Elam; the passion exhibited for Gilgamesh by the goddess Ishtar; the fight of Gilgamesh with the bull from heaven; the grief of Gilgamesh at Ea-bani's death; and his journey to his ancestor Tsit-napishtim, who relates to him the story of the Flood. The Babylonian account of the Deluge, which is thus introduced into the national epic, with which it has no organic connection, presents the closest parallel to the Biblical narrative of the same event, and is, indeed, the basis of that account. In this case the parallelisms are so striking that we may set the date of borrowing at a comparatively late period. In addition to the Epic of Gilgamesh we have also recovered fragments of myths and stories connected with the heroes and mythological beings of antiquity. A large number of unpublished fragments, which are still unintelligible on account of their small size, is here, as in the case of all similar literary productions, only further evidence of the information which we may hope to gain some time in the future.



Mansell

THE BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE

This account of the Flood, which presents the closest parallel to the Biblical narrative, is a section in the great epic of Gilgamesh, who visits Tsitnapishtim, a god who dwelt in an ark, and has related to him the story of the Flood inscribed on these tablets.

It would be a most important task to describe the extent of the industries and trade in Babylonia. For this, however, almost all data are wanting, apart from the fact that in the course of 3,000 years there must have been as many vicissitudes in the industrial as in the political life of the people. We may safely assume that Babylonia, and—since it is the admitted capital in the period best known to us—above all, Babylon, owed their importance and power to their industries and their trade. During the entire period in which we can follow the power of Assyria, Babylon was impotent as a political community. It was compelled to buy its independence from the Assyrians, just as, on the other hand, it obtained by its gold assistance from the Elamites against Assyria. It probably had not men enough to wage war on its own resources; indeed, the conditions under which its land was held precluded any such idea. This fact alone is sufficient to give the country its predominantly industrial character.

What was Babylonia's Commerce?

We can draw conclusions as to the extent of Babylonian commerce in the earlier periods from the inscriptions of Gudea; he obtained the blocks of stone and the timber for his buildings from Phœnicia, Syria, and Sinai. Some slight information about Babylonian industries is given us by the Tell el-Amarna letters. The Babylonian, like the Mitanian prince, required gold from the Egyptians; in return they supplied industrial products, especially lapis lazuli, or an imitation of it, which was highly valued by the Egyptians, and was a staple of Babylonian export. The Egyptians obtained weapons and war chariots from Mitani and even from Assyria. If, at the same time, the Babylonian ordered inlaid work of ebony and ivory, it was from a desire for fashionable objects in the Egyptian style, such as have been found in Nineveh; they have no more significance than Chinese porcelain or Japanese lacquer-work with us. The question of the navigation on the Persian Gulf is still shrouded in obscurity, as well as that of the early use of the trade route to India. It is extremely probable that the Sumerians engaged in navigation on the "Sea of the East." The most ancient inscriptions, from the nature of their contents, do not mention anything of such matters; and thus we must, probably for a long time yet, be content merely to speculate upon the subject. In the later period the road to the sea was barred by the Chaldæans. The centuries of prosperity of a state called "the Country of the Sea," and its obstinate resistance both to Babylon and to Assyria, are partly explained by the wealth won by trade relations with the East. Merodach-baladan possessed ships, in which he escaped to Elam over the "bitter water," the great bay at the embouchure of the two streams; there was then no fleet in Babylonia, so that Sennacherib was forced to have ships built by Phœnician workmen in Assyria and brought down stream to the coast. Any Babylonian trade with the East is thus inconceivable. Elam, too, must have had much to do with the traffic on the Persian Gulf, and we may expect to obtain much valuable information on this point as a result of the excavations which are being carried on at the present time at Susa.

Sumeria a Naval State

Hardly any products of Babylonian industries have as yet come down to us. Even the arts of architecture and sculpture, comparatively familiar to us in Assyria, are represented to us in the very home of such culture by few and comparatively insignificant monuments. All that is left to us on a large scale are the ruins of Tello, which have supplied us with a considerable number of statues and sculptures of the kings and patesis of Lagash. While the statues of the earliest kings were but rude attempts, rapid progress was made, and those of Gudea and his time [see pages 1587 and 1597] show the highest perfection of execution. The careful and delicate work on the monument of Merodach-baladan [see page 1617] is one of the few productions of a later period of art which are known to us.

Art of Babylon

In the same way we possess hardly any notices of the order and form of the constitution, of the internal administration, and the military system in Babylonia, though the letters of Hammurabi throw considerable light upon these problems during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon. Anything, therefore, that we can suggest on these points is more clearly explained by the better attested Assyrian institutions, which, since they grew out of similar conditions, exhibit in the main results which must have closely resembled those of Babylonia.



ASSYRIA IN THE MAKING

WE have already seen that the advance of Assyria falls within a period which lies in the full light of history, or can be illuminated without difficulty by the results of excavations. We have further observed that its first natural expansion took place towards Mesopotamia, and that this became its undisputed property, from the possession of which it grew to be a great power, as extensive and as important as Babylonia itself. The history of Assyria itself must therefore be preceded by an attempt to throw light on the conditions of Mesopotamia at this early period.

We have suggested as a probable hypothesis that the great Semitic immigrations reached Babylonia from the north. Mesopotamia would therefore have been first reached by them; the Semites, who meet us in Southern Babylonia, may thus have formed settlements there before they pressed southwards along the Euphrates and the Tigris. Any attempt to reconstitute the early history of this region must depend largely upon conjecture, since systematic excavation has not as yet been extended into that region of Western Asia.

Mesopotamia at the Rise of Assyria

Any early kingdom which may have been formed in Mesopotamia probably had its capital at Harran, one of the most ancient seats of the worship of Sin, the moon-god; and this conjecture appears to be supported by various indications in the subsequent period. However this may be, we can safely assume that Mesopotamia not only stood under the direct influence of Babylonian civilisation, but had a special share in shaping the development of the countries on the Euphrates—a fact that continually finds expression in the high reverence paid to the great sanctuary at Harran. The origin of the cult at Hebron, which the immigrating "Hebrew" tribes may have found there and adopted, is traced by the biblical legend, according to the older tradition, from the seat of the Sin cult in Mesopotamia, while only a later application of the myth claims for it Ur, the South Babylonian seat of the moon-god. The adoration of Ba'al Harran, the god of Harran, is found also in Senjirli, in Northern Syria.

A Seat of the Worship of Ba'al

In the earliest accounts which we possess, Mesopotamia appears under a foreign dominion. Our sources of information are the Tell el-Amarna letters of King Tushratta of Mitani to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. The picture that they afford us of the intercourse between the two countries holds good for the predecessors of the two Pharaohs, so far as they advanced into Asia. They virtually designate Mesopotamia and Syria as Naharina. In this connection it is a matter of indifference to us how much gold Tushratta begged for himself from Egypt, and how many letters he wrote in order to fool his "brother" and son-in-law in Egypt. The point which concerns us is that in these kings of Mitani we may see representatives of a migration of barbarians who possessed themselves of Mesopotamia. We shall learn later that we may possibly assign them to the group of nations which we designate Hittite. As rulers of this country, they play the same rôle which the Kassites, coincidently with them, play in Babylonia.

Hittite Rulers of Mesopotamia

It does not appear from their letters where the kings of Mitani resided; but we must look for the country, which is known as Mitani from the letters, somewhere in the region north of Harran, where we may set the centre of their

kingdom. We can define its extent, as given in the words "an heir to the old kingdom of Mesopotamia." In the direction of Babylonia it included Nineveh, which, at the time of Tushratta, about 1430 B.C., was in the power of the Mitani. Obviously, all Mesopotamia belonged to it, and on the right bank of the Euphrates, Melitene, or Khanigalbat, and the district called by the Assyrians Musri, and by the Egyptians Sanqara—in a Tell el-Amarna letter from Alashia, Shankhar—a part of Cappadocia abutting on it as far as the Taurus, and possibly across it into Cilicia. Westward and northward of this part of the kingdom were settled the Kheta, or Khatti, the rivals and kinsmen of the Mitani, with whom they were at war, as we learn from a letter of Tushratta to Amenophis. The Kheta must either have forced their way in through the territory of the Mitani when we find them in Syria, or have skirted the real territory of the Mitani kings, by entering Cilicia through the Cilician Gates.



A ROYAL TYPE
From an Assyrian bas-relief.



THE HUMAN-HEADED ASSYRIAN BULL
One of the most characteristic features of Assyrian architecture, these statues were set to guard the gateways to palaces and temples, and were of gigantic size.

What was true of the friendship of the Babylonians with Egypt is true also of that of Mitani, so verbosely emphasised in the Tell el-Amarna letters. Even the kings of Mitani are referred to by Egyptian vassals in Phœnicia as natural enemies of a true servant of the Pharaoh.

This kingdom must have already existed for a considerable period, for Tushratta, the writer of the letters, mentions his father, Sutarna, who had sent his daughter, Gilukhipa, as attested by an Egyptian inscription, into the harem of Amenophis III., and his grandfather, Artatama, who had maintained relations with Thothmes IV., and had concluded a similar bargain—for the chief matter of discussion was the dowry. The writer himself had been at the court of Amenophis III.; he was perhaps educated there as a sort of hostage when his father died. In a letter to the Pharaoh he describes how an insurrection broke out, to which his brother Artashumara fell a victim, and how, on his return, he had suppressed the revolt. The same letter contains an account of the above-mentioned war with the Kheta, who had evidently seized this favourable opportunity for attempting an invasion of the country.

Among all the haggling for presents there is one letter which is of greater interest, as it contains more important news. Tushratta requests Amenophis III. to send back the statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh, which shortly before had been sent to Egypt, as it had already been sent in the lifetime of his father, and had on that occasion been honourably returned. The meaning of this journey of Ishtar is not quite evident. It may probably be explained by supposing that Tushratta, like his father, had conquered Nineveh, and did not take the captured divinity as a badge of victory back home with him, but had sent it to the Egyptian king, whose right of protector was thus acknowledged. The "tribute" of the Egyptian inscriptions would tally well with this theory. The question then



TYPE OF A EUNUCH
From an Assyrian bas-relief.



BAS-RELIEF SHOWING AN ASSYRIAN KING HUNTING THE KING OF BEASTS

remains, from whom did Tushratta take Nineveh? We may conjecture that it was from the Assyrians, who by this time must have thrown off their allegiance to Babylon. More important for us is the fact thus proved that Tushratta was master of Nineveh, for we are thus able to settle approximately the date of Assyria's advance. Tushratta's reign corresponds with the close of the glory of his people. Eighty or a hundred years later, Assyria is in occupation of Mesopotamia, and is defending its new possession against Babylon after the Mitani had been driven out. The rule of the kings of Mitani who are known to us is to be set at the end of the period which had seen this group of nations advance beyond the Euphrates. In its first vigour this advance perhaps extended as far as Babylonia, which we now know was invaded by the Hittites towards the close of the first dynasty of Babylon. The fact that in the Tell el-Amarna period the Kassites of Babylonia and the Mitani of Mesopotamia were enemies may be cited in support of this conjecture.



A WONDER OF ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE

This colossal stone sculpture of a man-headed lion from the Kuyunjik Palace, Nineveh, is seen in something like its huge proportions by contrast with the figure at its side. The bull opposite is of a similar size.



PORTION OF A BEAUTIFUL ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEF SHOWING THE HORSES OF A KING



ASSYRIAN STONE-SLINGERS
From a Nineveh bas-relief.

We may picture the "land of Ashur" in its primitive form, just as was the case with the kingdom of Babylon, as being little more than the territory of the city of Ashur, the modern Kala Shergat. It lies, indeed, almost outside the district which later constitutes the true country of Assyria, the land, namely, which is bounded by a line drawn from Nineveh to the mountains, and by the lower Zab and the Tigris. It is possible that Ashur, from its position, which was too far south to form the centre of this district, and from its site on the right bank of the Tigris, may not have been from the first the capital of the subsequent country of Ashur; it clearly has more affinities with the south and Babylonia than with the north and west, in which direction the northern kingdom first expanded. If we also consider that Ashur was only a town, like many others in the Euphrates valley, we shall be inclined to suppose that its patesis, or priest-kings, were subject to the supremacy of Babylonia, and on occasion to that of Mesopotamia also.

It can be proved that in historical times it was not the capital of any considerable kingdom, and, in fact, was governed only by patesis, and the date of the rise of this new power can be fixed with tolerable accuracy. Tiglath-pileser announces, about 1100 B.C., that part of a temple restored by him in Ashur had been constructed 641 years before the time of his grandfather, who himself had added to it sixty years earlier, by Shamshi-Adad, patesi of Ashur, son of Ishme-Dagan, patesi of Ashur. We have, therefore, about 1800 B.C., patesis



ASSYRIAN ARCHERS WITH SHIELD-BEARER
From a bas-relief almost life-size found at Nineveh.

of Ashur who must have been subject to Babylonia or Mesopotamia. Such was the earliest point to which, until recently, we could trace back the history of Assyria. But the recent excavations at Shergat and the publication of a new chronicle in the British Museum now enable us to trace back the history of Assyria beyond the rise of the first dynasty of Babylon. With the exception of that of Ilu-shuma, who we know was the contemporary of the founder of the first dynasty, the periods of the earliest rulers of Assyria can be only approximately determined. The first king of Ashur, whose date we can fix more accurately, is Assur-bel-nishishu, the contemporary of Karaindash. Ashur,



SAPPERS OF THE ASSYRIAN ARMY
Portion of a sculpture illustrating the siege of a city.

herefore, permanently secured her inde-endence between 1800 and 1500 B.C. Its atesis called themselves kings, and, pos-ibly under the influence of a new immigra-ion, began to expand their power.

The cause of this expansion, and the conditions under which it was pos-ible, were similar to those which gave Babylonia to the Kassites and Mesopotamia to the Mitani. The disorders of the time offered to energetic rulers a favourable oppor-tunity to found a kingdom of their own. On the other hand, the two spheres of civilisation, which hitherto had been connected, were parted by subjection to different foreign sovereignties, and so al-lowed the country that lay between to found a power of its own. Before, however, we come to the history of the new kingdom, it will be neces-sary to consider to what causes it was due that, while the Semitic world was now everywhere breaking up, the Semites of Ashur preserved that firm attitude and strength which thenceforth ensured victory for their arms; we will, in fact, ascertain the characteristics of these future lords of the East.

The Assyrian type is totally distinct from the Babylonian, which we have seen to be the result of a great mixture of races. The numerous Assyrian portraits show us clearly marked features, precisely those which we ordinarily regard as Semitic; in many details they are those which we call the "Jewish" type. Our conception is erroneous, in so far as this type is completely distinct from the Arabian, in which we should expect to find in greatest purity the Semitic type; on the other hand, in certain points a



SPEARMEN OF THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

correspondence may be traced with that of the modern Armenians, who speak an Indo-European language. It is not our present task to explain this. We have to study the history of the nations, and in doing so have laid down the principle of linguistic classification as a suitable scheme of grouping. The physical characteristics of the nations constitute a principle of classification to be carefully distinguished from the former, for physical mixture of race and development of language follow quite different paths. It hardly comes within the province of history to consider how the Assyrians reached this type, and to which of the larger groups the race belongs. It is sufficient for our immediate purpose to point out the existence of this distinctive Assyrian type.



HUNTING IN THE MESOPOTAMIAN FORESTS

A fine bas-relief from Nineveh, showing huntsmen with a gazelle and a hare.

We are then met by the question, in what did the extraordinary superiority of this people over the other peoples of Nearer Asia consist? The inquiry will resolve itself into the considera-tion of two subjects in particular—the political organisation of the state, and the economic condition of the population. The "land of Ashur," down to the times when its superiority over Babylonia was undis-puted—that is, down to Shalmaneser II.

and Adad-nirari IV.—must have possessed a free peasantry of its own; while the older and more highly-developed civilisation of Babylonia had only a system of feudal and "ecclesiastical" tenure, with a population completely dependent upon it. This was the source of the weakness of Babylonia, which had no large body of native troops at its disposal; while its defenders consisted of "allies" whose intentions were only too clear. Shalmaneser still called out the militia of "the land" when a bold enterprise was planned. Tiglath-pileser, as we shall see, tried to free this peasantry from the fetters of the feudal system of great estates which had meanwhile grown up in Assyria also, and a later reaction began under Sargon. The power of Assyria in the interval had reached its zenith—this prosperous period was inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser himself—but had not then shown real development. Its short-lived success without permanent results is due to the other side of its constitutional organisation, which is explained by the formation of the kingdom.

The expansion of the dominion of a patesi into a kingdom, such as the rise of Assyria shows, was possible only if at the time of expansion its princes had a body of efficient soldiers at their disposal. How far that was connected with the immigration of a new population into Ashur and Assyria is beyond our knowledge, though the possibility that such was the case must not be ignored. Just as David with a trustworthy band was able in the general disorder to seize the throne of a realm comprising various tribes, so the patesis of Ashur did the same on a larger scale.

The strength of Assyria in opposition to the countries of the Euphrates valley, with their high industrial development, was based on the possession of an army; through this alone could it rise into importance or assert its position. A country with a peasantry could supply the men. When this peasantry disappeared at a later period, and even Tiglath-pileser could not save it, recourse was had to armies of mercenaries, who were recruited in all countries, both subject and barbarian. It was with these that Sargon and his successors carried on their wars. With such troops, so long as pay and booty were abundant, it was possible to keep the East in subjection; but after a great defeat, and when money was exhausted, a new levy was impossible. The strength of Assyria therefore rested on its army and its population; and, as they changed, so there was a complete alteration in its fundamental constitution. While Assyria could always recover from earlier disasters, in its later condition, as a state completely under Babylonian influence, with a ruling military and sacerdotal caste relying upon a mercenary army, and without the support of a national population, it was destined to disappear and leave no trace.



BAS-RELIEF SHOWING ARCHERS, THE MAINSTAY OF ASSYRIA'S ARMY, ON THE MARCH

The first accounts of the "kingdom" of Assyria, which was founded on conquests, show us the new constitution. A king of Babylon, whose name is not preserved, calls down in an inscription the usual curses upon every successor who refuses him the credit due for a building erected by him. Then he adds, as a sign of the times: "The treasures of Babylon shall come to Suri and Assyria, the King of Babylon shall bring to the Prince of Ashur the treasures of his palace, his goods to the (town of Ashur ?)." The prince, not yet the king, of Ashur is the avenging enemy, and the curse was often enough fulfilled in later times.

At how early a period Assyria did come into conflict with Babylon we learn from the fact that Ilu-shuma, one of the earliest known patesis of Assyria, waged war with Su-abu, the founder of the first dynasty of Babylon. The result of the war is not known, but its cause we may probably trace to an early attempt on the part of Assyria to throw off her dependence The change of dynasty in Babylon, brought about by the incursion of the Western Semites, undoubtedly furnished her with a favourable opportunity to make the attempt. That it was not permanently successful we may infer from the fact that Ilu-shuma himself, and his successors upon the throne of Ashur, do not claim the title of king, but merely that of patesi. Moreover, Hammurabi included Assyria within his empire, and from one of his letters we may infer that he stationed regular garrisons in the country.



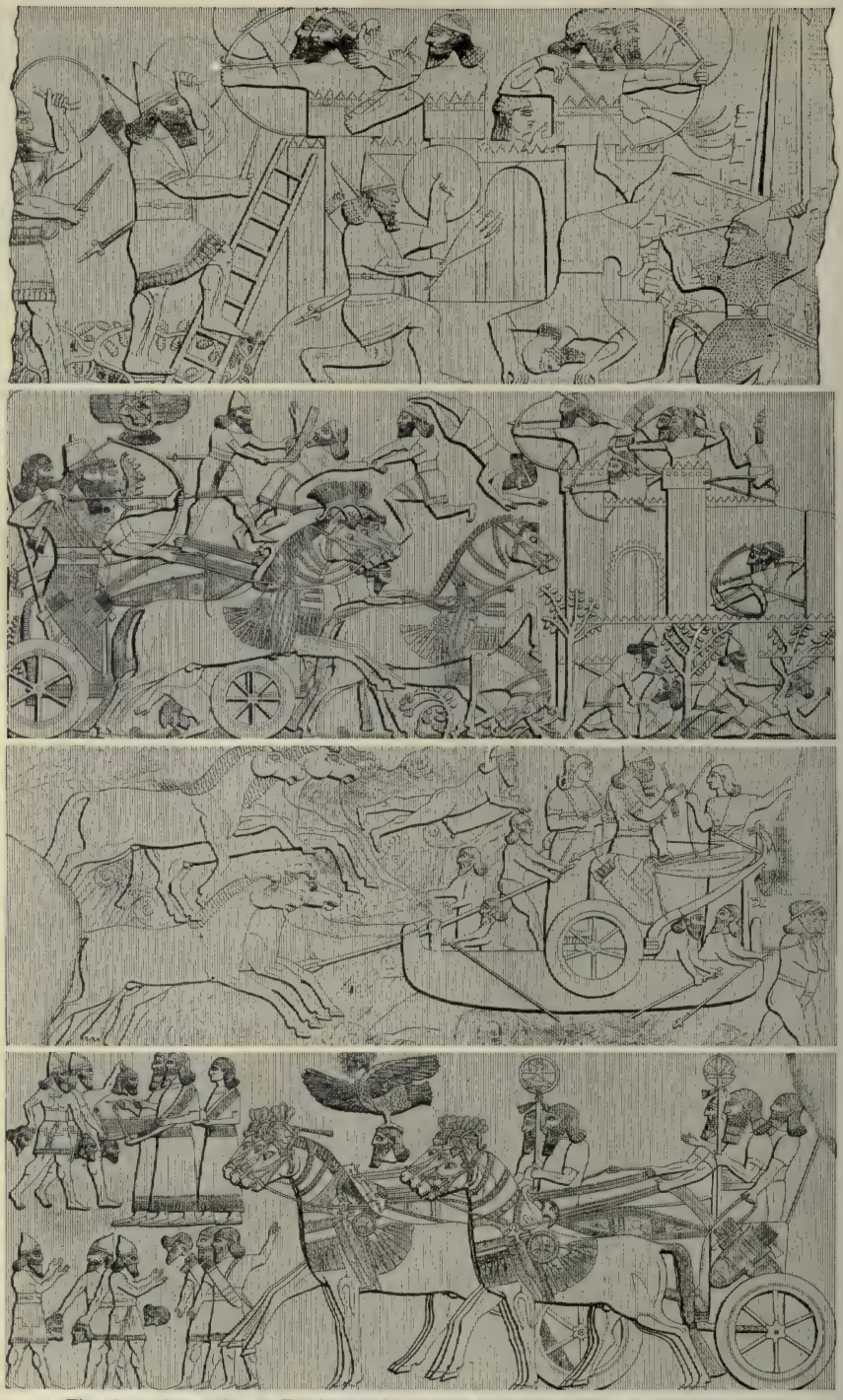
SECRETARIES OF ASSYRIAN KING

A bas-relief, now in the Louvre, showing the highly Semitised Assyrian type. The clean-shaven figure is a eunuch.



EUNUCH SERVANTS OF ASSYRIAN KING

Thus, for a long period after Ilu-shuma's attempt to cast off the yoke of Babylon, Assyria acknowledged her suzerainty, and her rulers termed themselves patesi. The earliest rulers of the country, such as Ushpia, to whom later tradition ascribed the foundation of the temple of the god Ashur, in the city of Ashur, bore the title "priest of Ashur," and this title was also retained by the later patesis. The exact period at which Assyria succeeded in freeing herself permanently from Babylonian tutelage is uncertain, but we may place it with considerable probability in the early Kassite period, when the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi had been brought to an end by the Hittite invasion, and the Kassites themselves were occupied with the conquest and settlement of Northern Babylonia.



1. The siege of a castle. 2. The king in his chariot besieging a city. 3. The king crossing a river. 4. Triumphal return from battle, with scribes counting up heads of the enemy.

ASSYRIAN WAR SCENES FROM THE MONUMENTS OF NINEVEH



THE OLD EMPIRE OF ASSYRIA

THE natural aim of Assyria at the period of her rise was freedom from the tutelage of Babylonia. We are fortunate enough to possess a record which enables us to follow the development of her relations with Babylon from an early period. When the mutual relations were arranged under Adad-nirari IV., all the former treaties and wars between Babylon and Assyria were enumerated. This record is what it is usually, though otherwise inappropriately, designated—a synchronistic history of the relations of the two states, The first lines of the tablet, belonging to the library of Ashurbanipal, on which the document is recorded, have been broken away; its text begins with the treaty between Karaindash and Ashur-bel-nishishu, in the fifteenth century B.C. The details of the treaty are not recounted: it is merely recorded that both states concluded treaties and mutually fixed the boundaries of their territory. We may conclude from this that the contents of the treaty were no longer ascertainable by the archivists of Adad-nirari; there was probably no information on the point beyond the notices upon the royal steles. The same is true of a treaty between Puzur-Ashur, the next king of Assyria referred to, and Burnaburiash I., by means of which we approach the years immediately preceding the Tell el-Amarna period.

Relations with Babylon

The Amarna period includes Ashur-uballit, from whom we possess a letter to Amenophis IV. We have also recovered other facts about him, and can by their help follow his line of action. He complains in his letter that preference was shown to the king of Mitani, whose territory, as we have already seen, was coveted by the Assyrians. He alludes also to letters which his father, Ashur-nadin-akhi, had already addressed to Amenophis III. A communication of Burnaburiash to Amenophis IV. demands at the same time that the Assyrian offers to enter into relations should be declined, since Assyria was his vassal. Adad-nirari I., the great-grandson of Ashur-uballit, is able to announce that the royal greeting of his grandfather had been recognised in distant countries; that is to say, his diplomatic attempts at forming alliances had met with success, notwithstanding letters of protest by the Babylonians, and he was recognised by Egypt as an independent king. He was also succcessful against the kings of Mitani. A victory over them by him is recorded, and Nineveh, which was in Tushratta's possession, must have been regained by Ashur-uballit. At Nineveh he added to the temple of Ishtar, the goddess who had formerly been sent to Egypt. As regards Babylonia, he followed, under Burnaburiash, or his successor, Karakhardash, the policy of extension of territory by marriage. Karakhardash married his daughter, and their son was Kadashman-kharbe, whose policy and relations to Assyria have been already referred to. We have also seen how the murder of Kadashman-kharbe gave a welcome opportunity to Ashur-uballit of interfering in the affairs of Babylonia. It may fairly be assumed that for the rest of his long life he really governed for his infant great-grandson, Kurigalzu.

Egypt Recognises Assyria

This Assyrian guardianship could not but lead to friction so soon as the young king of Babylon was grown up and could inaugurate a policy of his own. Ashur-uballit's successor, Bel-nirari is recorded to have waged a war with Kurigalzu, in which Babylonia was worsted. The arrangement of the frontier concerned the district "from the borders of Mitani (Shubari) as far as Babylonia." Arik-den-ilu, the next king of Assyria, fought only against northern nations, the Suti, the Bedouins of the plains, and kept in check the invading hordes of Aramæans. His son was Adad-nirari I., about 1300–

Assyrian Guardianship of Babylon

1270. Assyria under him reaped the fruits of the preceding wars. He overthrew the kingdom of Mitani and took possession of Mesopotamia. Babylonia could not quietly stand by and see this. The conflict with Mitani she had relinquished, it is true, to Assyria, but the possession of the country, on account of its importance for communications with the north and west she was compelled to try and win for herself. War was declared under Kurigalzu's son, Nazimaruttash, and Assyria was victorious. The frontier between the two countries was fixed by a line which ran roughly from the Sinjar Mountains over the Tigris eastward to the range of Lulumi; that is, Assyria was assigned the upper, Babylonia the lower, river territory.

Assyria again Victorious

Shalmaneser I., about 1270, completed his father's work. He conquered, in addition, the provinces of Mitani, Khanigalbat, and Musri, lying westward from the Euphrates, and secured Mesopotamia, since he subdued the Aramæans, who were continually expanding in this direction. He then advanced in the region between the two streams towards Armenia, and took measures to provide an advance guard in this district by founding Assyrian colonies. We may conclude that Assyria still had a vigorous surplus population, which sought some outlet; it was still a land with a peasantry. The settlements of Shalmaneser proved to be full of vitality. Although they received no subsequent support from the mother country, they continued to exist even after these districts had twice been lost by Assyria—in the periods after Tukulti-Ninib I. and after Tiglath-pileser I. When Ashurnasirpal again advanced in the direction of Armenia, about 860 B.C., he found these colonies still there, although the Assyrian settlers had suffered greatly. A further testimony to the strength of the Assyrian powers of expansion is furnished by the cuneiform texts from Cappadocia with the numerous Assyrian names, which, as we have already seen, are to be assigned to a still earlier period.

Assyrians as Colonists

Ashur, the old capital, was now no longer suited to be the seat of government of the newly expanded kingdom. Shalmaneser therefore removed his court farther up stream to a position on the left bank of the Tigris, which more adequately met the requirements of the new régime. Kalkhi, or Nimrud, in the angle of the Tigris and the Upper Zab, became the new capital. The importance of this place as the capital of Assyria while in possession of Mesopotamia is proved by the fact that on the decay of the Assyrian power Ashur became the capital once more, until, after the fresh rise of the kingdom under Ashurnasirpal, Kalkhi was again selected as the seat of government.

So soon as the Mitani difficulty was settled and the possession of Mesopotamia secured, it was merely a question of choice whether Assyria would wait to be attacked by Babylonia or would take the initiative herself. Assyria was always ready to play the part of the aggressor. Under Shalmaneser war had been already declared, and hostilities were continued under his successor, Tukulti-Ninib. In the reign of Bitiliash, Tukulti-Ninib conquered Babylon, and thus became ruler of the whole of Babylonia. From an inscription of his that has recently been discovered we learn that he carried Bitiliash, the Babylonian king, as a captive to Assyria, and then proceeded to appoint his own officers in Babylon, and establish there his own system of administration. He also despoiled Babylon of her treasures, and carried away to Assyria the statue of Marduk from Esagila. Among the booty which he acquired in Babylon was a seal of the earlier Kassite king, Shagarakti-Shuriash, and on this he added an inscription of his own. The seal was afterwards restored to Babylon, when it was recaptured by Sennacherib during one of his conquests of the city. Sennacherib in turn added an inscription of his own, and, though the seal has not come down to us, we possess a copy of the inscriptions upon it, from which we learn that 600 years separated Tukulti-Ninib's period from that of Sennacherib, a welcome help to us in determining the chronology. In his newly-discovered memorial tablet, Tukulti-Ninib bears, in addition to the title "King of Assyria," those of "King of Karduniash, King of Sumer and Akkad," proving that he actually ascended the Babylonian throne.

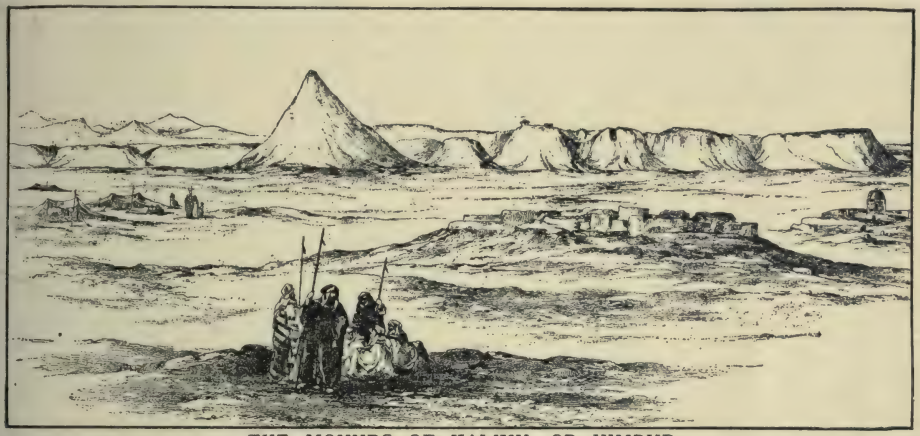
Babylon Once More Despoiled

This state of things lasted seven years. Then the nobles of Babylonia rose, drove out the Assyrians and placed Adad-shum-usur on the throne. If we compare the

similar position of affairs at Sennacherib's death and the rebellion at the end of Esarhaddon's time, we have the key to the meaning of what the chronicle, from which we derive these facts, tells us in this connection. "Ashurnasirpal, his son, and the lords of Assyria rebelled, and dethroned him. They besieged him in a house at Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, and slew him with the word." Accordingly we must assume that Tukulti-Ninib, like the later Assyrian kings in a similar position, had allowed his own policy to be affected by Babylonian influence. This must have caused dissatisfaction in Assyria, because there was the fear that the more cultured Babylonians would assert their superiority and acquire the chief administrative positions. It was therefore an Assyrian military rebellion against the threatening predominance of Babylonia. Probably the Assyrian revolutionary party had come to an understanding with the Babylonians themselves, and Tukulti-Ninib, when expelled from Babylon, found that everything in Assyria was already in the hands of his son. He threw himself, therefore, into his favourite city, built, as we learn from his memorial tablet, by himself after his capture of Babylon, and there he met his death.

If the object of the revolution was a severance from Babylonia, it was very thoroughly realised; for now the struggle could begin afresh, and Mesopotamia, in particular, would be protected against the once more powerful opponent. We know nothing further of this Ashurnasirpal. It appears, however, that he and his successors, Ashur-narara and Nabu-dan, two brothers who reigned concurrently, had during the reign of the Babylonian king, Adad-shum-usur, reduced Assyria to the position it held before its expansion under Ashur-uballit. The tone of a letter from the Babylonian king to the former shows a great departure from the previous terms of courtesy. The pair are not addressed as the "brothers" of the writer, but are sharply reprimanded as subjects. In contrast to this, Adad-shum-usur is described as "king of hosts." Thus Assyria was once more restricted to the "land of Ashur."

There were several attempts of Assyria to recover Mesopotamia. Bel-kudur-usur, who probably succeeded a king named Tukulti-Ashur, fell in battle with Adad-nadin-akhi, king of Babylon. His son, Ninib-apil-Eshara, led the army back to Assyria. There he seems to have withstood a siege of the Babylonians, who afterwards returned to their own land.



THE MOUNDS OF KALKHI, OR NIMRUD

Shalmaneser II. found the position of the old capital of Ashur unsuited to his extended kingdom, and moved his court to Kalkhi, the remains of which are seen here. The pointed mound was the zikkurat of the temple.

Babylonia continued to maintain the supremacy under the son of Melishipak, Merodach-baladan I., for he boasts of a victory over Assyria, under Ninib-apil-Eshara or his son Ashur-dan. His successor, Zamana-shum-iddina, however, received a reverse at the hands of Ashur-dan on Babylonian soil, to the left of the Lower Zab, about 1200 B.C. But Assyria did not win back Mesopotamia by this victory, for, as we have already seen, the successors to the Kassites upon the throne of Babylon still held it. In particular, Nebuchadnezzar I. once again advanced into Palestine. Ashur-dan was

succeeded by Mutakkil-Nusku. His son was Ashur-resh-ishi I, the contemporary and rival of Nebuchadnezzar I. After repeated wars the Assyrian king, according to the "Synchronistic History," is said to have been the victor. He occupied Mesopotamia once more. One of his inscriptions records another check to the hordes of Aramæans in Mesopotamia as well as successes against the Lulumi, and against the Kuti, the peoples of the north.

Wars of Tiglath-pileser I.

If Ashur-resh-ishi's activity on this new rise of Assyria corresponds to that exhibited by Adad-nirari I. on an earlier occasion, the reign of his successor, Tiglath-pileser I., about 1100 B.C., presents a repetition of the successes and of the downfall of Assyria under Shalmaneser I. and Tukulti-Nin ib. Once more the first object was to secure Mesopotamia by renewed expeditions northward, and by the reconquest of Khanigalbat and Musri westward of the Euphrates. We shall endeavour to throw light on the incursions of the tribes, which here come into prominence, when we treat of the Hittite movement.

We have an inscription of Tiglath-pileser which deals with his wars in these regions during the first five years of his reign. He first cleared the district north of Mesopotamia by driving back or subduing the encroaching tribes, and advanced toward Armenia, in the district between the two rivers. He thus endeavoured to secure the very territory which Shalmaneser had once occupied with Assyrian colonists. He further subjugated the "Nairi country," the district south of Lake Van—that is to say, the highlands between Armenia and Mesopotamia. On one of these campaigns, at the head of the Subnat, or Sebene-Su, one of the sources of the Tigris, he carved his image in the rock near the exit of a natural tunnel through which the stream flows. This image is still preserved, together with a short inscription mentioning three such expeditions into the Nairi country. He then, like Shalmaneser, checked the Aramæan hordes which had spread over the steppes of Mesopotamia, and drove a part of them over the Euphrates into the territory of Carchemish. He succeeded in crossing the river and took six castles occupied by them in "the territory of the Bishri mountains." This is the identical district which appears under Shalmaneser II. as the part of Bit-Adini lying to the right of the Euphrates, together with the town of Til-Basheri. It is interesting to note that at the time of the Crusades it was made the fief of Joscelin of Tell-Bashir, the feudal tenant of Edessa. In this district Tiglath-pileser also occupied Pitru, in the angle between the Euphrates and Sagur, the Pethor of the Bible, and occupied it with Assyrian colonists. Then, still following the example of Shalmaneser I., he subdued Melitene, or Khanigalbat and afterwards Musri, which was in the hands of the Kumani, and by these victories restored the old Mesopotamian kingdom in its former extent.

Campaigns in Armenia

An expedition thence brought him actually to Phœnicia. At Arvad he went out to sea in order, as a mighty hunter, to be present at the capture of monsters of the deep. He mentions on this occasion an exchange of presents with the king of Egypt, who sent among other things a crocodile. We do not yet know who this Pharaoh was. But we see that intercourse between the two countries was not yet broken off, and that the Egyptian kings still had their eyes on Palestine, where Saul and David were forming a kingdom, even if they did not actually interfere with its internal politics. The correspondence between the two kings is not extant. But if it is borne in mind that, only a few years before, these northern districts of Phœnicia had been held by Nebuchadnezzar, it may be imagined that besides the exchange of presents weightier issues were at stake, and that the question of fixing their sphere of interest in Palestine had been discussed by the two powers.

Ebb of the Assyrian Tide

Now that the west had been secured, it was naturally the turn of the east to be considered. We thus come to that period of the reign of Tiglath-pileser which recalls the part played by Tukulti-Ninib. The "Synchronistic History" tells us of two successful wars against Marduk-nadin-akhe, of Babylon, in which the North Babylonian towns, together with Babylon, had been captured; and a small fragment of Tiglath-pileser's annals relates his entry into Babylon itself. But the rapid rise was followed by an equally rapid fall. Sennacherib found on his capture of Babylon, in the year 689 B.C., statues of gods, which Marduk-nadin-akhe had carried

way from Assyria "four hundred and eighteen years before, in the time of Tiglath-pileser;" and this same Marduk-nadin-akhe bears in one of his inscriptions the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" and "king of hosts." He therefore possessed all Babylonia, and may not improbably have won back Mesopotamia as well. Tiglath-pileser accordingly must have lost everything which had been gained in the earlier years of his reign and in that of his father. The extent of Assyria is again what it was after the fall of Tukulti-Ninib I.

After Tiglath-pileser, his sons Ashur-bel-kala and Shamshi-Adad reigned. We must now consider Mesopotamia as under Babylonian supremacy, although this cannot have been very strictly asserted, as is clear from the successful invasion of the Sutu in the reign of Adad-aplu-iddina,



THE SOURCE OF THE RIVER TIGRIS

Assyrian kings on war expeditions seem to have made a practice of cutting inscriptions or representations of themselves at particular spots. Shalmaneser II. and others chose a rock at the source of the Tigris, one of the great rivers of Mesopotamia.

and the later encroachments of the Aramæans. Assyria once more possessed only the "land of Ashur," and was forced for the third time to begin the reconstruction of her empire. Babylonia itself was indeed no powerful rival at this period, and both countries for the time maintained peace. Ashur-bel-kala and Marduk-shapik-zer-mati concluded a treaty with one another, the Babylonian king going to Assyria for this purpose, as we learn from recently discovered chronicles. When the Babylonian king died, and Adad-aplu-iddina came to the throne, the Assyrian king married his daughter, and received, according to the "Synchronistic History," a rich dowry. Ashur-bel-kala was succeeded by his brother Shamshi-Adad.

From this period onwards there was until recently a gap in our knowledge of almost one hundred years, during which we had no trustworthy information as to Assyria or Babylon. From inscriptions recently recovered at Shergat it is, however, now possible to trace with some fulness the succession of Assyrian kings at this time, though the data are conflicting as to the exact order of the earlier rulers. But concerning the history of the period information is still lacking. We learn from later accounts of Shalmaneser II. that at this time Ashur-irbi must have been king of Assyria. He seems to have made an effort to regain what had been lost, for Shalmaneser mentions that he erected a statue on the shore of the sea. This can have been only Lake Van or the Mediterranean; from the context, probably the latter. According to this view, Ashur-irbi, like Tiglath-pileser I., must have reached Phœnicia on an expedition. It must remain undecided whether his statue was among those at Nahr-el-kelb, north of Beirut, or whether the place was still more to the north. Another account states that Pitru, which was occupied by Tiglath-pileser, was, during his reign, seized by the Aramæans. This brings us to the movement which has left its mark upon this period.

Assyria Without an Empire

In addition to the migrations of the Hittites from the north-west, and of the Kassites from the east, Mesopotamia and Babylonia were at this time the object of the third of the Semitic migrations which we have distinguished, namely, the Aramæan. We have already seen several times that Assyrian kings, when they occupied Mesopotamia—for example, Arik-den-ilu, Shalmaneser I., Ashur-resh-ishi and Tiglath-pileser I.—tried to keep in check the "Aramæan hordes" which held Mesopotamia, and to drive them back over the river. The country, therefore, as early as 1300 B.C., had been overrun by these Aramæans, who were still nomads, for

The Third Semitic Migration

Tiglath-pileser I. expressly describes them as such.

Mesopotamia with its great steppes was the first object of their invasion, and thence they encroached on Babylonia. They thus came from the north, like the "Canaanites" and "Babylonian Semites." We have already seen that they waged successful wars against the Babylonian king, Nabu-mukin-apli, at a period probably soon after their capture of Pitru from the Assyrians, and we have met references to them as "Aramæan tribes" at the time of the Assyrian supremacy in Babylon under Tiglath-pileser IV. and his successors. The advance of the Chaldæans from the south checked their further progress. Besides this, it can be clearly traced how the tribes which pushed on before them, and were certainly closely akin to them, hindered their expansion in these districts. These are the Sutu, whom we have found under Ashur-uballit and Kadashman-kharbe still in possession of the Syrian desert. They were forced by the Aramæans toward Babylonia, which we now know they overran and ravaged in the reign of Adad-aplu-iddina, the contemporary of Ashur-bel-kala. They were afterwards driven to the left bank of the Tigris, up to the mountains in the west of Elam, where they still remained at the time of Sargon. Still later, after the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib, in 689 B.C., we find them raiding Babylonia. Thus even in the eighth and the early part of the seventh century the sequence of the Sutu and Aramæans in Babylonia is clearly recognisable. Just as these tribes first came into the country at the time when the Kassites were able to establish their power owing to the weakness of Babylonia, so, after 1100, when neither Assyria nor Babylonia could offer any vigorous resistance to them, their expansion was all the easier. This period covers the above-mentioned devastation of Babylonia by the Sutu; and we must also include the advance into Babylonia of the Aramæan tribes which afterward settled there.

At the same time they occupied Mesopotamia, which lay still more open to them. As soon as our sources of information upon the history of Assyria are again available, we find Aramæan settlements there and a predominantly Aramæan population. The language of the land of Suri then became Aramaic, and the terms "Syrians" and "Aramæans," originally completely distinct, became gradually synonymous. We must picture to ourselves that the century after Tiglath-pileser was filled by numerous settlements of this class in Mesopotamia. The Assyrian kings must have offered some opposition to the Aramæan occupation. On the whole, we may conclude that the fortunes of war fluctuated greatly in the struggle, and that its course may be compared to the typical case of the Chaldæans in Babylonia.



ON THE EUPHRATES, ONE OF THE TWO GREAT RIVERS OF MESOPOTAMIA



THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

ALTHOUGH Babylon and Assyria were not in a position to protect Mesopotamia against the Aramæan migration, they could still dispute its possession. We have seen that Babylon, after the reign of Tiglath-pileser, was superior to Assyria; and this relation appears to have lasted up to the beginning of the "Chaldæan dynasty." So soon as we again have Assyrian records, this question has already been settled once for all; from this time onward every Assyrian king, to the end of the Assyrian empire, probably included Mesopotamia within the limits of his dominions.

The names of the next kings, whose succession is now unbroken, are: Tiglath-pileser III., about 950; Ashurdan II., about 930; and Adad-nirari III. With the reign of the last-named, the "Eponym Canon"—the *limu* list—begins; this document gives a list of the Assyrian Eponyms, *limu*, by which the separate years were dated. Henceforth, to nearly the end of the kingdom, each year of Assyrian history can be verified by its *limu*.

At this period, Mesopotamia has become an integral part of the Assyrian empire, and Harran and Ashur are the capitals of the two divisions of the country. The one division is completely occupied by an Aramæan population, which, even in the old towns, must have caused the same annoyance to the old population as the Chaldæans did to the Babylonians; it also included a number of Aramæan states, the princes of which used every opportunity to assert their independence or to win the sovereignty for themselves. Thus near Harran is an Aramæan state, Bit-Adini, a counterpart to the Edessa of the Crusaders; similarly, near Babylon is the Chaldæan Bit-Dakuri, and we shall learn of others in the time of Ashurnasirpal. The subjugation of these settlements and tribes formed, therefore, the immediate task of Assyria, which did not intend to be at the mercy of any ambitious prince.

Mesopotamia Becomes Assyrian



COLOSSAL LION FROM THE PALACE OF ASHURNASIRPAL AT KALKHI

Adad-nirari III. was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninib II., who reigned from 890 to 885. The latter, on an expedition to the "Nairi country" had an inscription carved by the side of that of Tiglath-pileser I. at the natural tunnel on the Subnat. The same thing was also done by Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser II., his son and his grandson. Tukulti-Ninib was afterwards solicitous to secure the districts of Assyria which had been colonised by Shalmaneser and won back by Tiglath-pileser. Under Ashurnasirpal their possession was secured.

Campaigns of Ashurnasirpal

With Ashurnasirpal, or Ashur-nasir-apli II., who ruled from 885 to 860, our sources of information once more become abundant. We possess several very long inscriptions, which describe his campaigns in detail. He it was who reduced Mesopotamia to order, and put an end to the independence of the Aramæan princes. He abolished the feudal system, and carried out the principle of provincial administration. His accounts of these achievements give us an insight into the conditions of the country.

In 884 B.C., his first full year of sovereignty, an insurrection broke out in the Aramæan state Bit-Khadippi, or Bit-Khalupi, on the Lower Khabur. There the prince, who was an adherent of Assyria, and had there ore been conquered at some earl'er period, had been killed, and a prince

had been summoned from the adjoining Bit-Adini, near Harran, who was a sworn enemy of Assyria. Ashurnasirpal was on the Euphrates in Kummukh, and he hastened to Bit-Khadippi. While he was on his way the Aramæan princes



A UNIQUE STATUE OF ASHURNASIRPAL
This fine statue of one of Assyria's most famous kings is of interest because it is the only statue carved in the round which has been found out of many hundred sculptures.

of Shadikanna, or Gardikanna, and Shuna hastened to show their submission by payment of tribute. On his arrival, Sura, the capital of Bit-Khadippi, submitted, and surrendered its prince, Akhiiababa, but did not escape severe punishment.

The course of this insurrection is typical of most of the struggles of Assyria with these Aramæans, as with other tribes in a similar position. If a favourable opportunity presented itself, they sought alliance with others, and suspended the payment of tribute, but they seldom offered resistance to an Assyrian army. On the right bank of the Euphrates, beginning with Syria, and extending as far as Babylonia, Ashurnasirpal was acquainted with three such semi-nomadic peoples as a result of the Aramæan immigration—namely, the peoples of Laki, Khindanu (around the lower reaches of the Khabur), and Sukhi. They were subjugated in various campaigns. We have already seen that Babylonia interfered in the war with Sukhi. Generally speaking, none of these insurrections were undertaken recklessly, but in reliance upon the powerful aid afforded by Babylonia. Babylon was trying thus to regain her influence over Mesopotamia, and abandoned the attempt only when the whole country was subject to Assyria.

The most formidable opponent was the prince Akhuni of Bit-Adini, the Aramæan state which abutted on the territory of Harran and commanded Northern Mesopotamia. Most of the rebellions of the small states on the Khabur were the result of his instigation. Ashurnasirpal, as soon as he had restored tranquillity on the Khabur and on the Euphrates, turned his arms against him in 878 B.C. Akhuni submitted, as also his ally, Khabini of Til-abnaia. These districts were again traversed in the Syrian campaign of the following year, and tribute was enforced; Akhuni was compelled even to supply



ASHURNASIRPAL AND SERVITORS
From a beautiful painted tile from the king's palace at Kalkhi. It retains all its colours, even after 2,700 years.

troops. At that time Aramæan princes on the other side of the Euphrates, from the most northerly part of Syria, paid tribute. The Aramæan expeditions were not difficult or costly wars, for the restless Bedouins had already become peaceable



Mansell

Ashurnasirpal's reign of twenty-five years was almost one long record of wars. These scenes are from Nineveh bas-reliefs. The one at the top shows the Assyrian army crossing a river, the horses swimming and men in boats or on inflated skins, which they blow out themselves. The next three show the king receiving prisoners, returning triumphant from battle, and directing the operations of a siege from his chariot.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF ASHURNASIRPAL FROM NINEVEH'S MONUMENTS

peasants and readily submitted to any large army sent against them.

Ashurnasirpal had conducted most of his campaigns in the north against the Nairi country, where his object was to recover and to secure the old possessions of Assyria. In the districts west and south of Mons Masius, the Assyrian colonists who had been ill-treated by the surrounding population, and had fled to the mountains, were brought back, and the province of Tushkha was once more secured. In the same part, Tela, which was inhabited by Assyrians and had revolted, was punished with barbarous severity; a like fate befell the disloyal governor Khulai, who had wished to occupy Damdamusa. Some other expeditions were led over the Tigris still farther into the Nairi country. He also advanced on the other side of Arbela toward Lake Urumiya, where the most important countries subdued were Khubushkia, Zamua, and Gilzan.

Expedition to Phœnicia

When, like Tiglath-pileser I., he had attained his immediate object, he undertook an expedition into Phœnicia in 877 B.C. Starting from Bit-Adini, which had been subdued, the king crossed the Euphrates on rafts of inflated sheepskins, a method still employed at the present day, and marched on the left bank down stream to Carchemish, "the capital of the Khatti country." Sangara, "king of the Khatti country," paid tribute and furnished his contingent for the army. The Syrian state of Patini, now occupied by Aramæans, which comprised the district north of the lake of Antioch, the so-called Amq, and stretched farther south to the Orontes, adjoined the district of Carchemish on the west. Khazazi was first conquered, and when the Assyrian army, after crossing the Afrin, advanced to Kunulua, the capital, the king, Lubarna, or Liburna, submitted, paid tribute, and furnished troops for the rest of the campaign. Gusi, prince of the Aramæan state Iakhani, near Arpad, did the same.

The march was continued from Kunulua over the western stream of the Amq, the Kara-su, and then southward, the Orontes being crossed below the lake. Here, in the most northerly hinterland of the Phœnician coast, which had belonged to Patini and was called "Lukhuti," Ashurnasirpal founded an Assyrian colony, following the example of Shalmaneser I. in Nairi. He then marched farther south along the sea, where a sacrifice was offered to the gods. The spot was probably near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, where one of the weather-worn Assyrian reliefs which may still be seen there may perhaps represent the monument erected by Ashurnasirpal to commemorate his victory. Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, Tyre, and the Amorites in the hinterland sent tribute.

Assyrian Triumphs in Phœnicia

Another division had been sent northward to the Amanus, in order to fell cedar-trees there for buildings in Nineveh. Tyre is the most southern state of which mention is made. The Omri dynasty was then reigning in Israel, and the movements of the Assyrian army must have been watched and carefully followed by it. Ashurnasirpal did not, however, venture to penetrate further, for the more southern districts either paid tribute to Damascus or were under its protectorate. Ashurnasirpal did not venture on a quarrel with this powerful state. Since he feared it, he makes no allusion to it in his inscriptions; and he demanded tribute only from such towns and cities as were not subject to the influence of its king. In other respects the expedition of Ashurnasirpal was nearly a repetition of that of Tigiath-pileser I., which he evidently took as his model.



AN ENTRANCE TO ASHURNASIRPAL'S PALACE

Colossal human-headed winged lions or bulls were set at entrances to Assyrian palaces or temples to guard against evil-working deities.

We must regard the steps taken to secure Mesopotamia as the most valuable result of his reign. As Shalmaneser I. had done before

im, so he, in accordance with the ltered conditions, removed his capital rom Ashur once more to Kalkhi, where is palace, the "North-west palace," as been excavated by Layard; he also onstructed an aqueduct from the Zab, which brought water to the city.

His successor, Shalmaneser II., who eigned from 860 to 825 B.C., continued he work of his father from the point where the latter left off. His success in Babylonia has been already described. In Mesopotamia he confiscated most of the fiefs of the conquered Aramæan princes and placed them under Assyrian administration; in the north he subjugated the same districts as his father, and made fresh conquests; finally, in Syria he ventured to attack Damascus, a step which his father had so carefully avoided.



AN OBJECTIVE IN ASSYRIA'S PHŒNICIAN EXPEDITIONS

Assyrian kings invading Phœnicia came to the mouth of this river, the Nahr-el-Kelb, and carved on the rocks here inscriptions or bas-reliefs of themselves.

The first years of the reign of Shalmaneser II. were devoted to the affairs of Mesopotamia. In three campaigns, between 859 and 857 B.C., Akhuni of Bit-Adini, who had again rebelled, was defeated, and his territory was forfeited and made a province, and partly colonised by Assyrians. A similar fate befell another Aramæan prince, Giammu, in the Belikh valley in 854 B.C. Thus, all independent government of the Aramæans in Mesopotamia ceased; they became Assyrian subjects.

Shalmaneser Invades Syria

For Shalmaneser, as for Ashurnasirpal, the next step after the conquest of Mesopotamia was naturally the occupation of Syria, and, if possible, of Palestine. His father had subjugated the northern part, Patini; it now remained to conquer the state which the former had avoided, and which ruled all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. In 854 Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates near Til-Barsip, which had recently been Akhuni's capital, and was then the seat of an Assyrian governor, and marched in a southerly direction towards Pitru, which had also been retaken from the Aramæans and placed under Assyrian government. There he received the tribute of the Syrian princes, who had voluntarily submitted or had already been reduced to submission. They were Sangar of Carchemish, who in 877 had done homage to Ashurnasirpal; Kundaspi of Kummukh; Arame of Gusi; Lalli of Melitene—also already tributary to Ashurnasirpal; Khaiani of Gabar-Sam'al; and Kalparunda of Patini and Gurgum—the two latter, in the district of Senjirli, princes of parts of what was formerly Patini. Thence the expedition advanced to Aleppo, which offered no resistance, and Shalmaneser sacrificed to Hadad, the god of the city.

Thence marching in a southerly direction, he reached the sphere of influence of Damascus, the borders of Hamath, where Irkhulini, the prince, was allied with King Bir-idri of Damascus, or paid him tribute. Bir-idri with his army met him near Karkar in the vicinity of Hamath. Among the vassals who had to obey the call to arms are mentioned: Irkhulini of Hamath, Ahab of Israel, the princes of Kue or Cilicia, Musri, Irqana, Matin-baal of Arvad, the princes of Usana, Siana, the North Phœnicians, Gindibu of the Arabians, who are first mentioned here, and Ba'sa of Ammon. Shalmaneser, of course, claimed a splendid victory; but the result of the battle was his withdrawal to Assyria and a continuation of the power of Damascus in its full extent. Since in 852–1 Babylonian affairs prevented any immediate renewal of hostilities, no action was taken until the year 849 B.C., when the results were equally trifling. Shalmaneser fared no better in the succeeding year, 848, when he invaded Hamath from the Amanus—

Attack on Damascus

that is to say, from the tributary country of Patini—won a similar "victory," and was obliged to return to Assyria once more without having achieved any real results. Damascus had thus proved to be a well-matched rival; the Assyrian army had to fight against a thoroughly disciplined force, and not against the levies of an uncivilised tribe. Shalmaneser, however, was only incited to greater efforts to overthrow this rival, whose defeat would secure him all Syria and Palestine. Three years later he undertook another expedition, having this time raised levies "of the land"—that is to say, he recruited his force among the hardy peasant population of Assyria. But his rival placed an unusually strong force in the field; and the "victory" of Shalmaneser was of the same character as the earlier ones which his inscriptions record.

He first gained a definite success when there was a change of sovereigns at Damascus, and he was thus able to win the vassals partly over to his side. Biridri was dead, and Hazael had become king of Damascus; meanwhile in Israel a revolution had set Jehu on the throne, and he looked to Assyria for support. Damascus now stood entirely alone. We have frequently noticed how the death of a king is the signal for a universal defection of his vassals. Hazael was dependent, therefore, on his own resources. Shalmaneser advanced from the north along the coast, in order to attack Damascus from the side of Beirut, where he had an image of himself cut in the face of the rock near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb. Hazael tried to bar his passage between Hermon and the Antilebanon, but failed to check him, and was forced to retire behind the walls of Damascus. Shalmaneser besieged the city for some time, but obtained no success. It was not the mud walls of an ordinary provincial town which resisted his battering-rams. He had to be content with laying waste the open country as far as the Hauran, and then to withdraw homeward with the indemnity which Tyre and Sidon always paid, and the homage of Jehu. Even a sixth attempt, in 839 B.C., met with no better results, and Damascus preserved her independence. The state thus continued to exist which blocked Assyria's road to Palestine. The whole course of Israelitish history was determined by this fact. For the next hundred years Israel and Judah remained under the influence of Damascus; and when finally Damascus fell, in 731 B.C., the fate of Israel also was sealed.



Elephant and apes from Musri or Bactria.



Shawls and vessels from Kalparunda of Patini.



Ambassadors of Jehu, king of Israel.



Shalmaneser and ambassadors from Gilzan.

TRIBUTE TO SHALMANESER II.

Above are represented scenes from the famous Black Obelisk set up by Shalmaneser II. at Kalkhi, or Nimrud.

Shalmaneser made no further attack on Damascus after 839; Israel and the rest of Palestine were, therefore, left to themselves to deal with Damascus. Although Cœle-Syria and Palestine had temporarily escaped the Assyrian power, a further conquest of Northern Syria and a wider expansion towards Asia Minor remained to be effected. Melitene, Patini, and Amq had acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy; but now Shalmaneser advanced over the Amanus and into the district of the Taurus. Kue, or Cilicia, had been at first tributary to Damascus; it was now, in 840, 835, and 834, subjugated, and at Tarsus Kirri was made king in the



Mansell

USE OF THE HORSE IN ASSYRIAN WARFARE

Before the time of Ashurnasirpal the Assyrian army consisted only of the archers, slingers, spearmen, sappers, and charioteers, who have been illustrated in earlier pages. In his campaigns he introduced the horsed archers, shown in the bas-relief from which the top picture is reproduced. A very typical horsed chariot, with driver, archer, and shield-bearers is shown in the middle, while the third represents chariots and cavalry in action in one of Ashurnasirpal's many battles. The vigorous movement which the Assyrian sculptor has suggested in this sculpture is very striking.

room of his brother Kate. To the north of the Taurus tribute was demanded from the Tabul, who were governed by their own chiefs, and thus the circle of Assyrian vassal states from Cilicia over the Taurus as far as Melitene was completed.

Wars Against Urartu

The district of Malatia (Khanigalbat) formed part of the Armenian highlands, and was, therefore, the next object of attack by a power advancing in that direction. It had been secured for Assyria under Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser, and Ashurnasirpal, who had already conducted campaigns up to Lake Van. Since in the north of this country some approximation to a united state had been achieved in Urartu, with its capital on Lake Van, Shalmaneser made war upon its kings. By 857 he had once more marched through the districts south of the Upper Euphrates, namely, Alzi, Zamani, and Anzitene, and on the other side of the Arsanias Sukhme and Daiaeni, which had been subject to his predecessors, Shalmaneser I. and Tiglath-pileser. He invaded the territory of Urartu from this point, and King Arame withdrew into the interior. A statue of Shalmaneser was erected near Lake Van, and the march continued through the eastern passes past Gilzan and Khubushkia to Arbael. New expeditions were undertaken in 850 and 845 B.C.; and during these latter the inscriptions of Shalmaneser at the tunnel on the Subnat were probably carved.

Meanwhile, that change of monarchy in Armenia must have occurred which brought to the throne the powerful dynasty that had its seat at Turushpa on Lake Van—the modern Van—and from that centre founded the mighty kingdom of Urartu. This state caused much trouble to the kings of Assyria in the succeeding years, and contested with them the supremacy in Syria. The defection of Lalla of Malatia in the year 837 is certainly to be traced to the efforts of these kings. Four years later an Assyrian army was sent to the Arsanias in order, it would seem, to reoccupy the districts of Sukhme and Daiaeni, which are situated on its right bank; Sarduri I., the new king of Urartu, was therefore clearly advancing. In 829 a new expedition, this time from the other side, was attempted through the passes of Gilzan and Khubushkia. Musasir, a state to the south-west of Lake Urumiya, was sacked, and a part of Urartu met the same fate. But the Assyrians did not obtain any decisive results here; on the contrary, the power of the new state grew continually during subsequent years, and from the time of Adad-nirari onward Assyria was ousted more and more from these regions. The kings of Urartu encroached on Mesopotamia and Syria, until they were driven back to their highlands under Tiglath-pileser IV.

Armenian Influence in Syria

While Ashurnasirpal's frontier on the east and south-east had been the Zab, Shalmaneser advanced against the districts between Lake Urumiya and the plain of the Tigris, which had often in earlier times been subject to the Assyrian supremacy, but were now more influenced by Babylon. In 860 B.C. an expedition was made into the passes of Holvan, and in 844 a similar one to Namri, the south-western districts of Media. An advance was made in 836 against the prince of Bit-Khamban, who had been installed there; then the march was continued farther northward to Parsua, on the east of Lake Urumiya. Here chiefs of the Medes, who are mentioned for the first time in this connection, brought their tribute, when the advance was continued in a southerly direction to Karkar, east of Holvan. The districts of Kirkhi and Khubushkia, which lay to the south of Lakes Van and Urumiya, and had been already traversed by Ashurnasirpal, were also subjugated, and the Mannai, on the western shore, as well as Gilzan, to the north of Lake Urumiya, were punished.

Extending the Eastern Frontiers

Shalmaneser's successes in Babylonia have been spoken of in the section on Babylonian history. The close connection with Babylonia and the growth of its influence caused the great rebellion which broke out toward the end of his reign. The peasant class of Assyria must have suffered by the wars, while Babylonia, as the seat of the hierarchy, was able to exert a strong influence upon the priestly and religious classes. Almost the whole of Assyria and the Assyrian provinces, headed by the former capital, Ashur, which had naturally lost much by the change of royal residence, now revolted. Of the important towns, only the capital, Kalkhi, and Harran, the chief city of Mesopotamia, where Shalmaneser had built the temple of Sin, remained loyal;

and it would appear that Shalmaneser found a refuge in Northern Babylonia, which indeed belonged to him. The leader of the rebellion was Ashur-danin-apli, Shalmaneser's son, who maintained his position for at least six years (829–824), and at this time probably bore the title "King of Assyria," since he was in possession of the ancient capital.

Shalmaneser died in 825 B.C., and his son, Shamshi-Adad IV., who at first only possessed Mesopotamia, at length succeeded in subduing Assyria between 825 and 812. An inscription of his, which has been recovered, furnishes an account of his career to his fourth campaign, which was directed against Babylonia. The first expedition he records was to Nairi, and in connection with it he refers to the homage offered him by the entire Assyrian empire from its northern to its southern frontiers, and from the eastern frontier as far as the Euphrates. The second campaign was directed against the Nairi country, through the district between Lakes Van and Urumiya, in the course of which a part of Urartu was laid waste. The third expedition advanced in the same direction, and then was led further to the territory of the Mannai, and round Lake Urumiya up to Parsua; thence it went in a south-easterly direction through Media, probably to Holvan. A large number of Median districts are enumerated in the account of this campaign. The fourth campaign was that against Babylon; the narrative breaks off after recording Shamshi-Adad's victory over Marduk-balatsu-iqbi.

The Eponym Chronicle

From the reign of Shamshi-Adad onward, we possess a new source of information which serves as an invaluable guide for the following period: a fragment of it actually deals with the beginning and the end of the reign of Shalmaneser II. This is the Eponym Chronicle, a Limu list, to which short notes are added recording the most important event of each year, usually a campaign; it is especially valuable for the ensuing period down to Tiglath-pileser IV., from which we have few other inscriptions. We possess some short inscriptions by Adad-nirari IV., between 812 and 783 B.C., which give a general survey of his campaigns, and are supplemented by the accounts of the Eponym Chronicle. On the whole, they represent him as continuing the conquests of his predecessors, or of winning back territories which had become rebellious. He made hardly any important conquests. Among countries in the east which were subject to him he mentions Ellipi (bordering on Elam), also Karkar and Araziash up to Parsua, known from the time of Shalmaneser, and Andia, adjacent to Parsua, on the north-east. He also received tribute from Median chiefs. Three expeditions to Khubushkia and the Nairi country are enumerated, and two to the territory of the Mannai. He did not, however, venture on a further advance against Urartu, which continued to develop its power. He met with some successes in Syria. In 806 and 805 expeditions to Arpad and Azaz are mentioned, and in 797 another to a Syrian town, Mansuate. We may connect with these expeditions the notice that Mari, king of Damascus, paid tribute; perhaps the accession of a new king at Damascus was the cause. Adad-nirari also mentions among tributary states, Tyre and Sidon, Israel, which thus still held to Assyria, and Edom and Philistia, which last were recent additions to the empire. This list points to a preponderant Assyrian influence in Palestine, and thus to a decay of the power of Damascus. As long as Damascus remained independent, it was always a bulwark for all districts lying south of it. Adad-nirari's relations to Babylonia have been already described in an earlier section.

Tributes to Assyria's Power

For the following period we have no more royal inscriptions, and are, therefore, entirely dependent on the accounts of the Eponym Chronicle. The lack of inscriptions in itself points to a period of weakness, and this is confirmed by the facts which we are able to establish. On the whole, for the next forty years, the kings of Assyria were fully occupied with the task of retaining the territory that had been won. Indeed, in this they were not always successful, for we shall see that in the revival of prosperity under Tiglath-pileser much had first to be won back again. This is especially true of the territories which lay within the sphere of influence of the new kingdom of Urartu. Assyria, when once she ceased to attack, was herself attacked; hence the changed attitude of Armenia, where the kings, especially Menuas, extended their power toward the south, and deprived Assyria of the Nairi country as well as the districts

A Period of Weakness

of Northern Assyria. Shalmaneser III., who reigned between 783 and 773 B.C., was obliged to wage defensive wars, principally against Urartu; no fewer than six of his ten campaigns were directed against the incessant encroachments of this rival. There does not seem to have been so much lost toward the east, on the borders of Media, for there he had to deal mostly with barbarian states without a firm organisation. Expeditions are recorded to Namri in 749 and 748, and one in 766 against the Medes.

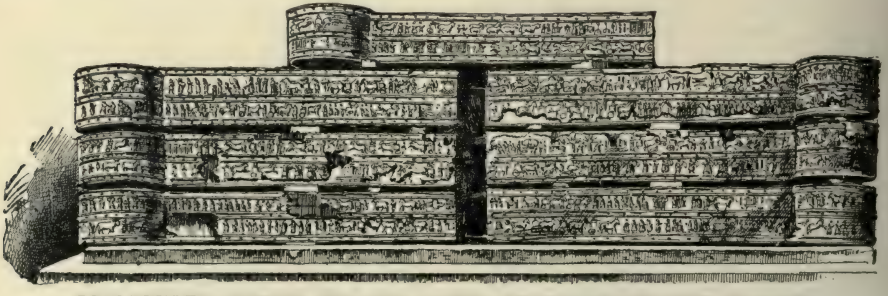
Aggression of Armenia

The next king was Ashur-dan III., from 773 to 755 B.C., who conducted several campaigns in Syria; the first in 773, against Damascus, the second against Khatarikka, to the north of it. He twice marched into Babylonia, in 771 and 767; and we may therefore conclude that he attempted to oppose the Chaldæans there. In the second half of his reign his kingdom was convulsed by a shock which was destined to destroy the fabric of tributary states so laboriously reared. A rebellion broke out in the year 763 B.C., which in succeeding years continued to spread from place to place, and must gradually have affected a large portion of the empire. The Eponym Chronicle puts before this year—the year when the chronicle records the solar eclipse, which forms a fixed point in ancient chronology—a mark of division, as at the beginning of a new reign; for, since the rebellion broke out in Ashur, a rival king was probably proclaimed there.

What the actual cause of the revolt may have been is not stated, but it is not difficult to conjecture, since the rebellion started in the ancient capital of the empire. If we reflect how Tiglath-pileser chose Kalkhi again as a residence, and Sargon, on the contrary, restored the privileges of Ashur, we may conclude that the movement originated with the priesthood, whose privileges were infringed by the removal of the royal residence. The rebellion was suppressed, it is true; but the next king, Ashur-nirari, from 754 to 746 B.C., seems to have been subject to the influence of its promoters, for the first act of his reign was the removal of the court back to Ashur in 754, if this change had not already taken place in the reign of Ashur-dan himself. The act signified a victory of the hierarchy over the source of Assyria's strength, the army. The monarchy, by ignoring the wishes of the latter, the only support of its power in Assyria, voluntarily weakened its position in 754 B.C.

Priesthood Destroys the Empire

Ashur-nirari reigned eight years, to each of which (with one exception) the note "in the land" is appended in the Eponym Chronicle—that is to say, the king remained in Assyria and no expedition was undertaken in that year. However, for the last year, 746 B.C., the chronicle records, "rebellion in Kalkhi"; and in the course of the following year Tiglath-pileser IV. mounted the throne. We possess inscriptions of his which show that he resided in Kalkhi, and was not of the royal stock. We may therefore conclude that he was placed upon the throne by a military rebellion in Kalkhi. Ashur-nirari, who resided at Ashur under the influence of the priesthood, was the last king of his house.



SCULPTURED HINGES OF THE GATES OF SHALMANESER'S PALACE

Two of the gates to the palace of Shalmaneser IV., at Balawat, had broad hinges of bronze, the bands of which ran across the gates. They were embossed and engraved with scenes from the many campaigns of the king.



THE NEW EMPIRE OF ASSYRIA

WITH Tiglath-pileser IV., who ruled from 745 to 728 B.C., a fresh epoch of Assyrian history opens, a new era of prosperity which raised Assyria to the supremacy in Nearer Asia. He really laid the foundations of the glory of Assyria. This is the age when Assyria subdued Damascus and Palestine, and thus interfered in the history of that small people whose sacred books preserved the name of Assyria for two thousand years, when other records of its history lay buried in the earth, and no one even knew what language had been spoken by these lords of Nearer Asia.

We must distinguish three theatres of war in the reign of Tiglath-pileser: Babylonia, where his successes have been already described; the North, where he had to fight with the now powerful Urartu; and Syria-Palestine, where Damascus, far from being crushed, had, on the contrary, been able in the interval of Assyria's weakness to regain its strength, and had since the last war in 773 discontinued the payment of tribute.

Beginnings of Assyria's Glory

After the Babylonian campaign in his first year, 745 B.C., and another in Western Media in the following year, war was begun in 742 against Sarduri II. of Armenia. The latter had, in the meantime, made continual advances, had subdued Melitene and Kummukh, or Commagene, and even Gurgumi, the northern part of the former Patini, and had compelled their kings to pay tribute to him and not to Assyria. He had then entered into friendly relations with Mati-il of Agusi, who had either already occupied Arpad—an expedition had been sent there in 754—or wished to do so, in order to found a kingdom there for himself. According to the Eponym Chronicle, Tiglath-pileser was actually near Arpad, and was therefore marching against Mati-il, when an Armenian army under Sarduri invaded Mesopotamia. It was defeated in the country of Kummukh. Sarduri was pursued to "the bridge of the Euphrates, the boundary of his land," and thus a check was put, for a time, on his advance towards Mesopotamia; further operations against him had to be deferred until a later occasion. The three following years were filled up by expeditions "to Arpad." Mati-il must, therefore, have shown a vigorous resistance. After his fall most of the Syrian princes paid tribute — namely, Kustaspi of Kummukh and Tarkhulara of Gurgumi, who thus seceded from Urartu, Rasunnu of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, the prince of Kue, and Pisiris of Carchemish. Assyria's supremacy in Syria was therefore restored in these three years, while the influence of Urartu was destroyed. Only a part of Patini, Unqi—that is, Amq—together with the capital Kinalia, or Kunulua, offered resistance; its prince, Tutammu, lost his throne, and this part of the country became an Assyrian province.

Syria under Tribute

The next year saw an expedition to Ulluba, one of the Nairi countries; it also was placed under an Assyrian governor. The object of this movement was naturally to strike a blow at Armenia, from which this territory had been taken. On the side of Armenia the country was secured by fortresses against attack. In 738 B.C. another expedition was made to one of the districts of Patini. Azriau, prince of Iaudi, close by Senjirli, had revolted; his town, Kullani, was taken. This event threw its shadow as far as Israel and Judah, where Isaiah held up the conquest of "Kalno" as a warning to the Jews. A number of North Phœnician districts — the same region where once Ashurnasirpal had founded his Assyrian colony Aribua, and which now belonged to Hamath—had joined Azriau, and incurred the penalty of being annexed. The Assyrian province of Simarra was constituted out of them, and stretched from the Orontes to the district of Gebal, but did not include that city or Arvad, which remained independent. This new Phœnician province, which received fresh

Assyria in Phœnicia

additions in the year 733, was assigned to Shalmaneser, son of Tiglath-pileser. In this way part of the "foreland" of Damascus became Assyrian. Damascus itself, as well as the remaining Syrian and Phœnician states, Kummukh, Carchemish, Samal, Gurgumi in Amq, Hamath, Kue, Gebal, Tyre, and Menahem of Israel, paid tribute; the last, as may be assumed from the biblical narrative, did so only when a part of his dominions had been taken away from him. The wider circle of the tributary states which had once been bound to Shalmaneser—namely, Melitene, Kasku, Tabal, and the principalities of Cappadocia and Cilicia—paid tribute once more. The Assyrian king, as the feudal lord of Damascus, received presents from Zabibi, queen of the Arabians.

Tribute from Arabia

In the years 737 and 736 B.C. expeditions were led to Media and Nairi, with the object of completely crushing the influence of Urartu; and in the ensuing year this great rival was finally attacked in his own country. Urartu was traversed. Tiglath-pileser besieged the citadel of Turushpa, or Van, but without success, and had to be contented with erecting a royal statue there in view of the besieged. He annexed the southern part of Urartu, and united it to the province of Nairi. He thus struck an undeniably heavy blow at Urartu, and placed a strong obstacle in the way of any renewed advance by fortifying the frontier provinces. Urartu's dominion over Syria and Nairi was thus ended. But the country did not entirely relinquish its schemes of conquest until its power was broken up by Sargon, and at the same time a dangerous antagonist appeared on the other side in the Cimmerians.



TIGLATH-PILESER IV. IN HIS CHARIOT

His reign opened a new era of prosperity, which raised Assyria to the supremacy in Western Asia and laid the foundations of its glory.

Damascus had continued to pay tribute. But it is always noticeable that the position of tributary to Assyria was never permanent. On the one hand, the sums exacted were so large that only force could wring them from the feudal princes; on the other hand, the conditions formed a constant incentive to revolt as soon as there appeared to be any prospect of success. Very often also there may have been an intention on the part of Assyria to force tributary states into revolt, in order to have a pretext to annex them as provinces; we may compare the policy of the Romans toward their *socii*. The year 734 saw an expedition to Philistia, where Ascalon was brought under Assyrian rule. We have already noted that all Palestine was obliged to follow the destinies of Damascus. Soon afterwards, however, Damascus seems to have shaken off the yoke. The pretext for interference was given by the appeal for help of Ahaz of Judah, whom Rassunu, or Resin, and his vassal Pekah were besieging in Jerusalem, in order to force him to join an alliance aimed against Assyria. Tyre was also privy to it, and there seem to have been hopes of help from Egypt. In the year 733 B.C. Tiglath-pileser arrived before Damascus. In Israel, Pekah, on the approach of the Assyrians, fell a victim to a revolt of the Assyrian party, and in his place Hoshea, the leader of this party, was appointed king. This opportune outbreak deprived Tiglath-pileser of an excuse for annexing the country, and thus a respite of ten or twelve years was purchased, after which this destiny was to be fulfilled. Damascus, as on previous occasions, offered a stout resistance; but it fell at last, and became an Assyrian province in 732 B.C. Israel, whose territory even before this had been much curtailed, was now directly bounded by an Assyrian province: the state which had hitherto dominated it in the sphere of politics, and had been its leader in the development of culture, was administered by an Assyrian governor. Tyre also, which had joined in the cause, made peace on the approach of an Assyrian army; a rich trading town, it was well able to pay tribute.

Israel Bounded by Assyria



TIGLATH-PILESER REMOVING SPOIL FROM A CAPTURED CITY Mansell

The seventeen years' reign of Tiglath-pileser IV. was almost entirely taken up with his three series of campaigns in Babylonia, Armenia, and in Syria and Palestine, in all of which he was successful. Bas-relief in British Museum.

The next years were devoted to the conquest of Babylonia and Babylon, which has already been described. Tiglath-pileser reigned for two years as king of Babylon; in the year 728 he died, and was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser IV., who reigned from 727 to 722 B.C. His reign is merely a continuation of that of Tiglath-pileser, whose policy he seems to have followed consistently. We do not possess any detailed inscriptions of his time. Samaria, in his reign, found itself compelled once more to suspend payment of tribute; but the expected help from Egypt was not forthcoming, and after a three years' siege the town was captured and made the seat of an Assyrian governor. The Assyrian frontier now ran a little north of Jerusalem.

Shalmaneser died before the fall of Samaria, so that its capture was effected by his successor, Sargon. Sargon, like Tiglath-pileser IV., was the founder of a new dynasty; he had been made king by a reaction against that movement which had brought the former to the throne. His account of the measures of his predecessors, which he superseded, throws light upon the nature of this movement, of which we have already found traces in the revolutions of Ashur-danin-apli and of the year 763 B.C.

Source of Assyria's Weakness

Tiglath-pileser had, according to this account, endeavoured to restrict the excessive influence of the priesthood and the favoured position of the great cities. These had possessed the most extensive privileges and had enjoyed immunity from almost every burden. If we consider the fact that the greater part of the land belonged to them, we shall realise that the national revenue must have diminished more and more; and we shall understand why the Assyrian kingdom, in the end, became so impotent. Even the attitude



EVACUATION OF A CITY CAPTURED BY TIGLATH-PILESER Mansell

An interesting bas-relief, now in the British Museum, showing Assyrian scribes taking account of the spoil, and women and children being removed in bullock-carts. Note the disused battering-ram against the wall at the left.

of the Assyrian kings towards Babylonia was regulated by their views upon this subject. Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal acted energetically; Sargon and Esarhaddon favoured Babylon, where the system of privileged priests and towns flourished, to which this weakness was due. Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser tried to put an end to it, and in so doing they must have relied to some extent upon the peasant class, or what was left of it. Obviously we need not for that reason regard them as benefactors of the "small man;" they were concerned only in having subjects that could pay their taxes and perform their duties. They understood, however, that a monarchy which was propped upon the towns and the priesthood could maintain its existence only so long as it had advantages to offer them.

Town versus Country

Henceforward we can trace how the two parties in Assyria worked against each other. Evidence of the struggle may be seen in the series of forcible depositions of the reigning king. It is obvious that a *rapprochement* of the privileged towns and temples was in reality no benefit to the country population. The real point at issue was indeed the contrast between country and town; but the country was mainly represented by the nobility, who to some extent had the army at their disposal. Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser were thus under their influence. Sargon, elevated to the throne by a reaction, favoured the towns and temples, to which he restored their privileges. Sennacherib, again, represented the interests of the nobility and army, as is shown by his attitude towards Babylon. He was murdered, and the Babylonian hierarchical party won the day with Esarhaddon. A revolution broke out when Esarhaddon wished to secure the power to his son Shamash-shum-ukin, who held the same views as himself; and with Ashur-banipal the Assyrian nobility were again victorious. These were the two currents which henceforth determined the course of Assyrian history; on Tiglath-pileser's accession they had produced a sharply defined and conscious opposition.

Nobility and the Hierarchy

Thus, in the year 722 B.C., when Shalmaneser died, we suddenly find Sargon on the throne. He was unable to point to any royal ancestors; but he became the progenitor of the royal house under which Assyria reached the zenith of her power, and then rapidly sank. In domestic affairs his reign was the counterpart to that of Tiglath-pileser, while his foreign policy was dictated by the desire to continue the operations of the latter and to execute the schemes which he had been compelled to leave unfinished. We have already seen that his instrument for carrying out these operations differed from that of his predecessors; henceforth the Assyrian army consists of mercenaries collected from every country and province—completely at the disposal of the king so long as he can provide them with pay and booty, but immediately refusing to fight if these are not forthcoming. From Sargon's time onward the "royal" army is the instrument by which Assyria keeps the East in subjection. The sovereign power in Assyria has therefore devolved on the administration—which, according to Oriental custom, is equivalent to the extortion—of the nobility and priesthood; an Assyrian people, to whom Shalmaneser I. and Ashurnasirpal had assigned land in the conquered provinces, no longer exist. If the king now wishes to occupy a conquered province with new settlers, he must meet the difficulty by exchanging the populations of two provinces situated at different ends of the empire. The peasant class in Assyria was extinct; there were only the great landed estates of the nobility or of the temples, cultivated by slaves or paupers.

Peasant Class Extinct

The military operations of Sargon, since they were in continuation of his predecessor's plans, were carried out in the same regions; we have once more to do with wars in Babylonia against Chaldæa and Elam, or in Urartu for the possession of the northern districts, or in Palestine, where he sought to extend his dominion.

We have already described Sargon's successes in Babylonia. In Palestine, as we have just noted, the annexation of Samaria and the "carrying away of the Ten Tribes," which make the name of Sargon of interest to readers of the Bible, were merely results of the siege under Shalmaneser. Hamath, north of Damascus, in Syria, had hitherto avoided this fate by the regular payment of its tribute. But it became acquainted with the "good will" of Assyria in 738, when the revolted

towns of Hamath were not given back, but were added to the province of Simarra. Great hopes had been centred on the change of the king in Assyria; thus we now find, in 720, in place of the pliant king Eni-il, a "peasant," Iaubidi, on the throne and in open hostility to Assyria. He was allied with Hanno of Gaza, who must have submitted to Tiglath-pileser. Both clearly rested their hopes on Egypt. The newly constructed provinces of Arpad, Simarra, Damascus, and Samaria joined the cause. The greater part, therefore, of Syria and Palestine tried to free themselves from the burden of tribute or of service under the Assyrian yoke. But the allies could not decide on combined action, a usua defect in such confederations of petty states. Hamath was conquered and constituted a province. Hanno, who sought to capture Gaza, was defeated near Raphia, on the southern frontier of the territory of Gaza. The revolted provinces were reduced without difficulty, and tranquillity was again restored in Syria and Palestine.



SARGON WITH HIS VIZIER AND ATTENDANT

Sargon was a king of Assyria, of non-royal descent, who reached the throne as the result of a revolt of the priestly reactionaries.

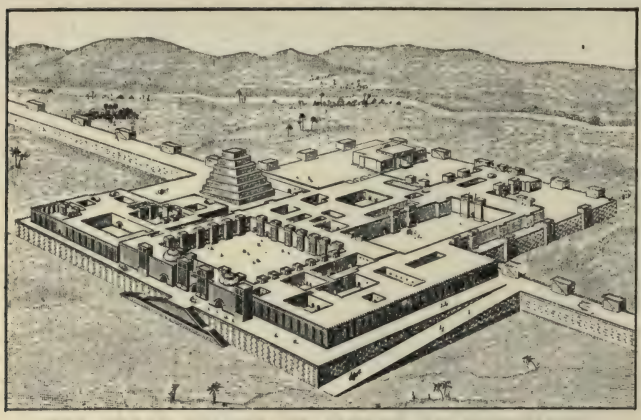
Sargon could now turn his attention to his third remaining opponent, Urartu. Rusas I. was again active, and attempted to extend his influence to Northern Syria, and in the east to the Median frontier states, and he apparently found ready listeners. Thus Sargon's next task, like that of Tiglath-pileser in his day, was the subjugation of these disloyal vassals.

In 719 B.C. two towns of the Mannai, on the western shore of Lake Urumiya, whose king supported Assyria against Urartu, were punished because they had gone over to the tribe of the Zigirtu, which was friendly to Urartu; the same lot befell other towns which had seceded to Urartu. In 718 B.C. one of the princes of Tabal, Kiakki of Shinukhtu, was carried prisoner to Cappadocia, and his dominions given to a loyal neighbour, Matti of Atun.

In 717 B.C. Carchemish fell, which had regularly paid its tribute since the days of Ashurnasirpal. The annoyances of Assyria must have exhausted the patience of this wealthy town and driven it to a war of desperation. It had vainly looked for help to the ruler of the former territory of the Khatti in Asia Minor—Mita of Muski, as Sargon calls him—that is to say, Midas of Phrygia. Pisiris was the last king of Carchemish, and the last relic of the Khatti rule in Syria became thenceforth an Assyrian province.

The years 716 B.C. and 715 brought wars in the east of Urartu, where Rusas meanwhile had made especial efforts to gain Mannai for himself by force; he had thus abandoned Syria and had turned more to the east. There he succeeded, by stirring up disputes about the throne, in obtaining the sceptre for Ullusunu, a prince favourable to him. But before the party of Urartu had won a firm footing, Sargon appeared and forced the king to do homage, and his example was followed by the Prince of Nairi and other chiefs of those regions. In 714 war was made against Urartu itself. Sargon advanced from Mannai past Musasir, the conquest of which he has represented in his palace, towards Lake Van, while he devastated the country along his line of march. According to Sargon's account, Rusas committed suicide, but, in an inscription of Rusas himself at Topsana, in the district of Rowanduz in Kurdistan, it is recorded that he restored the deposed king of Musasir, and afterwards led his armies as far as the mountains of Assyria.

It would thus seem that Sargon's conquest of Urartu was not so complete as he would make it appear. However, from this time onward the power of Urartu was broken, for it had now to fight for its existence with a new enemy on its northern frontier, whom we have already mentioned—the Cimmerians.



THE GREAT PALACE OF SARGON AT KHORSABAD

A reconstruction of the great palace erected by Sargon at Khorsabad, north of Nineveh. It was built on an artificial eminence of brick and overlooked the city.

Assyria had, it is true, got rid of a rival, but by so doing she had weakened the bulwark which formed her natural protection against the danger now threatening from the migration of Aryan peoples. Henceforth the Assyrian generals in the northern frontier provinces carefully watched the struggles of Urartu with the Cimmerians and other allied tribes, and under Esarhaddon these already began to menace Assyrian territory.

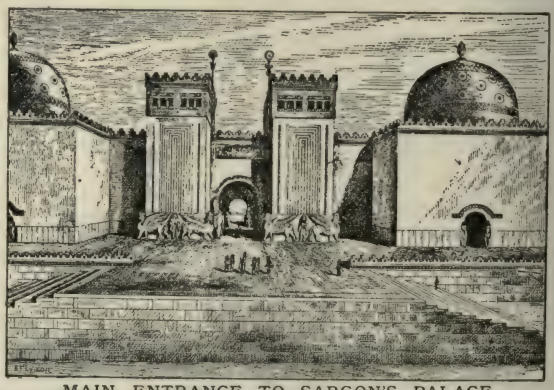
Many districts of the former Patini in Syria had already been annexed; and, under Sargon, Gurgumi with its capital Marqasi, or Marash, shared the same fate. Even Kue and some Cappadocian districts, among them Kammanu, corresponding to the former Musri, as well as Melitene and Kummukh, became Assyrian provinces after unsuccessful attempts at rebellion by their princes. This marked the greatest extension of Assyria in the north-west. Toward the end of Sargon's reign the Governor of Kue actually undertook an expedition over the Taurus in order to check Mita of Muski, or Midas of Phrygia, who was at empting to advance against Assyria in that region and on the Halys.

When Sargon had seized Babylon, he received the presents of seven Greek "kings" of Cyprian towns. This is the first ascertainable contact with "Ionians." Those who paid homage on this occasion were the princes of the western part of Cyprus, who sought assistance from Assyria in their efforts to expel the Phœnicians of Tyre from the eastern part of the island.

In Southern Palestine an isolated case of refusal to pay tribute was that of Ashdod. This incident is noteworthy from the allusion to it in Isaiah, chapter xx. We can imagine with what hopes and fears men in Judah had followed this rebellion in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, Judah, according to Sargon's account, took part in it with Moab and Edom, without letting matters go so far as open resistance, when an Assyrian army conquered Ashdod and founded an Assyrian colony there.

In the east, Elam, after the expulsion of Merodach-baladan, had not been able to assert her influence in Babylonia. The quarrel between the two rival states showed itself in a dispute as to the throne, which occurred in the borderland of Ellipi, where two hostile brothers sought support, the one from Elam, the other from Sargon. After the former, Nibi, had driven out his brother Ispabara with Elamite assistance, Sargon was obliged to restore the latter to the throne.

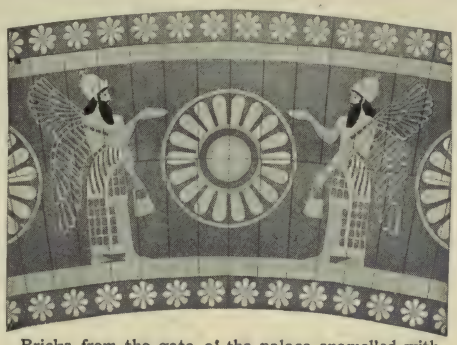
Toward the end of Sargon's reign his great palace, which he had caused to be built to the north of Nineveh at the foot of the mountains, was finished and solemnly taken possession of. The royal residence was thus removed from Kalkhi.



MAIN ENTRANCE TO SARGON'S PALACE

This fine gate, which can be seen in the bird's eye view of the whole palace given above, suggests the magnificence of an Assyrian palace.

But Sargon had been raised to the throne by the party which formerly had their headquarters in Ashur. Since, however, Ashur itself was not adapted from its position to be the seat of government, Sargon founded a new capital of his own, Dur-Sharrukin, the "castle of Sargon," or Khorsabad, on the model of his legendary prototype, Sargon of Agade, whose name he, indeed, adopted on his accession: "Sargon the second" he was called by his loyal scribes. The inscriptions and sculptures from the palace of Dur-Sharrukin — excavated by Botta in the years 1842–1845 —are the chief authorities for the history of his reign. Sargon's death took place in the year 705. We have no particulars concerning it, though it appears from a reference to it by Sennacherib that he met with a violent end and "was not buried in his house," that is to say, no proper burial was accorded to him. This can only mean that he fell fighting with barbarians, as Cyrus did. Such barbarians were almost exclusively to be found on the northern frontier of his empire, among the Indo-Germanic tribes, the Cimmerians and "Scythians." It may, therefore, have been in a war with one of these peoples that Sargon met his death. The song in Isaiah, chapter xiv, 4–21, referred in later times to the death of a king of Babylon, may have been originally composed on Sargon's unexpected death. The hopes therein expressed were, to some extent, realised, for Palestine and Phœnicia attempted a great rebellion.



Bricks from the gate of the palace enamelled with coloured representations of winged Assyrian deities.



DECORATIONS OF SARGON'S PALACE

A favourite decoration with the Assyrians, and practically the only decoration used by the Babylonians, were bricks enamelled with bright colours, so lasting that they are now still vivid and clear.

Sanherib, or Sennacherib, who reigned from 704 to 681 B.C., was first occupied in Babylonia and with an expedition to the Zagros in 702; there he chastised the Kashshu, a remnant of the old Kassites which had preserved their independence, and the Iasubigalla. Then, in 701, he turned to Palestine.

Two princes in particular were the soul of the revolt there—Luli of Tyre and Hezekiah of Judah. The former was "king of the Sidonians." He possessed Tyre and Sidon, with a territory which began south of Beirut and extended to Philistia; in addition, the east of Cyprus belonged to him, with the most important town, Kition. We have already seen that the west of the island was in the possession of "Ionians," and joined Assyria through enmity to the Phœnicians. Hopes had also been entertained of Merodach-baladan, but he had been quickly driven out; and promises of support had also been received from Egypt. Hezekiah was leader of the revolt here owing to the fact that the anti-Assyrian party in Ekron, a town of Philistia, deposed King Padi, who favoured Assyria, and gave him up to Hezekiah. Such was the state of affairs which had arisen between 705 and 702.

When Sennacherib set out in the year 701 and marched along the coast of Phœnicia it again appeared that each of the confederated states had counted on an annihilation of the dreaded tyrant by the others: there was no combined resistance. The Phœnician states, Arvad and Gebal, paid tribute; the same thing was done by the southern states of Philistia, as well as by the neighbours of Judah—Ammon, Moab, and Edom. Luli surrendered Sidon and fled to Cyprus, where he died soon afterwards. The only

resistance was offered by Tyre, which Sennacherib besieged in vain, and by Hezekiah. Sennacherib installed a new king, Ithobal, at Sidon, so that the "Sidonian" kingdom was again broken up into its two component parts. Then he marched southward to Judah, where Hezekiah, trusting to the approaching Egyptian help, was persevering in his resistance. He conquered Ekron, defeated the relieving army, which consisted of troops of the "princes of Musri, or Egypt, and the king of Melukha," and gradually took forty-six fortified places in Judah. He then appeared before the capital and closely invested it. But the besieged held out, trusting to the disorders which were expected to break out in Babylonia; in the end, Sennacherib had to withdraw without capturing Jerusalem itself. The independence of Judah was saved for the time being. Hezekiah, however, forfeited the greater part of his territory, for the conquered towns were divided among his neighbours, and he himself lost no time in again offering his submission.

Siege of Jerusalem

After the destruction of Babylon in 689, Sennacherib was able to turn once more to the west. Some petty wars had meanwhile occurred in Cappadocia, or Khilakku, and the province of Kammanu, constituted by Sargon. Some attempts of "Ionians" to land in Cilicia are also said to have been repulsed. No further conquests of importance were made there, and there was no expansion of territory by the formation of new provinces. Tyre had successfully stood a siege in 701 and maintained its independence. The reinforcements from Egypt who marched to Hezekiah's aid had been repulsed, it is true, but Sennacherib had not ventured to chastise them. He now undertook an expedition against Egypt. Jerusalem, too, feared his chastisement, but once more fortune was favourable. The Assyrian army did not enter the country; on the march thither it was destroyed, probably by a pestilence. Certainly the expedition was disastrous. Sennacherib had to return to Nineveh with the loss of his army. There he was carried off by the fate of so many Oriental kings: he was murdered during a rebellion headed by his sons.

Assyrian Army Destroyed

The reign of Sennacherib had been nowhere successful. He had attempted to solve the Babylonian problem by force, and apparently had accomplished his purpose; but even in Babylonia he



ASSYRIANS CARRYING A CONQUERED PEOPLE AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY

The Jewish people were taken into Assyrian captivity at least three times. Sargon and Sennacherib both deported the population of Samaria—the "Ten Tribes"—and Nebuchadnezzar took away the remnant of Judah to Babylon.



CAPTIVES OF THE ASSYRIAN HOSTS ON THE MARCH TO THE CAPITAL

This is a continuation of the Assyrian bas-relief of which part is produced on the opposite page, showing a people carried away into captivity with their household goods and cattle. Probably it is a representation of the Jewish captivity.

received from Elam at least as many defeats as he inflicted. Thus, in the year 694 B.C., while his army was plundering in Elam, the Elamites laid waste Northern Babylonia, and took his son Ashur-nadin-shum prisoner. In the west, if we compare him with Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, he distinctly failed, since he was unable to take either Tyre or Jerusalem. He did not win any provinces of importance either in the east toward Media, or in the west in Asia Minor, where his predecessors had made their most valuable conquests. We notice especially the absence of any attempt to face the menacing danger in the north; the Aryan tribes were spreading more and more widely in the regions of Urartu and the Mannai.

Sennacherib's Reign a Failure

Sennacherib's failures explain his end. He had come to the throne as the candidate of the "Assyrian" military party, and when he lost his army he fell a victim to the opposition, the "Babylonian" party. There must, however, have been separate sections within the latter. Its real and natural leader was obviously Esarhaddon, who administered Babylon. But one of his brothers must have attempted to forestall him in Assyria; and he was probably the leader of the rebellion in which Sennacherib was murdered "as he was worshipping in the temple of his god," according to the Biblical account. Esarhaddon turned against him and defeated the army of the insurgents in Melitene, to which country it had retreated, relying on the help of Armenia, the deadly enemy of Assyria. Esarhaddon thus became king of Assyria and Babylonia.

Esarhaddon a Civilised King

We know that he pursued a home policy quite opposed to that of his father; the most lasting work of his reign was the rebuilding of Babylon. The effects of this policy were such as they could not fail to be; the civilisation of Babylonia and Mesopotamia once more flourished, and the supremacy over Nearer Asia was secured. It proved to be a momentous change for Assyria, which was the ruling power of the period. In other respects Esarhaddon is one of the figures in Assyrian history which harmonise most with modern conceptions. We read less frequently of cruel punishments inflicted on rebels. And, above all, at his court a taste for literary activity must have prevailed, which was certainly connected with his preference for Babylon. Ashurbanipal boasts of the literary education which was given him, and to it we are indebted for the collection of his celebrated library.

The Assyrian empire under Esarhaddon, as under Sennacherib and even later, obtained no considerable additions apart from the valueless conquest of Egypt.



SENNACHERIB, AN ASSYRIAN KING WHOSE REIGN WAS A FAILURE

Sennacherib was put on the throne by the military party in Assyrian politics, but his wars were everywhere failures, and he was murdered in a rebellion of the pro-Babylonian party, headed by his own son, Esarhaddon. He is here shown in a bas-relief, now in the British Museum, on his throne before the Jewish city of Lachish.

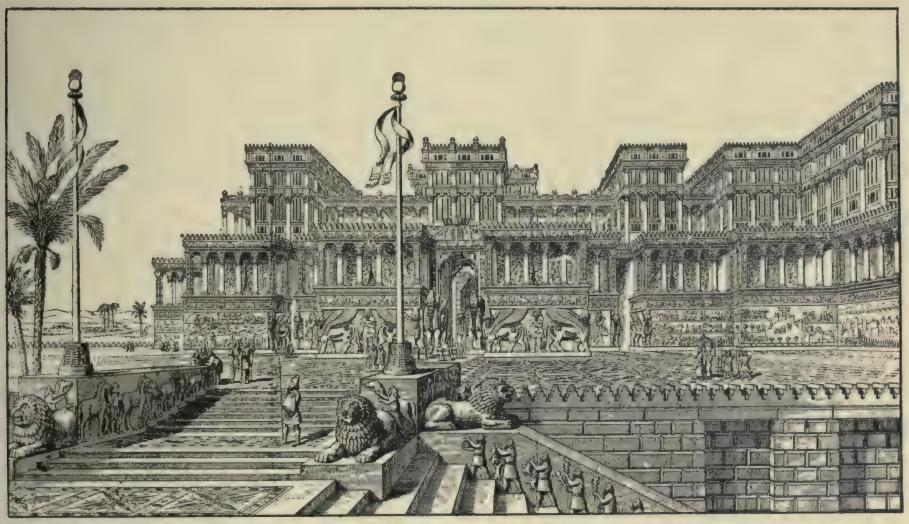
Esarhaddon's wars were, on the whole, merely directed to the maintenance and complete protection of the territory already subjugated. There were attempts at revolt by the Chaldæans in Babylonia during his reign, but matters stopped short at revolts, and did not go so far as the setting up of a rival prince. In the " Country of the Sea " a grandson of Merodach-baladan, Nabu-zer-napishti-ushteshir, made an attempt to seize Southern Babylonia and advanced to Ur, but he was forced on the approach of an Assyrian army to fly to Elam. There, however, contrary to the old tradition, he found no asylum, and was murdered. His brother Naid-Marduk considered it, therefore, more prudent to leave this place of refuge and walk into the very jaws of the lion ; he was pardoned by Esarhaddon and installed as ruler in the " Country of the Sea."

The affairs in connection with Bit-Dakuri serve to illustrate the conditions which the destruction of Babylon had produced, and to characterise the Chaldæans generally. We have already described how on Sennacherib's departure certain Aramæan tribes had descended upon the district of Babylon and Borsippa ; and how they had been defeated and driven off by Ẹrba-Marduk, who, in return for his services, was recognised as king of Babylon. The Chaldæans appear to have been more successful than the Aramæans, and to have established themselves firmly in the province of Babylon, and the adjoining territory of Borsippa. The restoration of Babylon necessitated the recovery of what had been unlawfully appropriated, and this could not be done without force. Their "king," Shamash-ibni, was deposed in favour of Nabu-ushallim, a member of a different family. In the negotiations which subsequently took place under Shamash-shum-ukin as to the conditions of the tenure and the rights of some villages situated in the district of Bit-Dakuri, the latter came forward as superior lord. The district of Babylon and Borsippa was evidently retaken from the Chaldæans.

Khumbakhaldash of Elam, as we have already seen, had not received the fugitive grandson of Merodach-baladan. Nevertheless, in the year 674 he raided Northern Babylonia as far as Sippar, which consequently suffered great loss. Esarhaddon

was no better able than Sargon or Sennacherib to seek out this dangerous enemy in his own inaccessible country. He was content to secure the loyalty of the tribe of the Gambuli, settled on the Elamite frontier near the mouth of the Tigris, and to entrust their chief, in his fortress of Shapi-Bel, which was strengthened for the purpose, with the protection of the frontiers; a policy adopted at all times by Oriental states. Esarhaddon established friendly relations with Urtaki, the brother and successor of Khumbakhaldash. Urtaki sent back the images which had been carried off from Sippar in the preceding year, even obtaining assistance from still bore the name of Sidon—and became the seat of an Assyrian governor. Sidon then remained a province, and did not again have kings of its own until the Persian era; the town of Esarhaddon became the nucleus of the later Sidon. Sanduarri of Kundi—perhaps Kyinda, the old name of the fortress of the later Anchiale—and Sizu, a Cilician prince, had been allied with Abd-milkot. After a three years' resistance his castles fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and Sanduarri's head was brought to Nineveh almost at the same time as that of Abd-milkot.

Tyre offered a more obstinate resistance. The "island" of Sidon must have been



NORTH-EASTERN FACADE AND GRAND ENTRANCE TO SENNACHERIB'S PALACE

It was the ambition of every Assyrian monarch to build himself a new palace, exceeding in grandeur and splendour those of his predecessors. The above is a restoration, by Sir A. H. Layard, of Sennacherib's great palace.

Esarhaddon on the occasion of a famine in Elam, and this worked for peace.

In the west, Tyre, after 701, persevered in its resistance, and after 694 or so found a supporter in Egypt under the Ethiopian king, Tirhakah, who was eager for victory. Sidon also, which had been severed from Tyre by Sennacherib, now revolted in 678 under the new king, Abd-milkot, or Abdimilkutti, the successor of Ithobal. It was captured, and the old town, which, like Tyre and Arvad, lay on an island, together with the national objects of worship, was destroyed. A new town was built on the mainland, which received the name of Kar-Ashur-akhu-iddina, "the Castle of Esarhaddon"—in reality, of course, it situated close to the mainland. The island of Tyre was more difficult to capture, and was taken for the first time by Alexander by means of his famous mole, which then connected Tyre permanently with the mainland. When Esarhaddon marched against Egypt, he was compelled to attempt the capture of Tyre, and besieged it by land, occupying Ushu, which is situated there, and cutting off the inhabitants of the island from all access to the land by means of counter-walls. But the island, which was supplied with provisions from the sea, held out until the news came from Egypt of the expulsion of Tirhakah, in 670. King Ba'al then considered further resistance useless, and offered to pay

tribute. His submission was accepted under the usual condition that he retained only what he actually then possessed—that is, he kept nothing but the island city of Tyre itself, while an Assyrian province was constructed out of the territory held by the Assyrians on the mainland.

In this year, 670 B.C., the stele of Senjirli was set up, which shows us Tirhakah and Ba'al as subject kings before Esarhaddon. The representation on it was finished, and the inscription was about to be engraved when Tirhakah suddenly returned to Egypt, and Ba'al, who indeed had hardly anything left to lose, once more revolted. The end of the inscription, in which it had been intended to give an account of Ba'al's submission, was therefore intentionally omitted. When Tirhakah had been driven out for the second time, in 668, and Tyre had been besieged for five years in all, from 673 to 668—the Assyrian blockading lines had practically remained effective throughout the period—then Ba'al once more submitted. Tyre, this time also unconquered, retained its independence, but its authority was restricted to the small island. Its territory on the mainland was not given back, but remained under Assyrian government.



ESARHADDON Mansell
From the famous stele of Senjirli, showing the kings of Egypt and Tyre subject before Esarhaddon.

The possession of all the trading towns on the Syrian coast, especially Gaza, the terminus of the caravan route, as well as of Edom, through which the route ran, brought Assyria into contact with the Arabian tribes who were engaged in the overland trade. Sennacherib had tried to subjugate the Arabians of the plains, and had undertaken an expedition by which he overthrew the "kingdom" of Aribi which existed there, took the capital, and brought the queen, together with the gods, to Assyria. Esarhaddon now sent these back on receiving assurances of obedience. On the borders of Cilicia and Cappadocia there were constant disturbances. Esarhaddon tells us of an inroad into the district of the Dua in the Taurus, adjoining Tabal. The Assyrian historical inscriptions tell us nothing of the fact that Melid, or Malatia, had been conquered by Mukallu, probably the chief of a Tabal or similar tribe, and that the latter, in alliance with Ishkallu of Tabal, had become dangerous to the Assyrian claims. We learn of this fact from questions upon the subject asked of the oracle in the temple of Shamash, the sun-god. We may conclude that the Assyrian possessions in the direction of Asia Minor had grown less.

These same tablets of oracles afford us the best account of the great Aryan movement in the north, in Armenia. The governors of the frontier provinces no longer, as under Sennacherib, report the reverses which Urartu has sustained from the Cimmerians; they now anxiously inquire of the sun-god whether the threatening enemies, the Cimmerians, Saparda, Ashkuza, or the Medes, who were already devastating adjoining districts, would spare the Assyrian provinces; they ask if the Assyrian troops will succeed in relieving beleaguered towns or in recovering those already taken. That is quite a different story from Sargon's announcements of victories. And when Esarhaddon tells of victories over Cimmerians and Ashkuza, he cannot report any results gained by them. We may, therefore, conclude that such victories at the best were won only over roving bands, if they did not actually consist in a retreat. On the whole, it is evident that Assyria's power was waning. Negotiations were now begun with the barbarians on a basis of equality. Esarhaddon looked round for allies against the threatening Cimmerians, and found them in their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, whose king, Bartatua, actually received a daughter of the king to wife. We shall again meet these Ashkuza as allies of Assyria in its last days.

The expedition to Media, where, after the disappearance of the Namri and Parsua, the Aryan element became increasingly prominent, are of no real importance. It was certainly an easy task for a disciplined Assyrian army to subjugate isolated tribes and bring

booty and prisoners home with them. But the expeditions as far as the "Salt Desert" to the south-east of the Caspian Sea and up to the Demavend had no lasting results; new tribes immediately pressed forward, and where one wave of this flood of nations exhausted itself, others kept rolling on. Here the destiny of the old Oriental civilisation, in spite of the victories claimed in the inscriptions, was inevitably fulfilling itself. Still, no blame can be attached to the Assyrian king if he did not recognise the full extent of the danger and tried to derive new revenues from the conquest of other lands.

Esarhaddon can record one success which had not yet fallen to any Assyrian king: he conquered Egypt. In so doing he certainly took into consideration the necessity of conquest for Assyria, to provide employment and booty for the mercenary army on whose spears the existence of the empire depended. He was further influenced by considerations of state policy.



Mansell

ASHURBANIPAL

Son of Esarhaddon, whom he rebelled against, assuming the crown before his father's death.

Egypt was as much dependent on Palestine as the countries lying on the Euphrates. If these latter required the ports on the Mediterranean, Palestine was for Egypt the nearest and most promising country, if it ever wished to expand. As long, therefore, as we can trace back the history of these countries, Egypt is either in possession of Palestine, or is trying to win it back. It interfered, therefore, in all revolts against Assyria, but usually failed to render the promised help. "The broken reed which pierces the hand of him who leans on it" was the phrase already coined by Isaiah for the false Egyptian promises of assistance. The continual unrest in Palestine made it prudent to prevent the disturber of the peace from doing further damage; Sennacherib had already tried to do this on his last expedition when he lost his army.

Esarhaddon renewed the attempt; all the more because Egypt had again become united under the Ethiopian Tirhakah, against whom Sennacherib's expedition was directed, and who was a bolder spirit than the last Pharaohs. We have seen that he was implicated in the revolt of Tyre, which broke out in 673. The Babylonian chronicle records in this same year a defeat of the Assyrians in Egypt; the first attempt to attack Tirhakah in his own country had miscarried. In 671, however, a new army advanced against Egypt, and Tirkakah could not withstand it. The Assyrians advanced irresistibly from Iskhupri, where the first battle took place, as far as Memphis in fifteen days. Tirhakah five times offered resistance, and was himself wounded in battle; he then fled to Thebes. Memphis was taken in the advance "in a half day." The family of Tirhakah and rich treasures fell there into the hands of the Assyrians; fifty-five statues of kings were brought to Nineveh. Tirhakah seems to have been unable to remain in Thebes. His army was scattered, and as a foreigner he found no support in Egypt. He thus fled back to "Kush"—that is, Nubia—and evacuated Thebes.

The Assyrian king placed twenty-two "kings," or governors, over the separate districts of Egypt, who are all enumerated for us by his son Ashurbanipal. But each of them received an Assyrian official as overseer, with a large body of Assyrian officials at his side. The most southern district named is Thebes. This fact shows within what narrow limits the Assyrian sovereignty was recognised. Esarhaddon therefore uses extravagant language when he styles himself after this success, "King of the kings of Musur, or Lower Egypt, Paturisi, or Upper Egypt, and Kush." Even the Senjirli stele, which, like a memorial carved at the mouth of the Nahr

el-Kelb, near Beirut, glorifies this victory, expresses rather the wish than the accomplished fact when it represents Tirhakah as a prisoner, a ring through his lips, imploring mercy on his knees before Esarhaddon. This supremacy lasted only a few months, when Tirhakah came once more upon the scene. The Ethiopian was in fact no Egyptian; and we see that he had "fled" only in order to bring up a new army. Meanwhile Esarhaddon was again in Assyria, where he had to cope with a rebellion, at the bottom of which was his son Ashurbanipal; Tirhakah had naturally been privy to this. Then an "express messenger" came to Nineveh and announced that Tirhakah had occupied the whole country once more, and was again ruling as king in Memphis, having driven out or crushed the Assyrians who were in the land. The Egyptians must have looked on at this "restoration of settled order" with the calmness with which this people, accustomed for thousands of years to oppression, have acquiesced in their numerous masters before and since.

Son Rebels Against Father

After the internal affairs in Assyria had been arranged, and Ashurbanipal and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin had been crowned in 668, the army was once more available for Egypt. Esarhaddon himself started thither; he had become superfluous at home, and was certainly sufficiently acquainted with the nature of an Oriental throne to see that there was little left for him but to die. He actually died on the march in 668. The campaign was therefore brought to an end in the reign of Ashurbanipal, as he himself records.

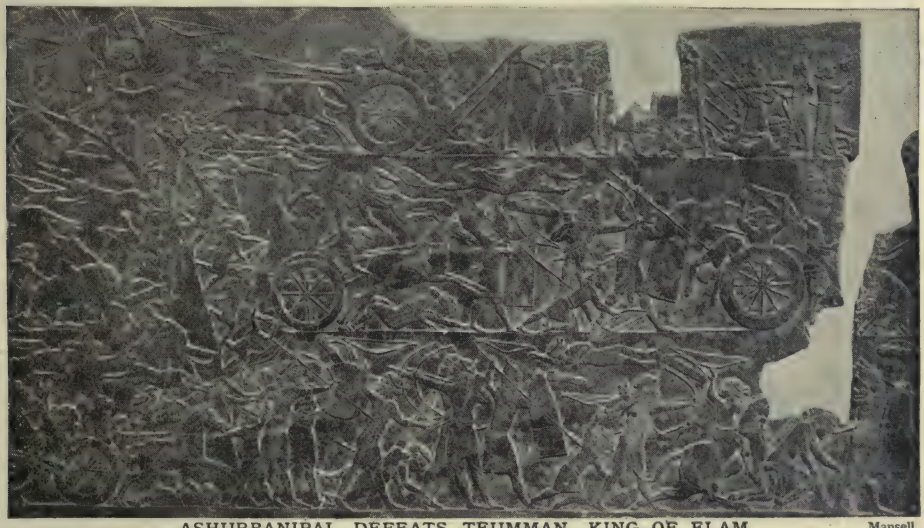
The causes which had led to the coronation of Ashurbanipal have already been mentioned in their place. When Esarhaddon wished to put the coping-stone to his work, and to have himself or Shamash-shum-ukin, his son by a Babylonian woman, proclaimed king in the rebuilt city of Babylon, the time had come for the Assyrian party to take action. In 669 B.C., so the Babylonian chronicle announces, "the king put to death many nobles in Assyria;" yet Ashurbanipal reports that when he was proclaimed successor to the throne and co-regent at the beginning of 668 he had "interceded" for them. Esarhaddon had clearly intended that Shamash-shum-ukin should be at once crowned king of Babylon, in order that the power might be secured to him on his own death. This scheme was now frustrated. With Ashurbanipal the Assyrian military and aristocratic party gained the day over the Babylonian priests and citizens. Under Ashurbanipal's long reign, from 668 to 626 B.C., the Assyrian military system, with its army of mercenaries, a strange medley from the lands of every ruler, achieved its final triumphs.

Displaced by his Sons

The success of the Egyptian campaign, in the course of which Esarhaddon died, was rapid and complete. The army with which Tirhakah attempted to defend Lower Egypt was defeated near Karbaniti, the Egyptian city of Qarbana; he abandoned Memphis to its fate and withdrew to Thebes. In "one month and ten days" the Assyrian army advanced thither. Tirhakah, who could not repose any confidence in the population of the capital, preferred to evacuate this town, and entrenched himself higher up stream on both banks of the Nile, obviously in order to bar the passage of the river plain. The Assyrian army did not advance beyond Thebes, and Ashurbanipal, like his father, could impose kings only in the districts up to this point. In the same year, or soon afterwards, Tirhakah died while holding his entrenchments. His successor in Napata was Tanut-Ammon, his sister's son, who at once assumed the aggressive. The Assyrian army must have already left Thebes, and the nephew of Tirhakah had no difficulty in seizing the rest of Egypt. The Assyrian garrison in Memphis alone offered resistance. Tanut-Ammon invested it and took up a strong position at On, or Heliopolis, to the north of it. Once more an express messenger reached Nineveh with the tidings, and the Assyrian army started by forced marches to the relief of the besieged. Tanut-Ammon thereupon abandoned the siege and evacuated the country as far as Thebes, where he tried to hold his own. But the town was captured in 667 or 666, and the Ethiopians were forced to abandon Egypt. Ashurbanipal was able once more to install his provincial princes. But this state of affairs did not last long. The Assyrian supremacy naturally enabled the Egyptian princes to get rid of the Kushites. When that object was attained, they had only to devise a way of ridding themselves of their not less troublesome ally. Within two years

Temporary Conquest of Egypt

Psammetichus, son of Necho, to whom Ashurbanipal had given the districts of Memphis and Sais, declared himself independent. The Assyrian army was occupied elsewhere, and thus Egyptian diplomacy proved successful in its plan. It had driven the Kushites out of the country with the help of Assyria, and now seized the right moment for robbing their helper of his reward. Ashurbanipal complained of similarly base ingratitude from Gyges of Lydia. The Cimmerians, at the very time of his accession, had made aggressive movements towards Lydia, and had crossed the Halys. Since Assyria had aided the Ashkuza against the Cimmerians, Gyges asked help from Ashurbanipal, whose Cilician and Cappadocian possessions, as they adjoined Lydian territory, were equally threatened. Ashurbanipal helped him, indeed, by offering prayers to Ashur, which proved so effective that in the end Gyges conquered the dreaded enemy. He sent two chiefs from among the prisoners in chains to Nineveh, where the strange-looking barbarians, "whose language was understood by no interpreter," caused great astonishment. The thankless Lydian thought that by doing this he had shown sufficient gratitude. He sent no more embassies or "presents," and actually supported the revolt of Psammetichus, not by prayers, but by auxiliaries. This outrageous conduct soon met with punishment, according to Ashurbanipal's account, in answer to his fervent prayer: Gyges failed to ward off a fresh attack of the Cimmerians. He fell in battle, and Lydia was overrun by barbarians. Gyges' son, whose name is not mentioned by Ashurbanipal, but whom Herodotus calls Ardys, offered his submission. But Ashurbanipal still refrained from sending any effective aid; the Lydians were forced to help themselves. The attack of the Cimmerians did not break up until it reached Cilicia, on the Assyrian frontier, although its defeat hardly seems to have been due to any efforts on the part of Assyria. This all took place in 668 B.C. and the succeeding years.



ASHURBANIPAL DEFEATS TEUMMAN, KING OF ELAM Mansell

About 660 B.C., the Elamites descended on Babylonia. This resulted in a succession of wars between the Assyrian and Elamite kings, which finally led to the capture of Susa, the capital, and the annihilation of Elam, thus destroying a "buffer state" which could guard Assyria from the advancing Aryan tribes of barbarians.

In 668 also, after Tirhakah had evacuated Thebes for the second time, Ba'al of Tyre finally submitted. He was compelled to be content with retaining only his island city. The king of Arvad, Iakinlu, who had certainly reposed hopes in Tirhakah, now paid tribute again and sent his sons as hostages and pages to the Assyrian court. Another expedition against the rebellious Mannai on Lake Urumiya, in which district the Ashkuza, allies to Assyria, were expanding their power, falls within the first years of Ashurbanipal's reign. It is not difficult to imagine the reasons which induced King Akhsheri to suspend payment of tribute. With the Ashkuza in the country,

who were still allied with the suzerain, the revenues would be in a sorry condition. But when the Assyrian army advanced, Akhsheri fell a victim to a rebellion, and his son Ualli submitted to the Assyrians.

About the same time there were expeditions against some Median chiefs.

War with Elam

Ashurbanipal did not advance in this direction so far as Esarhaddon and Sargon; this region had already been flooded by the great stream of nations.

War with Elam broke out afresh in 660 B.C. or somewhat later; and once more the Elamites were the aggressors. For the last few years, since Esarhaddon's time, there had been peace with Urtaki. Now, having made an agreement with the chiefs of Babylonian tribes, especially those of the Gambuli, he tried to establish himself firmly in Babylonia, and for this purpose despatched an army thither. Ashurbanipal does not appear to have had his army ready; it was only when the Elamites appeared before Babylon itself that he interposed and drove them back over the frontier. He did not venture farther. Assyria thus, after the one attack led by Sennacherib, which was accompanied by such disastrous consequences, always remained on the defensive against Elam. Urtaki died soon after. The complications following on the change of kings led to war with Teumman, who advanced on Northern Babylonia, but was forced to return after reaching Dur-ilu. An Assyrian army now marched for the first time through the passes of the Zagros to Elam and up to the walls of Susa itself. The successes of Kurigalzu and Nebuchadnezzar I. were thus repeated. This war concludes the operations during the first half of Ashurbanipal's reign.

All the succeeding wars of Ashurbanipal are connected with the great rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukin, which broke out

Rebellion of a Brother

openly in 652 B.C. The Assyrian army asserted its superiority in the suppression of it; but the sympathy which Shamash-shum-ukin had found everywhere, the hopes which had been raised by his efforts in every part of the realm, showed at the same time that the empire was held together only by force, and that it would infallibly fall to pieces if the help of its army of mercenaries should be withdrawn. Ashurbanipal did not, indeed, treat Babylon as Sennacherib did, but, as a representative of the "Assyrian" policy, he acted like Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser. This is shown very clearly from the fact that he himself, precisely as they did, assumed the crown of Babylon, and reigned there under the name of Kandalanu from 647 to 626 B.C.

Once more Babylon had received from Elam the strongest support during the rebellion. The result of this was a succession of wars, which finally led to the capture of Susa and the complete annihilation of Elam. Assyria, however, which made no effort to retain the conquered territory, gained only one result: she placed the neighbouring country at the mercy of the advancing Aryan tribes. Just as in Urartu, so here she had destroyed the "buffer state" which could guard her from this enemy. The progress of the annihilation itself, during which we see that Elam suffered from continual disturbances, will be better treated in the history of Elam. In Babylonia itself, as

Elam completely Destroyed

was naturally to be expected, the different tribes had been equally won over by Shamash-shum-ukin; the Gambuli and Puqudu, as well as some Chaldæan states, were chastised for it. The overthrow of Merodach-baladan's grandson in the "Country of the Sea" was connected with this campaign, and contributed its share to the complications with Elam.

In Phœnicia, at this time, Ushu, the town on the mainland facing Tyre, and Akko were punished. The "province of Tyre" had, therefore, attempted a rebellion; this seems to have been the only practical result which the appeal of Shamash-shum-ukin effected in the west.

The king of Urartu, Sarduri III., now voluntarily courted the suzerainty of Assyria, and in 644 B.C. sent an embassy to Ashurbanipal; the invasions of the Aryan tribes forced him to take this step. This is the last event which Ashurbanipal himself records of his reign.

We have no records for the last years of Ashurbanipal's reign: this is a rather long gap, ten or fifteen years, perhaps. We may assume generally from his victories that he upheld the prestige of Assyria. The fact that he remained king of Babylon up to his death is also in favour of this assumption. The rapid downfall which followed shows how this prestige was due to one man and his army.



THE LAST KING OF ASSYRIA DIES IN HIS PALACE

Braun, Clement et Cie.

When Nineveh fell, in 607 B.C., its last king, Sin-shar-ishkun, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. Legend also records this fate for Sardanapalus, the famous Ashurbanipal, and the celebrated picture by the French artist, L. Chalon, from which the above illustration is reproduced, is known as "The Death of Sardanapalus."

Ashurbanipal's renown in the modern world rests rather upon his patronage of literature than upon his victories, which, however, made his name, under the form "Sardanapalus," celebrated even in classical legend. He founded in his palace at Nineveh a library of cuneiform tablets, which contained copies of all the Babylonian literary productions and old inscriptions which his emissaries were able to discover during a prolonged search through the ancient cities and temples of the land. We owe to the remains of this great library, which have now been recovered and are preserved in the British Museum, almost all our knowledge of Babylonian literature and of many valuable documents, of which the originals are lost. Ashurbanipal's victories do not stand alone in Assyria, but he is unique among Assyrian kings in that he found pleasure in obtaining copies of the ancient records and in reading them himself. Without the wealth of tablets which have come down to us from his royal library at Nineveh we should have no conception of the high level of literary achievement to which the Babylonians and Assyrians attained.

Sardanapalus, Patron of Literature

Assyria had at least two kings after Ashurbanipal, Ashur-i'il-ilani and Sin-shar-ishkun. Little is known of their reigns. Babylon was lost upon the death of Ashurbanipal, but not the whole of Babylonia, of which some parts were kept until the end. We are not informed how long either of them reigned, nor are we certain that the throne was not occupied by other rulers in addition to them.

We have at present only some slight accounts of the end of the Assyrian empire. The Chaldæan Nabopolassar could no longer support himself on Elam, as his Chaldæan predecessors on the throne of Babylon had done, for Elam existed no longer. But he found instead a more powerful ally in the successor to Elam, the Medes. Assyria, on her side, had, since the time of Esarhaddon, been allied with the Ashkuza, who, as neighbours of the Medes, were their natural foes. In 609 we find Nabopolassar in possession of Mesopotamia. He boasts of his victory over Shubari, using the ancient designation of Mesopotamia. The power of Assyria must thus have been already broken, for soon afterwards we find the Mede Cyaxares in front of Nineveh. An auxiliary army of the Ashkuza, under Madyas, son of the Bartatua who had married Esarhaddon's daughter, advanced, but was defeated by Cyaxares. This sealed the fate of Nineveh, which fell about the year 607. The last king, Sin-shar-ishkun, is said to have set fire to his palace, and to have perished in the flames—the fate which legend records of Sardanapalus. The Median bands attended to the business of plundering and laying waste far more thoroughly than their ally liked; for not only Nineveh, but all the towns of Assyria, and even those of Babylonia which had remained loyal to Assyria, were ruthlessly sacked. Nineveh never again rose from her ruins; a fortunate circumstance for us, for, buried beneath the soil, the remains have been preserved for us which otherwise might have served as building materials for a later age.

Last Kings of Assyria

Nabopolassar looked with very little satisfaction upon the conduct of his allies, for they were, after all, devastating his own lands. But it is noteworthy that the barbarians seem really to have kept their agreement; they evacuated the conquered country, and observed the treaty by which the Tigris was to be the boundary of their respective provinces. A new condition of things was thus created. Media possessed all the country to the north of the river district of Elam as far as Asia Minor. Babylon kept Babylonia, Mesopotamia — Assyria would have remained Median — Syria, and Palestine, about 605 B.C.

Assyria Disappears from History

Thus the "Assyrian Empire" disappeared from history. We have already suggested more than once why it was impossible for any attempts at revolt to be made. The "empire" was supported merely by an army of mercenaries and a host of officials. It was long since there had been an Assyrian people in the true sense of the term. In the provinces it was a matter of indifference whether the governor extorted money in the name of the king of Ashur or the king of Babylon. The only feeling excited was the wish for a new master, fostered by the vain hope of an amelioration of their lot. The provinces—Syria and Palestine—had long been incapable of action. Only in some isolated places, such as Judah, was any resistance offered, and this naturally could not withstand a large army.



THE FALL OF NINEVEH : THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE FROM HISTORY

Nineveh fell, never to rise again, in 607 B.C., on the attack of the Median hordes under Cyaxares, who sacked ruthlessly not only Nineveh, but all the towns of Assyria.



SPECIMENS OF THE APPLIED ART OF ASSYRIA

In its principal achievements Assyrian art exhibits little foreign influence beyond that of Babylonia. Carved ivories, such as those shown above (1, 2 and 3), have, however, been recovered from the remains of Nineveh which show traces of Egyptian influence. The bronze lion weight (9) is distinctly Phœnician. Other examples on this page are more purely Assyrian. Such are the pottery, glazed (12 and 13) and unglazed (4, 8 and 6), and the painted bricks and tiles from the palace at Kalkhi (7, 10 and 11), which show the surprising antiquity of some of the designs in modern use. The gem of the collection is the bronze plate (5).



ASSYRIAN CHARACTERISTICS

RETROSPECT OF ASSYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CULTURE

THE region farther up the rivers—namely, Mesopotamia and Assyria—has a distinctly different character from Babylonia with its hot climate. The vicinity of the mountains tempers the heat of the great plains; and a more ample rainfall, with some snow in winter, make its climatic conditions similar to those of the warmer countries of Europe. The two great rivers are here far apart, and flow mostly between rocky banks, so that any idea of the construction of canals on the scale of the Babylonian system is out of the question. Smaller streams, especially the Khabur and Belikh in Mesopotamia, intersect the plains and produce wide stretches of corn-land; between them lie vast steppes which have at all times furnished the nomads with a welcome home, whence they pressed on toward the cultivated land studded with flourishing towns.

Climate of Assyria

Until some considerable discoveries going back to the pre-Assyrian epoch are made on Mesopotamian soil, we must abandon any attempt to settle the peculiar character of Mesopotamian civilisation in its variations from the Babylonian. The necessary information cannot be extracted from the existing records. All that we can ascertain with certainty is the nature and condition of Assyrian rule.

The country on the left bank of the Euphrates above the Lower Zab did not develop an independent civilisation; it is in every respect an extension of the sphere of Babylonian civilisation. The sovereignty which it exercised towards the end of the period when that civilisation held a preponderating influence in Western Asia was purely political and won by force. Our first duty is to ascertain the nature of that sovereignty.

Assyrian Culture is Babylonian

We must assume that Assyria at the time of her first expansion in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. still possessed an active and vigorous population; this condition presupposes a numerous peasant class. We do not know how that class came into being, but that it had long been in existence is probable since she was able to send out colonies, and this can best be done when a thriving and multiplying peasantry exists. On the other hand, there are indications that the conditions attending the ownership of the soil were no longer satisfactory, that "over-population" was a growing evil; or, more correctly expressed, the distribution of the soil no longer conformed to the conditions necessary for a peaceful and progressive development of the agricultural classes.

The later Assyria of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser II. had a quite different population, influenced in some degree by the Aramæan immigration. It is true that Ashurnasirpal was still able to lead colonies into the reconquered or newly acquired lands. But we may hardly assume that the colonists were drawn from surplus masses of the people; they were really parts of a population which had become indigent through faulty economic policy. We have seen that it is only once recorded, and then under special circumstances, that Shalmaneser II. had "summoned the country to arms." The wars of aggrandisement were waged by Assyria with a standing army—that is, with mercenaries. This points to a complete change of the basis of Assyrian power. Henceforth there is no Assyrian nation which expands by conquest, but only an armed predatory state, which, by the use of troops recruited from every country, crushes the nations, and wrings from them the means for keeping them dependent. The Assyrian people, so far as one existed at all, sank into insignificance before the priesthood, which had obtained the supremacy on the one side, and before the monarchy, with its feudal adherents, on the other. We saw in the

Extinction of Assyrian People

policy of Tiglath-pileser IV. an attempt to put the state once more upon a broader basis; but the attempt was unsuccessful, and the powerful reaction under Sargon restored the character of Assyria and sealed her fate.

Assyria's Army of Mercenaries

The power of Assyria lay then in its army. This was an army of mercenaries, composed of heterogeneous elements, which the king was obliged to support and to provide with pay. The maintenance of the army furnished a motive for incessant expeditions of conquest and plunder. Such an army clamoured for employment and booty, and experience showed that in the East there were no means to support it unless they were wrung from conquered lands. The country was mostly in the possession of the temple-lords and feudal owners; even the larger towns enjoyed freedom from taxation, and the insignificant and oppressed peasant class was naturally unable to furnish the required supplies. Thus a perpetual incentive to new military expeditions was given by the very basis of the constitution. This in itself would have forced Assyria forward on the path of conquest, even if richer or weaker neighbours had offered no tempting prey.

Ashurnasirpal's reign and the beginning of the age of Shalmaneser II. saw the overthrow of the newly formed Aramæan state of Mesopotamia. This ancient sphere of civilisation was thus mainly brought under Assyrian government, and became an essential part of the empire. The Aramæan population, so far as it consisted of the priesthood and feudal lords, was put on an equality with the Assyrian. Assyria, therefore, in the widest sense, comprised the countries extending up to the Euphrates as its western boundary. The perfecting of the system of government was the chief work of the second period of Assyrian history.

Constitution of the Empire

The result thus obtained lasted until the overthrow of the empire and the destruction of its constitution.

The advance beyond the Euphrates marked a new stage of development, which had already begun under Shalmaneser II. and his successors, but did not lead to permanent results until the rise of the new Assyrian empire after Tiglath-pileser IV. Under this latter king, the greater number of the countries west of the Euphrates for the first time lost their own government and were constituted Assyrian provinces. But no definite successes were attained here; for the new provinces consisted of states which, in spite of everything they owed to the common mother civilisation, possessed a peculiar population and culture of their own. They were thus never assimilated by Assyria. Here also the other sphere of civilisation, that of Asia Minor, exercised its influence and raised a wall of partition, which, in spite of arbitrary political arrangements, was never entirely thrown down, between the civilisations on the right and left banks of the Euphrates.

The policy of the Assyrians toward subject states was that which similar powers—the most recent example in the world's history is the Turkish Empire—have always adopted. The ceaseless unrest caused in the civilised country by nomads eager for booty and land made it necessary to reduce them to some form of subjection in order to be protected from their inroads. The first stage of this submission was the duty of paying tribute, since a complete subjugation and the institution of a local government were impossible with such tribes. A similar policy would then be adopted toward neighbouring civilised states. The king is called upon to pay tribute; if he consents to pay it, he retains, as the vassal of Assyria, the absolutely free administration of his own land. Besides the payment of tribute, he is also bound to furnish troops. His suzerain does not as yet interfere with the internal government of his country.

Assyria's Turkish Policy

This, indeed, especially in cases where the taxes imposed were considerable and the land incapable of paying them, often meant little more than that the prince filled the office of an Assyrian tax-collector, on whom the responsibility for the punctual payment of the imposts rested. The great king did not consider himself in any way bound to render it possible for the vassal to perform his obligations by guaranteeing him complete protection against enemies. If the vassal, through the offers or the oppression of a neighbouring state, allowed himself to be seduced from his allegiance to Assyria, and accepted the suzerainty of the new oppressor, then an Assyrian army appeared

in order to call to account the "rebel," who had probably submitted only to compulsion. The vassal princes therefore usually stood between two or three fires. They were responsible to the great king; on the other hand, the people, who had to supply the taxes, were discontented. Thus parties were formed, each of which sought the advancement of its respective interests in an adhesion to Assyria or another great power. We have contemporary testimony to the existence of such parties in the utterances of the Israelitish prophets. We see how at the time of Amos the question stands in Israel and Judah: adhesion to Assyria, such as Ahaz represents, or to Damascus and Egypt against which Amos utters warning. After the fall of Damascus Hosea knows only of Assyria and Egypt, just as Isaiah does; and again after the appearance of Tirhakah, an Egyptian party continues to oppose the Assyrian. The king stands between the two, usually in a very precarious position, since he can save himself only by joining the stronger power. We can thus trace Hezekiah's vacillation, and recognise from the activity of Jeremiah the pitiful position of the last kings of Judah, who, faced by the choice between Nebuchadnezzar and the Pharaohs, are in the end overtaken by their destiny.



AN ASSYRIAN BELL
From the Royal Museum of Berlin.

It is in the nature of things that such relations, which merely imposed burdensome obligations upon the vassal, were broken off so soon as any favourable prospect of revolt presented itself—that is, if there was no immediate fear of an invasion by the Assyrian army. But if the army appeared, the fate of the rebellious state was virtually sealed, owing to the military superiority of the Assyrians.

Hard Case of the Vassal

If a state had been completely conquered by force of arms, it was confiscated; it lost its independence, and became an Assyrian province. So long as this process was applied to the districts of Mesopotamia, it caused, as we have seen, little difficulty, owing to the affinity of the population and the homogeneousness of the country. But when an advance was made into countries of different character, it was found impossible to force an Assyrian government on a foreign population, which had shown the vitality of its peculiar customs and institutions by recent rebellion. Such a course would have been tantamount to abandoning the handful of Assyrian officials to certain death on the next recrudescence of discontent. And a deportation of the majority of the population as slaves would have destroyed in great measure the productivity of the new province.

Reason of the Captivities

After the time of Tiglath-pileser IV., when Assyria itself could supply no more colonists, an attempt was made to remedy these difficulties by transplanting the population, and interchanging the inhabitants of newly-conquered provinces lying at opposite ends of the empire. The Bible has made us familiar with the carrying away of the population of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media, with that of the Jews to Babylonia, and with the replenishment of the population of Samaria by inhabitants of Babylonian towns under Ashurbanipal after the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukin. Such exchanges and resettlements are mentioned as matters of course in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon. The districts were not only re-populated in this way, but the new settlers were naturally less able to trouble the Assyrian government. Torn from their native soil, themselves made up of different elements, and not yet blended with the remnants of the old population with whom they had no affinity, the new settlers found no firm support except in the Assyrian officials. The tribal organisation and class system which had bound them together in their home, and had enabled them to resist the oppression of the powers, was thus dissolved, and they

were rendered incapable of offering opposition to the new authorities.

Thus an administration, really capable of civilising and developing, would certainly have found in these products of the two great organisers of Assyria ample material from which a new population might have been formed, whose interests would have been inseparably connected with the continuance of the Assyrian empire. But the administrative arts of a predatory state, based on militarism and a wealthy priesthood, are not adapted to the production of lasting works of civilisation. Assyria wished only to derive advantage from the new provinces, and could give them nothing in return. The ultimate object of Assyrian administration was the enrichment of the government officials, from the lowest tax-collector to the governor himself; each paid tribute to his superior; the governor finally had to pay it to the court. What a province "received," if anything at all, bore no proportion to that which was taken from it. The inevitable end of this was widespread destitution and desolation. When the mother country, as a result of an unwise distribution of the ownership of the soil, had no more vitality, but lived on the impoverishment of its subject states, the transference of its own system of administration to them could have only the same consequences.

Short-sighted Foreign Policy

If Assyria granted to her vassal states no compensatory advantages for the burdens imposed upon them, she conceived her obligations towards her newly-acquired provinces in an equally short-sighted spirit. The governor, or *shaknu*, who ruled a province was much the same as the former prince of the country, only the administration, which had formerly been in the hands of fellow-countrymen of the subject people, was now in the hands of Assyrian officials. The material position of the people was not essentially affected by this change. We need not assume that the Assyrian lords extorted more from their subjects than the former native princes; at least, that was hardly possible where the greater civilised states were concerned. The governor, who had taken the place of the feudal prince, assumed his entire rights and responsibilities. His administration offered more security to the great king's interests, because he, in a land which was still strange to him, had to rely on the support which Assyria gave him; whereas the native prince, on the other hand, was adverse from Assyria, both from tradition and from national feeling. In other respects the position was unchanged. The *shaknu* was obliged to meet the requirements of his province out of its revenues, and to fulfil his obligations toward the court. He had to furnish for campaigns a detachment of troops, which he was compelled to keep out of the resources of his province; but for the security of his own territory, unless its loss seriously threatened the empire, he had, out of his own personal resources, to provide money and men. The king had his own army, "the royal army," for the support of which he was responsible, and he was therefore at pains to let this duty devolve, if possible, upon his officials; the governor also had his own troops, whose duty it was to guard the safety of his province, and to furnish a contingent for the royal army in the event of war. The position of the governor was therefore very independent. He was an imperial officer, and at the same time a reigning prince. It is obvious that he must have had many temptations to push his fortunes elsewhere than in Assyria by joining a new conqueror, or by declaring his own independence in the time of her defeat, for there was no organic tie between empire and province.

Rule of the Provinces

Independence of the Governors

If, therefore, the Assyrian "Empire," which had no united population, and by its administration promoted in no degree the cohesion of its separate divisions, disappeared after the fall of Nineveh without leaving a trace, and without inspiring an attempt at its reconstruction, we can feel no surprise. All that held it together was an army of mercenaries and an official class; when these were destroyed the empire also perished. We can easily comprehend that no one came forward to revive the two institutions, which had served only to impoverish the subject classes of the population.

Assyria subdued the Nearer East with an army of mercenaries, and there was necessarily little selection of recruits; any were taken who could be found. We may assume without further remark that the adjoining barbarian countries furnished



Mansell

ASHURBANIPAL FEASTING WITH HIS QUEEN IN A GARDEN BOWER

Assyrian monuments do not display the pleasure felt by the Egyptians in scenes from domestic life, and this bas-relief showing the monarch feasting with his consort is an exception. It is an example of the skill of the latest period.

the supply of men in the first instance, just as the Germanic tribes did for later Rome, the Normans and English for Byzantium, etc. When a state was conquered, the king as a rule drafted part of the conquered army into his troops.

Among the various sections of the army the war-chariot was the heaviest, the most dreaded, and the most honourable engine of war; the king in battle is always represented in a war-chariot. It is familiar from sculptured representations, in which it appears drawn by two horses, and holding a driver and a fighting man [see page 1652]. It is still uncertain where this method of fighting had its origin. We know little as yet as to the military system in Babylonia during the earliest period, except what the "Stele of the Vultures" teaches us; this seems to show that in the time of the kings of Lagash a closed phalanx with shield and lance formed the chief method of attack. This subject is closely connected with the question as to the time when men became familiar with the horse and where its original home was. In the Babylonia of 3000 B.C. there is no discovered trace of it; the chariot of Eannatum was doubtless drawn by asses. In the Kassite period horses and war-chariots played a prominent part, as in contemporary Egypt. Had they been introduced by the "Canaanitic" immigration, or from the north through "Hittite" and similar conquests? At any rate, the Greek epic teaches us that in Asia Minor, at a time which corresponds approximately to the last period of the Assyrian empire, war-chariots were in general use.

The cavalry was unimportant in comparison. The nobles drove to battle in their war-chariots, but the cavalry, never very numerous, seem, at the time with which we are more intimately acquainted, to have been a disparaged arm of the service; they were apparently used only for skirmishes and pursuit. Riding without proper saddle and without stirrups prevented their development into an effective body of troops. The chief strength of the army lay in the heavily armed battalions, who carried lances and short swords, and were protected by shields, armour, and helmets. The archers stood by their side as the light-armed troops [see illustrations on pages 1648 and 1650].

The siege methods were developed proportionately to the numerous wars. Ordinary fortifications did not as a rule long resist the Assyrian attack. A mound —the Roman "agger"—was built up to the walls of the town, on which heavy battering-rams could be brought into position, and brick buildings could not

long resist their shock. This device failed against stronger masonry. Damascus, with its walls of stone, defied Shalmaneser II., and we do not yet know whether Tiglath-pileser took it by storm. At the siege of Tyre, which Alexander was the first to capture, an attempt was made to isolate the town by constructing an earthwork; but no result was accomplished, owing to want of a sufficient naval force.

Ancient Siege Methods

The arming of the troops was naturally the concern of the person who retained them—namely, the king or governor. The building of a palace, which was the consummation of an Assyrian reign, included the erection of an arsenal, which must be stocked with weapons. The maintenance of the army does not seem to have been provided for by a payment in money raised by a definite tax, or out of the total revenues of the king; traces of the nature of its origin may still be detected in the inscriptions.

Originally the duty to bear arms depended on possession of of real property. This duty may have still applied to the noble vassal, but it had been replaced, after the decay of the peasant class, and owing to its inability to perform military duties, by a tax, or military impost, which the small owner had to pay instead of tendering his services. This was assigned to the mercenaries, and, indeed, an attempt has been made to prove that the individual mercenary was assigned a peasant who had to pay him his taxes. The king, when he could not provide sufficiently for the army, tried to place the burden of supporting bodies of troops on high officials, who, naturally, were unwilling to pay the king's troops in addition to their own; thus there were abundant occasions for conflicts and disturbances to arise. Even in the period of prosperity indications can be found which show on a small scale the result which had inevitably to follow when once Ashur, which was closely surrounded and limited in its natural resources, had no longer any provinces to impoverish and plunder.

Payment of the Mercenaries

The most complete and productive excavations up to the present time have been carried out in Assyria, and we are therefore better informed on many subjects there than in Babylonia. The first place may be given to our knowledge of architecture and sculpture, of which important examples have been discovered in the palaces of Nimrud, or Kalkhi, and Kuyunjik, or Nineveh. These familiarise us with the art of the builders and sculptors of the ninth century B.C., with Ashurnasirpal in Kalkhi, and of those of the eighth century—Tiglath-pileser IV. in Kalkhi, Sargon in Dur-Sharrukin, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, Esarhaddon in Kalkhi. The recent excavations at Shergat, the site of Ashur, the earliest Assyrian capital, have also furnished information concerning the ground plans and construction of private and royal buildings, temples, fortifications and river-side quays, built for the most part in the earlier period.



ASSYRIAN SLAVE LABOUR
A continuation of the bas-relief on the opposite page.

It is a constantly recurring phenomenon in the East that a powerful and wealthy monarch finds a satisfaction to his pride in the erection of colossal buildings, and above all in rearing a palace destined for his own use and enjoyment. This ambition is no doubt dictated in the main by the desire for a splendid abode which may outwardly express his grandeur. Political reasons also combine to influence the change of the royal residences; and, finally, the king may wish to have a worthy place of sepulchre for himself and his family, for it was necessary to remain after death beneath the protection of the household gods if the shade of the dead man was

not to wander about restless and homeless. With very few exceptions, the monuments of Assyrian art which have come down to us belong to the later historical periods. But, even so, its Babylonian origin is unmistakable; the material of the vast buildings is the same brick which ancient Babylonia employed. Assyria, too, was unacquainted with blocks and columns of stone, although the vicinity of the mountains would have furnished ample materials for them. The Assyrians built with clay bricks after the Babylonian model, and employed as supports cedar trunks fetched from the Amanus and Lebanon. The country was more favourably situated as regards stone for sculpture than Babylonia, where Gudea was obliged to obtain the slabs for his statues from Sinai and Palestine. The mountains to the north of Nineveh supplied alabaster and limestone with which the brick buildings could be faced, and the colossal figure of Arban shows that a pre-Assyrian age was acquainted with the gigantic bulls which guarded the palace doors and city gates. Babylonia has not yet furnished such products of art, for stone was not available for their construction. But the recent excavations at Babylon have proved that brick was employed there for the construction of reliefs on a large scale. In many cases the representations are formed of coloured tiles, and the dragons and other monsters thus depicted undoubtedly served the same purpose as the colossal bulls of Assyria, and were believed to guard the buildings on the walls of which they were set up.

The ample store of material which was available for facing the brick walls, and the ease with which the soft alabaster could be worked, gave Assyrian buildings their peculiar characteristics. While we have to imagine to ourselves in Babylonia the walls of a temple or palace covered with a plain lime-wash, or, at best, decorated with enamelled tiles, here the walls of the palace are covered by slabs of alabaster, bearing inscriptions and sculptured representations of the achievements of its founder. One or two rows of bas-reliefs and the commemorative inscriptions of the king in question usually run round the walls. These inscriptions form one of the chief sources of our information for the history of certain periods. The sculptures are, as yet, the only available commentary on the bare record, and they furnish us with details which cannot be gathered from the inscriptions themselves.



HOW THE COLOSSAL BULLS WERE MOVED GREAT DISTANCES
One of the few bas-reliefs giving an insight into the employment of slaves in building operations. A huge stone figure is being dragged by gangs of slaves, others carrying slips of wood for the sledge to slide on.

These monuments do not show the pleasure felt by the Egyptian in scenes from domestic life—it must be admitted that we have not any sculptured tombs or decorated buildings of non-royal personages; the sculptures as yet recovered represent only incidents worthy of a king of Ashur. Nine-tenths of them are devoted to the glories of campaigns or hunting expeditions, and the rest to the buildings of

the king, for a king of Ashur was interested in little else. It was only the highly developed skill of the latest period under Ashurbanipal which attempted anything of a different character; but pictures like that of the monarch feasting with his consort are exceptions in the long series of battle scenes. There we see the king driving out in his war-chariot, the camp life, the battle, the pursuit of the enemy, the capture of towns. The splendid exploits of the king in building are also duly commemorated. We see how the terraces on which the palaces stand were raised by the employment of enormous numbers of men, how the colossal stone figures, in crates, drawn by ropes, were moved upon rollers by means of levers, and were thus transported from the rafts upon the Tigris to the palace platform; but we learn little of the domestic life of the Assyrians. We do at the same time learn isolated details of the daily life of the people, but these are introduced only incidentally in scenes depicting war or building operations. A few scenes of camp life may be reckoned under this head, and we also gain some insight into the life of the slaves and the methods employed in building operations. We have already noted how great weights were moved. The earth is carried in baskets on the backs of long rows of slaves; an overseer walks here and there and lets his whip fall across the shoulders of the laggards.

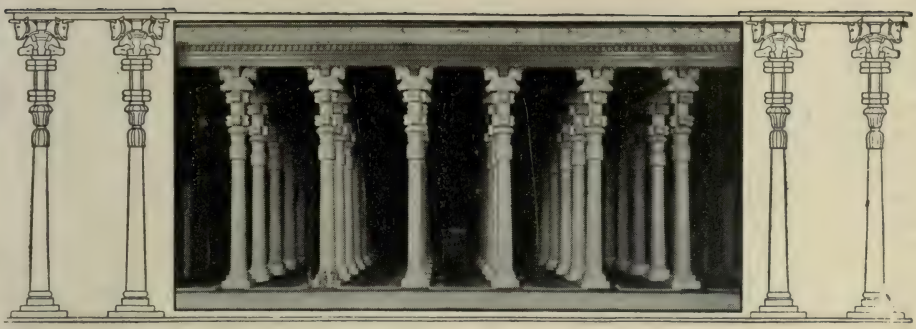
The Latest Art Period

Art shows a progressive development, especially in the execution of details. It is possible to trace accurately the progress from the sculptures in the palace of Ashurnasirpal to those of the New Assyrian Empire. While the former still exhibit figures that are comparatively stiff and notably fail to represent large masses of men in battle, a far greater freedom and variety in conception and execution is traceable in the latter. The scenes from the wars of Ashurbanipal show the climax of Assyrian skill. This royal Assyrian art—we know nothing of any other—grows in exact proportion to the power and the wealth which was acquired. We cannot decide whether art was practised by wider sections of the native population, and whether this latter had any large share in the development already noted. If mercenaries fought the Assyrian battles and Phœnician shipwrights built their fleet, artists and sculptors were also probably collected from every country. Carved ivories and examples of metalwork have, indeed, been recovered upon Assyrian sites which show unmistakable traces of Egyptian and Phœnician influence. But in its principal achievements Assyrian art exhibits little foreign influence, except in so far as it was a development of the earlier art of Babylonia. A comparison of Assyrian art with that of the early Babylonians and Sumerians proves that it made no advance upon the high level of excellence attained by these earlier peoples. The stele of Naram-Sin, for example, is unrivalled by any artistic product of the later periods. The first vague efforts to attain an ideal of beauty were abandoned in favour of a stereotyped art, which aimed only at an exact copy of outward forms. We may more certainly regard it as a result of Semitic art, since the same spirit is evident in all we know of Semitic life. It is the complete want of the imagination which dreams of a more beautiful world. The Semite has remained a child whose imagination sees bliss in the limitless accumulation of material delights.

Development of Assyrian Art

Superiority of Babylon's Art

The reason why the Assyro-Babylonian art, in spite of all delicacy of technique, could not advance to an idealisation has been thought to lie in the fact that it never took as its subject the nude human figure. In the first place, that is not quite correct; we actually possess small Babylonian statuettes of Ishtar, or Venus, and the torso of a large female statue from the time of the Assyrian king, Ashur-bel-kala. It is true, on the other hand, that the Semitic spirit regards the nude human form as something mean. That again is a practical proof of an undeveloped and childish spirit, to which the Semite, even in theory, has never risen superior. The glory of this world finds outward expression in trappings of costly stuffs; therefore he represents his ideal of beauty by infinitely delicate reproduction of costly apparel [see page 269]. In this way we may explain the decline which characterises Assyrian art when compared to the products of the earlier periods in Babylonia. Moreover, the genius of Assyria exhibited itself in war and in political administration rather than in art. In the latter realm she learnt from Babylon, and she did not improve upon her teacher.



THE EMPIRE OF THE ELAMITES

THROUGHOUT the whole of Babylonian history we have been able to trace a struggle with Elam, the neighbouring state on the east, which has often led to the dominion of the Elamites over Babylonia, and temporarily even to the subjugation of wider districts, until the power of Elam was finally broken by Ashurbanipal. But just as Babylonia, which had become Chaldæan, finally triumphed again over Assyria, so Elam in the end became the seat of the power which ruled the whole Nearer East; but then it was no longer Elamite, but had been conquered by the Aryan Persians. As Nebuchadnezzar once again restored the old sphere of Babylonian power, at least towards the west, so Elam under the Persians became the seat of sovereignty for all the countries which had once been subject to the most successful Elamite conquerors, and for a still wider circle.

The Seat of Persian Power

The real Elam is the region, with Susa for its centre, which in the north is separated from Media by the chain of the Zagros, and is watered by the Kerkha and the Karun. In the south the Persian Gulf forms the natural boundary; in antiquity it extended far more to the north-east than it does at present, and into it the Euphrates, Tigris, and Karun flowed by separate channels. The head of the gulf has been filled up by the alluvial deposit carried down by the rivers, and it now forms the marshy country on the edge of which Basra lies. It was called by the Assyrians Nâr-marrati, "the bitter water." On its northern shore lay Dur-Iakin, the capital of Merodach-baladan, the prince of the "Country of the Sea," which surrounded the shores of the gulf, and, from its perpetual contact with Elam, has already frequently occupied our attention. In the direction of Babylonia, the further natural boundary is the mountain range on the Median borders which shuts off the river valley, the Jebel Hamrin, with its eastern spurs. Toward the east we cannot fix a frontier for the pre-Persian Elam, with which we are now concerned, as the newly discovered inscriptions from Susa do not throw much light upon the expansion of Elam on the east, while from those of Babylonia and Assyria we can, in the nature of things, obtain information only as to her relations with the west.

Boundaries of Ancient Elam

The district of Susiana stretched in Persian times almost up to the Shapur; a line drawn thence in a northerly direction to the Zagros represents, roughly, the extent of this Persian province. This may, perhaps, have been regarded by the Elamite kings also as their peculiar territory. But precisely as Babylonia considered the country of Mesopotamia to belong to it, so the district which was most closely connected with Elam extended still further; for, even in the seaport of Bushire, Elamite kings raised buildings, and inscriptions by them have been found. We may reasonably assume that kings whose armies had perhaps penetrated as far as the Mediterranean Sea would not have stopped at the frontiers of their native land in an easterly direction; Elamite armies, in times when the empire flourished, may have traversed countries which on this side correspond to the extent of the later Persian empire.

The position of Elam in relation to the sphere of Babylonian civilisation is thus decided from the first. As the first

firmly organised state against which the influx of nations pressing westward from the great steppes of Central and Eastern Asia must have struck, it was for the civilised region of the Euphrates the "buffer state" which warded off the barbarians from it, or, if conquered itself, it received them and civilised them first before they extended their conquests further to the west. We may, perhaps, discover some traces of this last rôle in the different Elamite conquests.

Elam the Buffer State

Down to the year 1898 the only Elamite inscriptions that had been recovered were the bricks of some kings of Susa, and a few scarcely more important inscriptions on stone, also from Susa, which Loftus discovered, some bricks with similar inscriptions from Bushire, excavated by F. C. Andreas, and two longer royal inscriptions which were found by Layard at Mal-Amir and Kul Fira'un in the Zagros on the upper course of the Karun. Loftus, and more recently Dieulafoy, had excavated at Susa, the extensive works of the latter having mainly brought Persian remains to light. But in the winter of 1897–98 those French excavations at Susa, under the direction of De Morgan, were begun which have resulted in the recovery of a series of unique monuments throwing a flood of light upon the history of Elam and the position which she occupied among the early races of the Nearer East.



THE PLAIN OF SUSA AND THE MOUNTAINS OF ELAM
A view from the great tumulus of Susa. The mosque in the centre is said to be the tomb of the prophet Daniel

It is true that the most valuable of the finds made by the French mission consist of Babylonian monuments which had been carried off to Susa as spoil. But, apart from these foreign importations, the diggings have yielded a long series of inscriptions of the native kings and princes. They have, moreover, resulted in finds of the first importance with regard to the history and development of Elamite art. The inscriptions confirm what we must deduce from the course of history—that we meet in Elam a civilisation developed under Babylonian influence, and borrowed from Babylonia, which, however, for its part had impressed its character to a large extent on what it borrowed. The native inscriptions are written in a character modelled on the Babylonian, and, what is more significant, they are composed in the Elamite language. This language, into the structure of which we thus gain an insight, is not closely allied to any of those otherwise known to us, if we except the language of the second column of the inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ. The capital of the country was at all times, so far as we can see, Susa, or Shushan, which is to be regarded as the centre of Elam, properly so called, the heart of the empire. Here was the sanctuary of Shushinak, the national god of Susa, and the city must have been the common centre for the different provinces and tribes. The kings of Elam resided in Susa, which was, therefore, for the empire in question, what Ashur and Nineveh had been for the Assyrian empire. Elam, too, must have owed its rise as a state to the subjugation of many towns and tribes, one of which, the Hapirti, was governed by separate kings. The numerous cities, called by the Assyrians "royal cities," are difficult to locate. For information as to these, and as to the political division of Elam, we are indebted to the

Susa the Heart of the Empire

accounts by Ashurbanipal of his own wars. We can distinguish three or four parts of Elam with their chief towns: Madaktu in the west, then Susa in the district of Bara'she; further on, Bubilu in the east, and finally, adjoining the Persian Gulf, in a northern situation in the Zagros, Khidalu, which is expressly described as a mountain province. The general Semitic name for the whole country was Elam; while Anshan, or Anzan, was the general native name for the greater part of it.

The language in which the native inscriptions are composed was probably much the same as that spoken by the first Elamite conquerors of Babylonia; for the names which they contain are the same, and belong to the same language, as those of the first conquerors, and of the last kings of Elam. This proves that



THE MOUND THAT COVERS THE REMAINS OF THE CAPITAL OF ELAM

This view, looking towards the tumulus, is taken from a point exactly opposite to that shown on page 1698.

the "Elamites" have been of as great importance in the history of the state of Elam as the Semitic Babylonians in that of Babylonia. Obviously, in the period of two thousand years for which these names are authenticated, Elam, not less than Babylonia, had been inundated by other peoples of various ethnic affinities. The fact that, notwithstanding this, the language was preserved points to the same conclusion as the corresponding phenomenon in Babylonia. It was this people which imprinted its own intellectual stamp on a previously existing civilisation, and, under the influence of Babylon, created the Elamite civilisation and the organisation of a great state, which afterwards became dangerous to Babylon itself.

Original Language Preserved

We have a difficult task to find the ethnic affinity of this people, and to classify its language under a larger group. The relation of Elamite to Kassite still remains undecided, in view of the fact that only a few words of the latter have as yet been recovered. On the whole, distant affinities are possible, and, in fact, may be assumed. A large number of clay tablets have recently been discovered at Susa. They are inscribed in what we may term the proto-Elamite writing, in all probability a pre-Semitic system; most of the signs and characters impressed upon them are very different from those of the Sumerians and early Babylonian Semites. Although these texts cannot be fully deciphered at present, it is certain that they contain lists of figures and accounts. Some of the ideographs, such as that for "tablet," with which many of the texts begin, resemble those of Babylonia, but the majority are entirely different and are developed upon a system of their own. We have, in fact, in these lately discovered tablets a new class of cuneiform in an early stage of its development when the pictorial origin and hieroglyphic character of the signs can still be recognised.

Elamite Cuneiform Writing

On the Semitic invasion of Elam in the third millennium B.C., it is probable that this proto-Elamite system of writing was the one generally employed throughout the country. But the invaders brought with them the system which they themselves had adopted from the Sumerians, and in the subsequent period we have the strange spectacle of native Elamite princes employing the Semitic character and language for their own inscriptions. The native

proto-Elamite character indeed continued to be employed for the common purposes of life, and we even possess an inscription of the age of Karibu-sha-shushinak written in Semitic Babylonian, to which an addition has been made in proto-Elamite. In course of time a modification of the Babylonian system was adopted by the Elamites for writing their own language phonetically, but for a considerable period Semitic Babylonian was largely employed. This fact, which is amply proved by recent finds at Susa, is a striking proof of the intercourse which took place at this early period between Elam and the Mesopotamian plain. There was only one road by which communication could be made between Babylonia and Elam, since the region round the head of the Persian Gulf was entirely impassable owing to the swamps caused by the water from the rivers—namely, through the passes of the mountain chain of Media and Elam, which led to the plain of Northern Babylonia. We have noticed that Dur-ilu was the town where the Elamites entered Babylonian territory, and that Northern Babylonia was the first object of their invasions. Of large towns at a greater distance, Nippur usually was exposed to their attack, and Uruk, or Erech, if they penetrated farther toward the south.

Intercourse with Mesopotamia

Erech, known at the period of the early city-states as the seat of a separate kingdom, was the centre of a particular sovereignty certainly down to the times of the "kingdom of Sumer and Akkad"; for we have inscriptions of "kings of Uruk" who belong approximately to the same period as the dynasties of Isin and Larsa. Later hymns tell of great distress in Nippur, and in this very Erech, caused by the Elamites; and one of the first historically authenticated accounts relates to a conquest of Erech by the Elamites. These conditions are reproduced in a Babylonian hero-legend. Gilgamesh, the chief figure of the great Babylonian epic, of which the Babylonian story of the Flood forms an episode, is the hero of Erech, the "builder" of the town, and its liberator from the yoke of Khumbaba, king of Elam.

This legend, no doubt, is based upon episodes in early Elamite and Babylonian history, and, though Khumbaba may not have been an actual historical ruler, he may be taken to personify the power of Elam in its early relations with Babylonia.

In the earliest historical inscriptions which have yet been recovered we find the princes of Elam owning allegiance to suzerains in Babylonia, for they bear the title of patesi, or priest-king, proving that they did not enjoy complete political independence. One of the earliest of these native rulers, to judge from the archaic forms of the characters employed on an inscription of his that has been recovered, was Ur-ilim. Of the suzerains to whom these early priest-kings owed allegiance we have evidence from the Babylonian side. Sargon of Agade, and his son, Naram-Sin, both held sway in Elam; and the latter conquered the Elamite district of Apirak. Another early conqueror of Elam was Alu-usharshid, or Urumush, king of the city of Kish, a number of whose inscriptions have been found near those of Sargon at Nippur, proving that he subdued Elam and Para'se, the district in which Susa was probably situated. Victories over the hosts of Anshan, the western boundary of Elam, and the district of Para'se, are also recorded in an inscription of Mutabil, an early governor of Dur-ilu; and Gudea, the famous patesi of Lagash, also boasts of victorious wars against Anshan. But, as neither Mutabil nor Gudea enjoyed the position of independent kings, we must assume that their conquests were undertaken on behalf of their own suzerains in Babylonia. The kings of the Dynasty of Ur appear to have exercised a more enduring influence over Elam, for bricks have been found at Susa proving that Dungi, and his three successors, Bur-Sin I., Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, all included Elam within the limits of their

Babylonian Sway in Elam



ASSYRIAN PLAN OF SUSA

This plan is taken from an Assyrian bas-relief, now in the British Museum, representing an attack on Susa. The river is the Shawur, on the east bank of which the capital of Elam lay.

empire. The excavations of De Morgan have furnished us with numbers of inscribed bricks, cones, steles, and statues, bearing inscriptions of a number of native Elamite rulers who are to be assigned to this early period. The records consist chiefly of building inscriptions and foundation memorials, commemorating the construction or repair of temples, the cutting of canals, and the like. We do not, therefore, gather from them much information for settling the problems connected with the external history of Elam at this time, but they enable us to form a true conception of the internal administration of the country. By their help we may picture the Elamites of this period as a nation without ambition to extend its boundaries, and content to own allegiance to foreign suzerains. The native princes are not engaged in warlike operations or in the conduct of campaigns, but devote their energies to the worship of the gods and the beautifying of their temples. It is to this period that we may probably assign Karibu-sha-Shushinak, Khutran-tepti, and his descendant Idadu I., who was followed in direct succession by Kal-Rukhuratir and Idadu II. Names of other priest-kings are known, of whom we may mention Beli-arugal, and Urkium, both of whom were probably contemporaneous with the later kings of the Dynasty of Ur.

A Nation Without Ambition

The first authenticated account of the succeeding period deals with a conquest of Babylonia by the Elamitic king Kuturnakhundi. Ashurbanipal, to whom we owe it, states that the latter, sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before his time, therefore about 2280, had carried away the image of Nana, the goddess of Erech, from her temple to Elam. Kuturnakhundi had pillaged Babylonia and oppressed it in every way. We have here to do with a time similar to that described in the Gilgamesh epic, although it was not the first of such epochs in Elam. We have already referred in Babylonian history to the tablet carried away from Erech and rediscovered by Kurigalzu in Susa; this may have been taken away by Kuturnakhundi on that occasion. The account of Ashurbanipal refers us to an earlier age than that of the "First Dynasty of Babylon" in Northern Babylonia, and of the dynasty of Larsa in the South; but Kuturnakhundi's invasion may well have been one of these earlier episodes in the Elamite wars carried on by the kings of the "First Dynasty." In that case we must conclude that the figures given by the scribes of Ashurbanipal are unreliable, having been based on an exaggerated estimate of the period separating Ashurbanipal's conquest of Susa from the age of Kuturnakhundi. If Ashurbanipal's figures be accepted, we must set Kuturnakhundi's invasion and his conquest of Erech some two or three hundred years before the rise of Babylon to a position of pre-eminence in Babylonia. In favour of retaining Ashurbanipal's estimate of the period at which Kuturnakhundi's invasion of Babylonia and conquest of Erech took place, we find that the inscriptions recently discovered at Susa furnish us with the names of many rulers who are probably to be set within this period of Elamite conquest and expansion, which was brought to an end by Hammurabi and his son Samsu-iluna. The change in the political condition of Elam appears to have been reflected in the change of title, and the native princes discarded their former designation of patesi, or "priest-king," in favour of a title which may have carried with it the implication of suzerainty over a portion of Babylonia. However this may be, we find that, like their predecessors, they continued to reside at Susa, and carried on their work of temple building. To this period we may probably assign the rulers Shirukdu, Temti-agun, his nephew, Temti-khisha-khanesh, the son of Temti-agun, and Simebelar-khuppak, a descendant of Shirukdu. Another allied group of rulers who probably came to the throne rather later are Shilkhakha, and his brother-in-law Lankuku, whose son was Kuk-Kirmesh, and Attapakshu, Kurigugu, Temti-khalki, Kal-Uli, and Kuk-Nashur, all of whom were descendants of Shilkhakha.

Elamite Conquests in Babylonia

Under the earlier kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon Elam was still the suzerain of Southern Babylonia. This state of affairs meets us in a clear and distinctly attested form during the reign of Rim-Sin, the last king of Larsa and of Sumer and Akkad. He had been appointed king by his father, Kutur-Mabuk, as the successor of his brother, Arad-Sin, upon the throne of Larsa, and he reigned in his father's name. In dealing with the history of Babylonia we have already described the defeat of Rim-Sin by Hammurabi,

Suzerain of South Babylonia

and his death at Samsu-iluna's hands. With his death Elam relinquished her claims to Babylonian territory.

In the period of Elamite expansion before the downfall of Rim-Sin must be set the series of events referred to in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, with its noteworthy narrative of a campaign by the kings of Elam, Babylon, and other countries against Palestine, and of the wonderful rescue of Lot by Abraham. It is permissible for us to conjecture that we here have before us an account which has been derived from Babylonian chronicles or legends. It is there stated that, at the time of the kings Amraphel, or Hammurabi, of Babylon, Eri-Aku of Larsa, and Tidal of Goüm, the king of Elam, Kutur-Lagamar, or Chedorlaomer—he was in the original account the only one who conducted the campaign—undertook an expedition to the west. The connection of this account with the legend of the destruction of Sodom and with the story of Abraham brings the narrative into conformity with that of the Babylonian chronicles. Kutur-Lagamar might have been the king of Elam at the time when Kutur-Mabuk, father of Rim-Sin, was king of the Elamite district Iamutbal, which adjoins Babylonia, and was therefore a vassal of Elam.

Expedition Against Palestine

These are the principal facts at present known to us of this expansion of the power of Elam, which was brought to an end by Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna. We may perhaps regard it as a precursor, upon a smaller scale, of the Persian power which ruled the east from Susa; accordingly the Elamite kings, who fought with Assyria for the possession of Babylonia, undertook no unprecedented task, but could appeal to a tradition of former power.

The succeeding period, that of the early Kassite supremacy, is obscure for Babylonia, and still more so for Elam. We may avail ourselves of this interruption to enumerate here the more important kings known from Elamite inscriptions, who, it has been suggested, may be assigned to this period. But we will first trace the steps by which, according to our recent information, the Kassites, who were settled in Elam, obtained control over Babylonia. Towards the close of the first dynasty of Babylon we have evidence that an Elamite king named Sadi, or Taki, was defeated by Ammizaduga, the last king but one of the dynasty; but in the subsequent period it is certain that the empire founded by Hammurabi quickly crumbled before the onslaught of more vigorous and less civilised invaders.

The Kassite Control of Babylonia

In dealing with the history of Babylonia we have seen how Iluma-ilu succeeded in founding an independent kingdom in Southern Babylonia on the shores of the Persian Gulf, whose kings must have harassed and weakened the later Semitic rulers of the first dynasty. Moreover, as early as the ninth year of Samsu-iluma the Kassite tribes which were settled in the western mountains of Elam began to make raids upon the Babylonian plain. It is clear that they were repulsed for a time, but, when the first dynasty had been brought to an end by the Hittite invasion, and Babylon lay defenceless and with her great temple and her palaces in ruins, the Kassite hordes poured down from their mountain fastnesses, and probably met with small resistance in their occupation of the city. Large numbers of the Kassite tribes remained behind in Elam at this period, and the Kassite conquest of Babylon represented the advance of what was merely the vanguard of their host. For a considerable period Northern Babylonia only was in their hands, and the kings of the "Country of the Sea" succeeded in retaining their hold upon Southern Babylonia.

Kassites of Elam

The Kassites of Elam must have harassed the "Country of the Sea" in the same manner as their predecessors had harassed Babylon, and it was probably to put an end to such raids that Ea-gamil, the last king of Iluma-ilu's dynasty, invaded Elam. But he had underestimated the number and vigour of his opponents, for Ulam-Buriash, the brother of Bitiliash, the principal Kassite chief in Elam at this period, not only succeeded in driving him from Elamite territory, but followed him into Southern Babylonia, and conquered and occupied the "Country of the Sea." By this conquest the whole of Babylonia became Kassite, and it is probable that a new and extensive migration took place by which fresh Kassite tribes advanced from the Elamite mountains into the Southern Babylonian plain.

The next question is that of the relation of the Kassites to Elam. Since the

Kassites migrated into Babylonia over the mountains of the Median border—that is to say, since they came through the passes by which the Elamites themselves made their inroads, they also may have left permanent traces in Elam. We may, indeed, assume that they were a later group of the same family of peoples to which the Elamites themselves belonged. There is no evidence one way or the other as to the affinity of their language with the Elamite. The remnants of the Kashshu, who did not advance to the conquest of Babylon or to that of Southern Babylonia and of the "Country of the Sea," remained behind in the mountains, where they were attacked by Nebuchadnezzar I., and again by Sennacherib; and in Alexander's time they are mentioned as Kossæans. A tribe of the Kissians is also mentioned as dwelling in Elam, near Susa; it is possible that they were descendants of the Kassites who had settled in Elam, but this cannot, of course, be proved. It is difficult to imagine that Elam did not experience a Kassite conquest, which must have followed its own course, apart from those of Babylonia; but hitherto we have found no trace of it in the inscriptions. Such victories would be more difficult to prove, since a Kassite name is easily distinguishable from a Babylonian; whereas Elamite names bear a stamp resembling those of the Kassites—a fact which points to the affinity of the two races.

Kassite Conquerors of Elam

There are two imaginable theories. It is possible that the Kassites who settled in Elam exercised authority over the whole of the country, and in that case such a ruler as Bitiliash, the brother of Ulam-Buriash, must be regarded not merely as a Kassite mountain chief, but as a genuine king of Elam. The other alternative is, that the Elamites proved themselves capable of offering adequate resistance, and thus the conquest of Elam by the Kassites did not lead to a definitely established Kassite supremacy. In any case no lasting union with Babylonia, under Kassite kings, was effected. Agum II. does not mention Elam, and under the later Kassites we find Elam at war with Babylonia. In accordance with this latter alternative, which on the evidence at present available appears the more probable of the two, we may imagine that while the Kassites occupied portions of Elamite territory, particularly the mountainous districts in the west, there was a regular monarchy established at Susa.

In that case it is possible to assign to this period of Elamite history such Elamite rulers as Pakhir-ishshan, the son of Iri-khalki, and Attar-kittakh, his brother; Khumban-ummena, and his son Untash-gal, who married Napir-asu, and was an enthusiastic patron of the arts, as the very beautiful bronze statue of his wife, which we have recovered, testifies; and Untakhash-gal and Kidin-Khutran, both sons of a ruler, Pakhir-ishshan, probably the second of that name. During this period we can trace no point of contact between Elam and Babylonia, and they do not appear to have come into direct contact until well on in the Kassite dynasty, when we find that Kurigalzu, the great-grandson of Ashur-uballit, waged war with Elam. It is evident from the accounts that Elam was once again the aggressor; at the beginning she oppressed Babylonia, but she was afterwards driven from Babylonian soil, and from an inscription that has been recovered we may infer that Kurigalzu invaded Elam and besieged and captured Susa. Khurbatila was king of Elam, according to the account of the Babylonian chronicle, to which we are indebted for information as to this war. We learn that, after being defeated at Dur-Dungi, he was taken prisoner by Kurigalzu, but he was afterwards released in return for the cession to Babylon of a considerable tract of Elamite territory.

Early Kings of Elam

For the next record of Elamite history we are also indebted to the same Babylonian chronicle. During the reign of Bel-nadin-shum I., king of Babylon, Kidin-khutrutash, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, captured Nippur and Dur-ilu, devastated the open country, and carried away the inhabitants as prisoners; this was the time when Tukulti-Ninib conquered Babylonia. We thus have the scene presented to us which is so familiar from the later Assyrian age—that is, Babylonia the prey of Elam or of Ashur. Kidin-khutrutash, like Tukulti-Ninib, must have considered himself the protector of Babylon. The invasion was soon afterwards renewed "after that Adad-shum-

Babylonia the Prey of Elam

iddina was returned," as the chronicle says. We may imagine that Adad-shum-iddina, who maintained friendly relations with Assyria, and, perhaps, governed under the suzerainty of Tuk-ulti-Ninib, was attacked by Kidin-khutrutash and dethroned, and that the Assyrian could not help him because a rebellion broke out in Assyria at the same time; that is the same series of events which we see later under Sennacherib and Ashur-nadin-shum. Babylonia had once more to suffer grievously during this invasion. Once again the country was laid waste, and this time in particular Isin was pillaged; and it is noteworthy that this ancient royal city is mentioned, together with Nippur, in hymns of lamentation and penitential psalms as being sacked by Elam.

Royal Cities Pillaged

A king of Elam who followed Kidin-khutrutash, after no long interval, upon the throne was Khallutush-in-Shushinak. Little is known of him beyond the fact that he was the father of Shutruk-nakhundi, who succeeded him upon the throne and proved himself a dangerous enemy of Babylonia. For he invaded the country, and defeated and slew Zamama-shum-iddina, the last king but one of the Kassite dynasty. With the assistance of his son, Kuturnakhundi, he sacked the city of Sippar, and carried a rich booty back with him to Elam, including the stele of Naram-Sin and the famous stele inscribed with Hammurabi's code of laws, both of which documents have recently been recovered by the French mission at Susa. He also defeated the king of Ashnunnak, and from the city of Kish in Northern Babylonia he carried away the Obelisk of Manishtusu, which is now in the Louvre. His booty also included numerous Kassite "boundary stones." Though many of these were hammered to pieces by the Assyrians at the sack of Susa in the reign of Ashurbanipal, those that have been recovered during the recent excavations have thrown considerable light upon our knowledge of the Babylonian system of land tenure during the Kassite period. Shutruk-nakhundi had three sons, two of whom, Kuturnakhundi and Shilkhak in-Shushinak, occupied the throne in turn. Numberless remains of the latter's activity as a great builder of temples to the gods have been recovered at Susa. Remains of numerous steles have also been found dating from his reign, from which we may infer that he conferred great benefits upon his land and preserved peace and prosperity within the borders of his kingdom. He had nine children, of whom Khuteludush-in-Shushinak, the eldest, and Shilkhina-khamru-Lagamar, each in turn occupied the throne. The interference of Elam in Babylonian affairs, which took place towards the close of the Kassite dynasty was brought to an end under the most powerful king of the succeeding dynasty, Nebuchadnezzar I., with whose reign there begins a new independence of Babylonia, which once more proved herself superior to Assyria; this was the last era of Babylonian prosperity. The statue of Marduk had been carried to Elam in the reign of one of Nebuchadnezzar's predecessors, probably Bel-nadin-akhi, whom he mentions, and we may conjecture with considerable probability that it was Shutruk-nakhundi who carried it off. Babylonia was, therefore, without the lord of the land, who alone could confer the crown upon the king.



"Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K.

AN ANCIENT NEGRITIC SUSIAN

The most important race inhabiting ancient Elam was the negritic type illustrated here, of short stature, with brown skins, and black hair and eyes.

After his successes in the west, Nebuchadnezzar proceeded to break down the supremacy of Elam, and, if possible, win back his god. We have fragments of numerous songs written on these wars, as well as two records of enfeoffment, one of which expressly mentions the recovery of Marduk from Susa; the other describes the war with Elam, and records that during it the king of Elam, whose name is not given, died. The recovery of the statue would, in the first place, presuppose a capture of Susa. It is, however, conceivable that on the change of sovereign the new king lost no time in concluding peace,

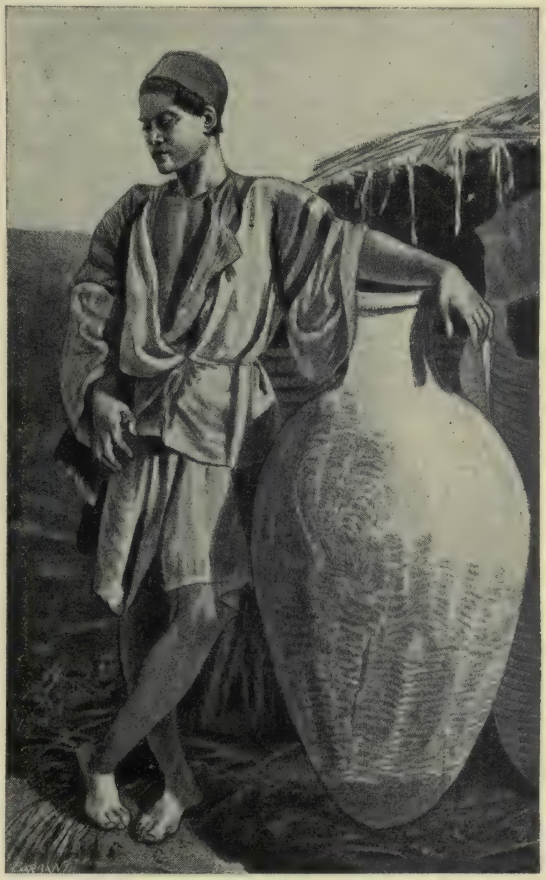
Elam's Supremacy Lost

and surrendered the statue. In any case Nebuchadnezzar had shown himself an independent and well-matched opponent of Elam, and by the recovery of his god he had destroyed the outward token of his vassalage. He now could once more style himself with all right and justice king of Babylon.

The success of Assyria after Nebuchadnezzar, under Tiglath-pileser I. was only temporary. Babylonia remained for some time still in possession of Mesopotamia, and was, therefore, probably able to free herself from Elamite tutelage. We are entirely without inscriptions referring to the relations existing between the two countries at this period. We saw that among the successors of the second dynasty of Isin a king of Elamite origin was reckoned by himself as forming a distinct dynasty; we may, therefore, fix a new advance on the part of Elam at that time—about 1000 B.C.—when Babylonia and Mesopotamia were exposed to every kind of devastation, and even Assyria could not protect herself against the plundering hordes of the Aramæans and the Sutu.

If we judge by the events of later times we may reasonably suppose that in the ensuing period, when Chaldæan princes for the most part sat upon the throne of Babylon—Nabu-shum-ishkun and others—Elam also exercised an important influence. It does not seem indeed to have been able at first to interfere actively in Babylonian affairs. We cannot ascertain the cause, whether internal disorders or an invasion from the east, or both; but it is a noteworthy fact that Shalmaneser II., when he entered Babylonia, found no resistance offered by Elam. His successor, Shamshi-Adad IV., regards Elam in a manner which does not correspond to its earlier or its later position as a great power. After this we hear nothing more of Elamite affairs. A period of weakness is also implied by the fact that Shalmaneser, as protector of Babylon, received presents from Bactria, especially Bactrian camels and Indian elephants. We may, perhaps, gather from this that attempts had been made by this country, which had been long cut off from Babylonia by the power of Elam, to come into renewed touch with the lord of Babylonia. A fresh access of power by Elam nipped these attempts in the bud.

Thus the Far East remained outside the horizon of the Western peoples until in the Persian age Elam became involved with the Persians against the West, and Alexander once more restored communication by his victories over Persia and her allies. When Tiglath-pileser IV. appeared upon the scene the power of Elam had revived; Bactria was again under Elamite dominion, and the Chaldæans thenceforth found support in the Elamite kings of Susa, who alternated with the Assyrians in being the patrons



A MODERN NEGRITIC SUSIAN
A descendant of one of the original Elamite races, showing a remarkable resemblance to his forefather, illustrated on the opposite page.

or feudal lords of Babylonia. It is only a momentary gleam which is thrown on the relations to the east by the Bactrian embassy; but it is sufficient to make us recognise that Elam, in consequence of her position and civilisation, was really the connecting link between the civilised countries of Nearer and Further Asia, and the predecessor of the eastern half of the Persian empire. The Middle Assyrian empire did not come into contact with Elamite territory before Tiglath-pileser IV.; the nearest approach was made by Adad-nirari IV., who reckoned Ellipi among his tributary states. We may conclude in any case that Elam in the ninth and the first half of the eighth century B.C. had not yet encroached upon the west. After the accession of Nabonassar, in 747 B.C., and Tiglath-pileser IV., in 745, we have continuous records of Elamite history. The Babylonian chronicle, which begins with this period, describes very clearly, in its condensed and abbreviated style, the actual conditions in Babylonia; and it continuously refers to the kings of Elam and of Assyria and their relations to Babylonia. It notes only facts, and never draws the slightest general inference from them. But the conclusion which results from the frequent occurrence of these notices has been already drawn in dealing with the history of Assyria; the ensuing period is taken up with a struggle between Elam and Assyria for Babylonia. There are two parties—an Assyrian, which sees the patron of Babylon in the king of Ashur, and a Chaldæan-Elamite party, which sees him in the king of Elam; and the chronicle takes account of both by recording the reigns of kings in both countries.

A Connection with the Far East

In 743 B.C. it is recorded that Ummanigash, or Khumbanigash, became king of Elam; his father, according to the account by Ashurbanipal, was called Umbadara, and had also been his predecessor on the throne. He reigned until 717, when his death is related to have taken place. Tiglath-pileser, who exercised his rights as protector over Babylon after 745, does not allude to him, even when, in 729, he drove out the Chaldæan Ukin-zir. We may, perhaps, assume that Khumbanigash had at least favoured the latter, although he was not in a position to interfere vigorously in his behalf. Even under Shalmaneser, who indeed reigned in Babylon unopposed, nothing transpires about him. On the other hand, on Shalmaneser's death he entered the lists in support of his protégé Merodach-baladan, who under his suzerainty became king of Babylon; and when Sargon tried at once to eject him, Khumbanigash advanced into Babylonia and compelled Sargon at Dur-ilu to abandon the territory of Babylon and Southern Babylonia.

Struggle for Babylonia

In 717–699 followed Ishtar-khundu, as the chronicle has transformed his name, or Shutur-nakhundi, as Sargon more correctly calls him. When Sargon, in 710, once more attacked Merodach-baladan, he began by separating the two confederates. He first turned against Elam, conquered the countries on the Lower Uknu, took the border fortresses erected there by Shutur-nakhundi, and occupied the border countries of Lakhiri, Pillatu, etc. Merodach-baladan hastily sent presents to Elam, and advanced with his army to the province of Iatbur on the Uknu, adjacent to the districts occupied by Sargon; but the Elamite "accepted his present, yet forbade him to advance farther," or to enter Elamite territory This is a strange situation. Did he really abandon his vassal in order that war might not reach his own land, or had Merodach-baladan perhaps tried previously to set himself free from him? In any case he did not venture to advance into Babylonia, and avoided the contest with Assyria. Sargon was able to secure the frontier districts which he had occupied, and to place them partly under Assyrian administration. Soon afterwards, in the disputes for the throne of Ellipi, when Nibe, one of the two brothers, sought help from Shutur-nakhundi, and the latter had installed him in Elam, he did not venture to take any steps in support of his protégé when Sargon brought back his own candidate, Ispabara. The battle at Dur-ilu must have taught Elam a severe lesson, and the army of Sargon became as formidable as that of Tiglath-pileser.

Sargon Attacks Elam

Merodach-baladan, after his expulsion from Bit-Iakin, had in his flight an asylum in Elam, and he was again welcome there, now that he had no army. When Sargon was dead he was brought back to Babylon by an Elamite army in 703, but was immediately expelled by Sennacherib. In the battle of Kish it was the Elamite

troops especially who fought for him. Once more he found refuge in Elam, and he again found assistance there when he advanced from Bit-Iakin to Babylon and forced Bel-ibni to join him and thus to recognise the protectorate of Elam. They were once again driven out by Sennacherib in 700. These failures of Shutur-nakhundi possibly contributed to a transference of power into the hands of his brother Khalludush, or Khallushu, who rebelled in the following year, took his brother prisoner, and mounted the throne himself in 699, and ruled for six years. His reign at least produced a more vigorous action against Assyria, and he achieved successes in Babylonia, which balanced those of Sennacherib. In 694 the latter made a descent on the Elamite provinces situated on the great lagoon of the Euphrates and colonised by fugitive Chaldæans from the " Country of the Sea," while at the same time Khalludush invaded Northern Babylonia, capturing and plundering Nippur. Sennacherib's son, Ashur-nadin-shum, was brought as a prisoner to Elam, and Nergal-ushezib was placed upon the throne of Babylon. Elam had thus become liege lord of Northern Babylonia, while the South was still in the hands of Assyria. Nergal-ushezib maintained his power in Babylon as long as his protector reigned. The latter must have found it difficult during the next year and a half to interfere again on his behalf, for the Assyrians invaded his territory from Southern Babylonia and took him prisoner, without any Elamite army coming to his assistance. An explanation may possibly be found in the statement of the Babylonian chronicle, that almost simultaneously a rebellion broke out in Elam in which Khalludush experienced the treatment which he himself had shown to his brother. Kuturnakhundi, the third of the name known to us, was raised to the throne as head of the rebellion in 692, but did not retain the position for more than ten months. He had been only a short time on the throne when the Assyrians invaded Elam by land —that is, from Northern Babylonia. Kuturnakhundi was in Madaktu, the town which commands the western part of Elam, but he ventured on no resistance and withdrew to Khidalu, the province and town in the Zagros. Since he thus abandoned Susa, we must suppose that he was not acknowledged there. He may have been prince of Madaktu in the same way as there were independent princes of Khidalu, and was therefore forced to relinquish any attempts at occupying Susa, the capital of the empire. It is thus explained why, although he had just proclaimed himself king by means of a rebellion, he had been unable to raise an army with which to face the Assyrians. These ravaged the western provinces, and retook some border districts which had once been held by Sargon and had subsequently been recovered by Elam under Khalludush.

Lordship Over Babylon

Rebellion Follows Rebellion

This failure could not have served to strengthen the power of the new king. He thus fell a victim, only three months after his flight from Madaktu, in another rebellion, by which Umman-menanu was raised to the throne. His reign marks a new era of success for Elam, and thus of insecurity for the Assyrian possessions in Babylonia. Even while the Assyrian army was in Elam, Mushezib-Marduk had usurped the sovereignty in Babylon, and hastened to make sure of the protection of Elam. Northern Babylonia was once again, as under Khalludush, lost to Assyria. Sennacherib, in 691, attempted to win it back, but Umman-menanu was strong enough to perform his promises made to Babylon. He appeared in Northern Babylonia, and in the battle of Khalule victory was at least so far on his side that Sennacherib was forced to retire to Assyria. It is also important in estimating the situation to notice that the fall of Babylon did not take place until 689 B.C., when Umman-menanu had been struck down by apoplexy and was, therefore, incapacitated from marching to the defence of Babylonia. The Babylonian chronicle in its laconic style leaves this fact to be inferred, by placing the notice of the capture of Babylon between the announcement of the illness and death of Umman-menanu, thus: " On the 15th Nisan (689 B.C.) Umman-menanu, King of Elam, was struck down by apoplexy; his mouth was affected and he was incapable of speech. On the 1st Kislev the city (Babylon) was taken. On the 17th Adar Umman-menanu died."

Death of Babylon's Protector

His successor was Khumbakhaldash I., who reigned from 689 to 681 B.C. He reigned during the last eight years of

Sennacherib, when, according to the expression of the chronicle, "there was no king" in Babylon, though, according to another chronicle, recently discovered, Erba-Marduk was, for a portion of that period, recognised as king in Babylon and in Borsippa. In fact, after its destruction Babylon was abandoned alike by Assyria and Elam, and she had to rely upon her own weakened resources to defeat the plundering expeditions of Aramæan and Chaldæan tribes. We have already seen that it was in consequence of his success against the Aramæans that Erba-Marduk secured the throne. In the absence of help from Assyria or Elam, the Chaldæan invasion was at least partially successful, and it was not until the reign of Esarhaddon that the immigrants were driven from Babylonian territory. We have no accounts of Sennacherib at this time, and the Babylonian chronicle states merely that a few months before his murder, in 681 B.C., Khumbakhaldash died of fever.

Babylon Neglected by Elam

He was followed by Khumbakhaldash II., who ruled from 681 to 676 B.C., and whose reign falls in the first six years of Esarhaddon. Nothing is at first said of complications with Assyria; indeed, in the attitude adopted toward Nabu-zir-kitti-lishir, king of the "Country of the Sea," we may well see an effort to establish friendly relations with Assyria and an express repudiation of any claims on Babylonia. This may, perhaps, be the explanation of a statement in the Babylonian chronicle that in 680 B.C. the gods of Dur-ilu and of the Babylonian Dur-sharrukin—not to be confused with Sargon's capital—had come back into their own cities. This can hardly refer to anything else—especially since Dur-ilu is mentioned—than the statues of the gods which had been brought to Elam, presumably by Khalludush, and were now sent back by Khumbakhaldash. But friendly relations did not last for long. Only six years afterwards, in 674 B.C., the chronicle announces as laconically as ever, "the king of Elam invaded Sippar and caused a massacre." No details are told us. Esarhaddon is naturally as silent as Sennacherib was over a similar disaster eighteen years before. We thus know nothing of any relations having been entered into with Babylonian rebels. Soon afterwards Khumbakhaldash died "without being sick, in his own palace." In this way Assyria was again freed of a dangerous rival.

Babylon's Gods Restored

Urtaki, the brother and successor of the deceased, seems from the very first to have been equally anxious for a good understanding with Esarhaddon, who was certainly glad, for his part, to have in Elam a peaceful neighbour. The Babylonian chronicle reports during the year the arrival of the statues of the gods of Agade, the sister city to Sippar, from Elam. This plainly refers to those which had been carried away by Khumbakhaldash in the preceding year, and were now surrendered to cement the friendship. The famine reported by Ashurbanipal, during which permission was granted by Assyria that distressed Elamites should seek a refuge on Assyrian soil in order to send back this "property," is the only other event which we know of this period. The institution of the frontier guard, which Esarhaddon attempted to form by winning over the Gambuli, is a proof that he did not trust merely to the good will of Elam, but was anxious to secure peace effectually by other means. The peace lasted during Esarhaddon's lifetime. By the reconstruction of the kingdom of Babylon, a most favourable opportunity was presented to the Elamites of once more realising their old ambitions in Babylonia. Urtaki advanced into Northern Babylonia, in order that, in concert with the sheikh of the Gambuli, who was dissatisfied with the rôle assigned to him, and with a Babylonian prince, he might march on Babylon itself. Nothing is said of any measures of defence undertaken by Shamash-shum-ukin. Ashurbanipal, as protector of Babylon, acted as the Elamites Khumbanigash and Umman-menanu had done; he advanced against Urtaki, and compelled him to evacuate Babylonia. He did not march against Elam, from which we may argue that the border districts once occupied by Sargon and Sennacherib had long since been abandoned.

Peace with Assyria

Urtaki died soon afterward—certainly before 665 B.C. His death furnished Assyria with a motive for interfering in Elamite affairs. This was the beginning of the series of wars which were destined to lead to the destruction of Elam.

Urtaki did not die a natural death; Ashurbanipal's inscriptions are full of expressions about the misery of his violent death, but they do not state the method of it. He was deposed by his brother Teumman; and the latter was bound to act like other Oriental rulers in the same position—to kill all the sons of his brothers in order not to experience the same fate some day at their hands. "He placed himself like a fiend upon the throne," Ashurbanipal writes. The sons of his two brothers and predecessors, Khumbakhaldash and Urtaki, with sixty other members of the royal house and an escort of adherents, successfully made their escape to Assyria, where they implored Ashurbanipal to protect them and to restore them to their home. Teumman demanded the surrender of the fugitives, and, when this was refused, became more peremptory, sending every month insolent letters—a serious breach of the laws of diplomatic courtesy between rival courts—

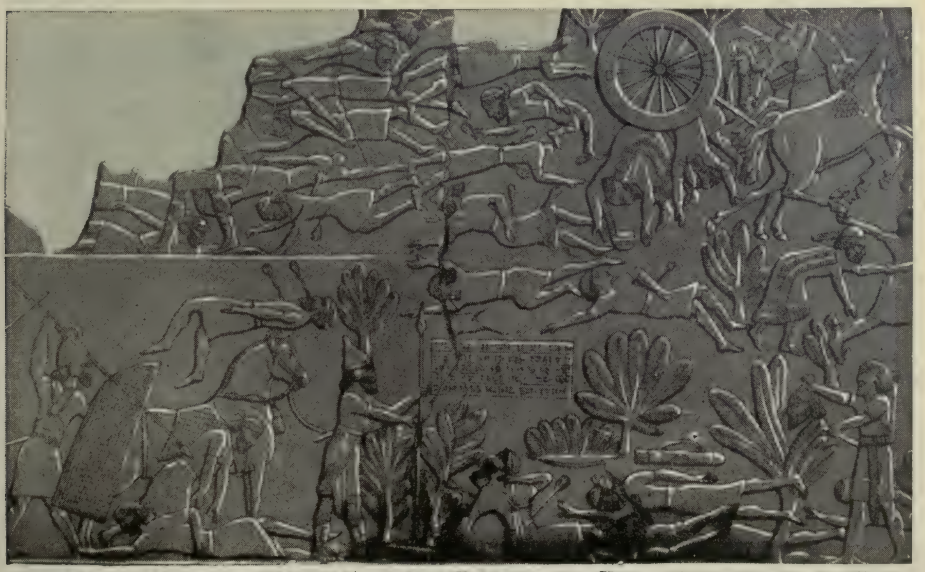
Teumman Invades Assyria

and continued his preparations for an invasion of Babylonia. He appears at this time to have had an epileptic attack, which seemed to Ashurbanipal a divine warning; but it did not deter the Elamite from carrying out his threats and from marching against Assyrian territory. It is not clear how far he advanced. Ashurbanipal himself was now compelled to take serious measures. Judging by the display of indignation, omens, and prayers which he exhibited on this occasion, we feel that it was a very difficult task for him to put an army into the field against Elam. But at last there was no other alternative, and he hastily occupied Dur-ilu in order thus to bar the road into Babylonia.

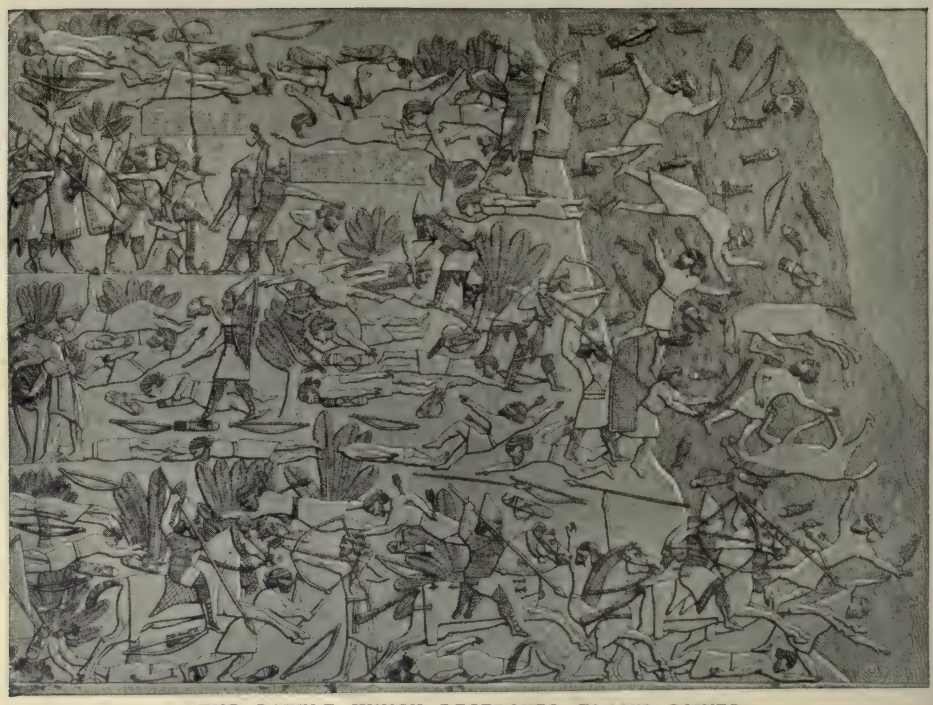
Elam Defeated at Susa

Teumman does not appear to have calculated on any opposition, for now he did not venture to defend his frontier, but retreated before the Assyrian army to Susa. Ashurbanipal advanced as far as the Ulai, as the Karun and its tributaries were called by the Assyrians—the river in question is the Shawur, on the eastern bank of which Susa lay—and defeated the Elamite army, which here met him in the open field at Tullis before the walls of Susa; Teumman fell in the battle.

Ashurbanipal was now able to install in Susa one of the fugitive princes, a son of Urtaki, named Ummanigash, as the Assyrian reproduction of the name Khumbanigash (II.) runs. Ishtar-nakhundi—that is, Shutruk-nakhundi—who had reigned in Khidalu as an independent king, and in whom we may probably see a son of Teumman, also met his death in the battle. Tammaritu, another son of Urtaki, was appointed in his stead by Ashurbanipal, to whom such a state of affairs could not



URTAKI, COUSIN OF TEUMMAN, SURRENDERING TO THE ASSYRIANS IN BATTLE



THE BATTLE WHICH DESTROYED ELAM'S POWER

An Assyrian bas-relief representing the battle of Tullis, before the walls of Susa, in which Elam was finally defeated by the Assyrian forces under Ashurbanipal. Teumman, the king, is seen under an inscribed tablet being decapitated.

but be welcome, according to the principle "divide et impera." But the same relation existed between himself and his brother in Babylonia. Elam was thus subject to Assyrian influence, a success which Assyria had never hitherto attained, and was now by no means secure, since the new king must have been anxious to shake off the yoke. When, therefore, Shamash-shum-ukin, who revolted from his brother, began to secure allies and sent "presents" to Khumbanigash—that is, besought and acknowledged his protectorship — the latter was prepared to become a protector instead of a "protected," and to restore the influence of Elam in Babylonia. Ashurbanipal vainly demanded the surrender of the agents of Shamash-shum-ukin; the Elamite granted the help requested and marched to Babylonia. But at the right moment for Ashurbanipal a rebellion broke out in the rear of the army. Tammaritu, the son of Khumbanigash, a fourth brother of Khumbakhaldash II., Urtaki, and Teumman, proclaimed himself king, and Khumbanigash met the fate of his predecessors; he was murdered together with his family. Ashurbanipal secured however, no further advantage from this at the time; for even Tammaritu, according to Elamite tradition, considered that to be ruler of Babylon was far more desirable than to be ruled by Assyria. He, too, sent an army to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukin, and began, as we shall see, to form alliances in Southern Babylonia. His army was already menacing Nippur, and the tribe of the Puqudu was on the point of joining him, when the same fate happened to him as to his predecessor. He, too, fell a victim to a rebellion, the opportune outbreak of which suggests the thought that Ashurbanipal did not rely solely on the prayers to his gods, which were prominent on this occasion, but had taken the precaution of securing help by other means. Tammaritu was, however, more fortunate than his predecessors;

Assyria's Unwonted Supremacy

Assyrian Machinations in Elam

he made good his escape. He fled to Ashurbanipal, and was actually welcomed by him.

The new king, Indabigash, who reigned from 648 to 647 B.C., was not a member of the royal family. He immediately set about establishing friendly relations with Assyria, and refrained from interfering in Babylonian affairs. He merely looked on when Shamash-shum-ukin prematurely met his fate in 648 B.C. It was, however, impossible to avoid complications for any long period, and this time, as so often before, the "Country of the Sea" was the determining cause. Ashurbanipal had despatched an army thither to prevent the advance of an Elamite army, which Khumbanigash had despatched during his reign. The reigning king, Nabu-bel-shumate, a grandson of Merodach-baladan, had to submit with the best grace he could to these "protectors," and was forced to join his troops with them. He succeeded, however, in thus getting the power into his own hands. He compelled the governor of Ur to join him, and delivered the Assyrian troops, probably under Tammaritu, into the hands of the Elamites. All this took place about 651–649 B.C.

Friendship with Assyria

After the taking of Babylon, Nabu-bel-shumate, when the Assyrians once more occupied the south, fled, according to the tradition of his house, to Elam, where in the interval Indabigash had become king. The latter had sent back to Assyria the Assyrian troops which had been handed over to his predecessor, but he refused to surrender Nabu-bel-shumate. Ashurbanipal thereupon threatened war, and the result was a rebellion by which Ummanaldash, or Khumbakhaldash III., son of an otherwise obscure Attametu, was raised to the throne in the stead of Indabigash. But he also refused the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate and the abandonment of the Elamite claims to the "Country of the Sea." Again there was a rebellion under an Ummanigash, or Khumbanigash, son of an otherwise unknown Amedirra. But this time the prayers of Ashurbanipal were not so effective as on the three previous occasions, and Ummanigash maintained his position. There was no course left for Ashurbanipal if he wished to secure Southern Babylonia but to abandon prayers and intrigue, and to declare war; he advanced into Elam, and occupied the frontier fortress Bit-Imbi. Ummanaldash had hardly yet been able to set his own home affairs in order, and was not, therefore, able to hold the west and Madaktu; he withdrew "into the mountains"—that is, to Khidalu.

Assyria Abandons Intrigue

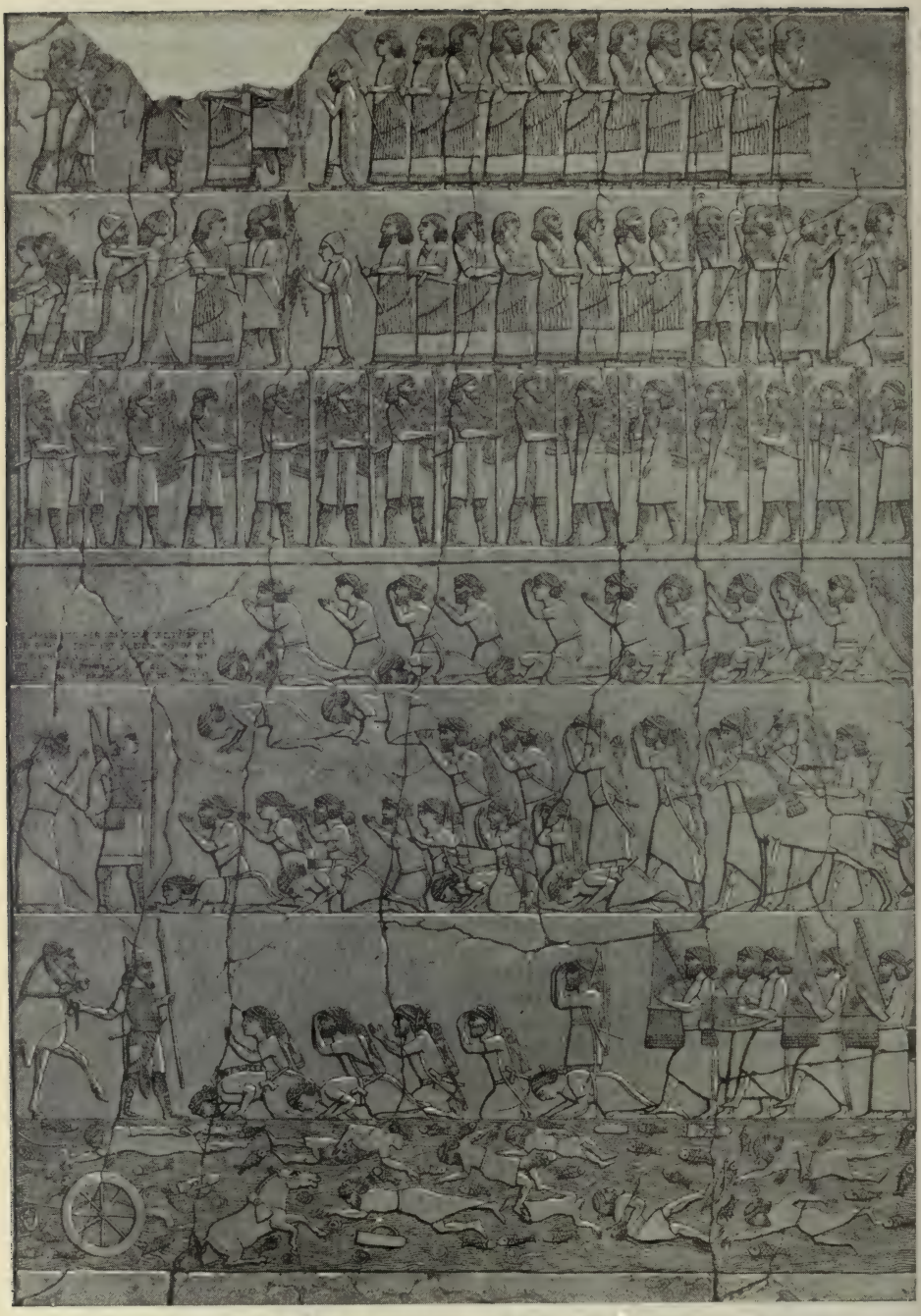
It seems as if an attack had also been made upon Elam from the side of the "Country of the Sea." A king of Bubilu, the eastern part of Elam, by name Umbakhabua, who had made himself independent there during the preceding disturbances—an analogous case to what we have seen in Khidalu—abandoned his country and capital and retired to an island, where he was safe, at any rate from the Assyrians.

Thus the country was in the power of the Assyrians, and Ashurbanipal once more installed there the fugitive Tammaritu as his vassal. But hardly was that done and the Assyrian army on its return, when Tammaritu, who saw his throne in jeopardy, found himself forced to draw the sword against his "benefactors." Ashurbanipal, it is true, speaks of a second subjugation of Tammaritu and of a plundering and laying waste of Elam; but, if we may judge by the usual style and method of Assyrian accounts of wars, this is nothing but a plausible periphrasis for a forced retreat. In this way Assyrian diplomacy was for a time outwitted by that of Elam.

Elam Outwits Assyria

Ashurbanipal's accounts of the succeeding years are vague. He says that Tammaritu had been deposed; clearly that happened only after the withdrawal of the Assyrians, not before: the new king was put on the throne by Ashurbanipal. He was Ummanaldash, or Khumbakhaldash II. The latter had returned from Khidalu for the second time, and had either himself driven out Tammaritu or had commanded his followers to do so. In any case Tammaritu fled to Assyria, where he was detained in dishonourable captivity at the court of Ashurbanipal.

Ummanaldash, when he had established himself firmly on the throne, drove out the Assyrian garrison from Bit-Imbi; this left Ashurbanipal no alternative but to take up arms once more. He occupied Bit-Imbi and the border province of Rashi. Ummanaldash abandoned the west with Madaktu, and entrenched himself behind the Idide, the Ab-i-Diz, near Susa. The



THE TRIUMPH OF THE ASSYRIANS AFTER THE BATTLE OF TULLIS

From a relief in the British Museum, showing the Assyrians' triumph. After the battle the victors were met by a throng of people from Susa, which opened its gates to the Assyrians, with priests, singers and harpers, to welcome the new king, Khumbanigash II., appointed by Ashurbanipal. He is seen at the beginning of the second row from the bottom. Note how the river Shawur is choked with corpses of men and horses and battle débris.

Assyrian army long hesitated to attack this strong position, and contented itself at first with scouring the defenceless country and occupying the fortresses. Finally, after much questioning of the soothsayers, the Assyrians ventured on an attack, and met with no resistance. The cause of this is not revealed. Ummanaldash had once more withdrawn to Khidalu, and abandoned Susa as before. The old capital was sacked and pillaged, the sacred grove desecrated, the temple and royal castle plundered and destroyed. Twenty statues of gods and thirty-six statues of kings were carried away to Assyria, and the tombs of the Elamite kings were violated. The statue of Nana, which, according to Ashurbanipal's account, had been carried away from Erech by Kutur-nakhundi 1,635 years before—a record which we have already discussed—was then brought back to Erech. An oracle was found which Nana had presumably given on her removal from Erech to the effect that "Ashurbanipal will bring me back from the hostile land of Elam." Nana had thus predicted the reign of her liberator, an interesting contribution to the history of oracles. The excavations conducted by the French mission at Susa have revealed numerous traces of the havoc wrought by the Assyrian soldiers on their capture of the city. The damage they wrought is much to be regretted, as it destroyed many memorials of the old centre of civilisation, which often dominated a wider world than Babylon itself.

Sack of Susa

The task of the Assyrian army was thus fulfilled. No attempt was made to form an Assyrian province, for that would have given rise to endless insurrections. The army was withdrawn. Ummanaldash was able to occupy his devastated country afresh and to return to Madaktu. But his power of effective resistance was broken. When the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate was again demanded, he assented to it. But the descendant of Merodach-baladan freed him from the necessity of surrender, since he and his armour-bearer died together by their own hands. Thus Ummanaldash could send only his embalmed body to Nineveh. There Ashurbanipal outraged his dead enemy with the insults he would have offered to the living man. Ummanaldash had by this act declared his submission. For this reason he secured Assyrian support against an opponent who clearly had been pitted against him by the anti-Assyrian party. This was Pa'e, who held his own for a time, but could not in the end resist the threats of Assyria and the attack of Ummanaldash, and, like Tammaritu, made his way to Nineveh.

Ummanaldash himself could not long submit to be a vassal of Assyria. He incurred the fate which befell all kings in his position: he stood between two parties, one of which urged defection from Assyria, and the other, with the help of Assyria, frustrated the results of any such defection. So soon then as his loyalty toward Ashurbanipal began to cool, the usual rebellion of the Assyrian party broke out at the "command of the Assyrian gods"—that is to say, at Assyrian instigation. Ummanaldash had to seek refuge from this party on a mountain, which was probably in the vicinity of the Assyrian frontier; there he was taken prisoner by Assyrian troops and led to Nineveh. Here there were now the three rivals together—Tammaritu, Pa'e, and Ummanaldash—and they were employed by Ashurbanipal to enhance, as his servants, the magnificence of his triumphal processions.

End of Elam

This happened somewhere about 635 B.C. We learn nothing more of Elam. Ashurbanipal does not name the successor whom the rebellious subjects had proclaimed king. We are inclined to conclude from this that Elam, through this rebellion, had slipped out of his hands. We have, besides, approached the time when Elam again came forward as an opponent; after the year 626 B.C. Babylon was once more in the hands of the Chaldæans.

The old game would certainly have begun again had not another force appeared upon the scene. It is no longer with the help of Elam that Nabopolassar tries to assert his power in Babylon and acts against Assyria, but with that of the Medes. This is indeed a great change, and yet it is only the continuation of the old policy: the Medes have simply taken the place of the Elamites. We can at most insert a period of twenty years between the time when Ummanaldash was brought to Nineveh and that when Nabopolassar entered into an agreement with the Medes, if indeed he had not been supported by them from the very first. If we take this fact into consideration, the question involuntarily suggests itself whether

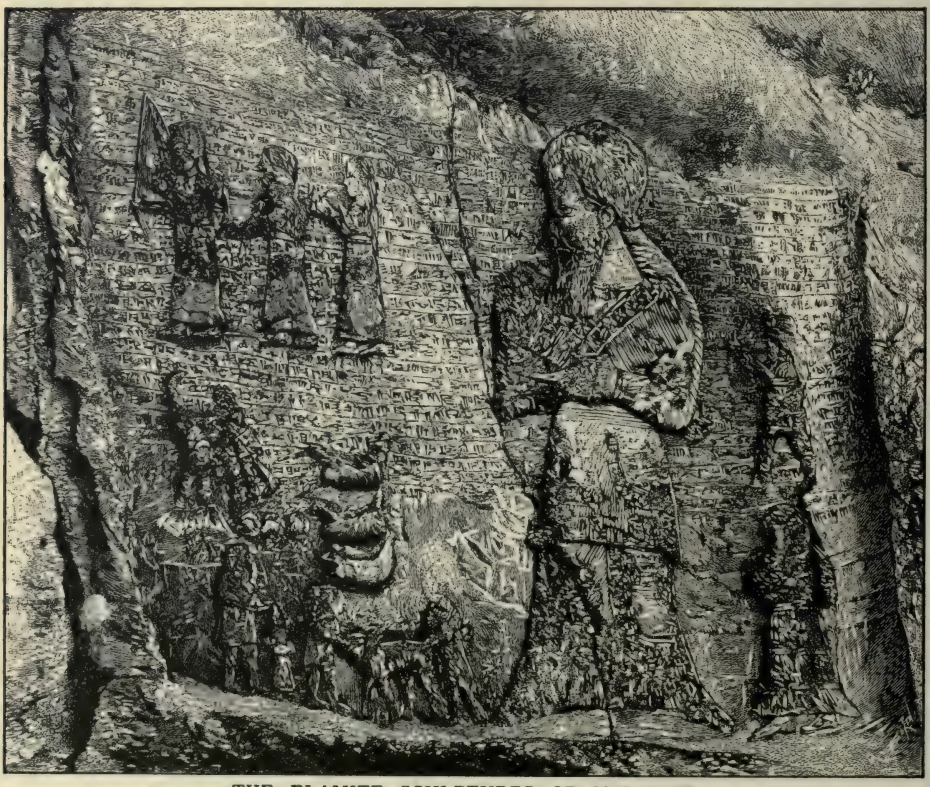
Elamites Displaced by Medes

Ummanigash after all was not the last king of Elam, and whether Ashurbanipal's noteworthy silence over the subsequent conditions in Elam is not to be explained from the fact that the land had then fallen into the hands of the invading Aryan tribes. If we reflect that Esarhaddon had already shown some anxiety in his attitude towards them, that he was not ashamed to enter into alliances with one of these new peoples, the Ashkuza, against the other two, the Cimmerians and Medes, it is a probable supposition that Ashurbanipal himself may very soon have understood the case; he had himself placed the country at the mercy of these dangerous antagonists, whose power he had only succeeded in checking. The result of deposing Ummanigash was that he suddenly found fresh enemies in Elam, who soon adopted the policy of their predecessors, and helped their protégé in Babylon against Assyria. Just as in Urartu, so now in Elam, Assyria had herself abolished the natural "buffer-state." Elam, therefore, according to our theory, fell into the hands of the Medes soon after, and was occupied by an Aryan population. It did not play any prominent part during the Median rule. But it was once more raised by Cyrus to be the seat of empire, and Susa became the capital of the East. We shall treat this subject more fully in dealing with the history of the Medes and Persians.

A Buffer State Destroyed

The French excavations at Susa have yielded material remains of Elamite activity ranging from prehistoric times down to the period of the Achæmenian kings. The influence of the early Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia upon the artistic and social development of Elam was so great that it undoubtedly furnished the mould in which Elamite civilisation was cast. On its artistic side this Babylonian influence can be traced in a remarkably complete degree.

Civilisation of Elam



THE ELAMITE SCULPTURES OF MAL-AMIR

Elamite sculptures, though artistically inferior, show distinct evidences of Babylonian influence. The bas-relief illustrated here is one of three hundred in the valley of Mal-Amir, portraying princes of local Elamite dynasties.

On the whole, we may regard many of the attainments of the Elamites as imitated or borrowed from Babylonian civilisation; this is shown by the script, as well as in works of art, the style and technique of which correspond in many particulars to the art of the Babylonians. If it were not for some details of dress, the sculptures of Mal-Amir, for example, might well be taken for Babylonian. But in spite of the strong Babylonian element in Elamite art, the Elamites themselves added something of their own which serves to differentiate their productions from those of contemporary artists in Babylonia. In their work in bronzes, ivory, and the precious metals, the Elamites attained to a high level of design and technical perfection, and it is now possible to talk of Elamite art as quite distinct from that of Babylonia and Assyria.

The Art of Elam

The large number of votive and building inscriptions that have been recovered throw some light upon the number and names of the great temples and other sacred buildings in Susa, while the sumptuous foundation deposit found in the temple of Shushinak is of the greatest interest from the nature of the offerings which it comprised. But for the character of the Elamite religion as a whole, and of the details of the ritual, we are still to a great degree dependent on conjecture.

The Elamite inscriptions and Ashurbanipal give us a series of Elamite names of deities, but they still remain little more than names for us. An exception may be made, perhaps, of the principal "Susan" goddess, who was identified by the Elamites and Babylonians with the Nana, or Ishtar, of Erech. It is inevitable, with the multifarious conquests and relations of Elam with Erech, that legends of one shrine should have been interwoven with those of another, and that a dispute as to the antiquity of the two should have been decided empirically by making the statues accrue as spoil to the victors.

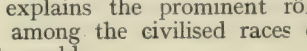
There is little doubt that Susa was the principal city of Elam from the earliest times throughout the whole course of her history. But we are still without information with regard to the relations of the capital to other great cities in the land. Ashurbanipal designates all important places—that is to say, all fortified towns—as royal towns, thus departing from the custom in other countries where only the capital is so called. Were all fortified places, in contrast to the Babylonian and Assyrian usage, the property of the king, and were there thus no municipal rights emanating from that ownership of the land by god and temple, which is so characteristic of the Semitic idea? This would point to a great diminution, as compared with the Semitic civilised countries, in the influence of the priesthood, which, with its large possessions, formed a prominent factor in the development of the Semitic peoples and states.

Priesthood Influence Diminished

That the Elamites were great warriors is fully proved by the history of their battles with Babylon and Assyria. When the Assyrians speak of Elamite spoil the baggage waggon plays a prominent part in it. The Assyrian is acquainted only with the chariot as an offensive weapon of war. The Elamite has carts drawn by mules, on which he carried his baggage. The principal weapon of the Elamites is not the spear or sword, but the bow. It is obvious, however, that Babylonian civilisation influenced their mode of warfare. Still the bow must have been the original weapon, and for the noble Elamite it was the badge of the warrior.

If the geographical position of Elam makes us fix our attention on countries and peoples of another kind than those which determined the fortunes of the Nearer East, we might expect information from this quarter as to the migrations and extension of Babylonian civilisation to the East. It is only under the Persians, Alexander the Great, and the Caliphs, that history shows us events which must have been foreshadowed even in the times of the real prosperity of the East. If the trade with India and Eastern Asia is one of the most important factors in the history of the world, Elam must also, in the days of her power, have interfered in the decision of points at issue, obstructing if unable to assist, but always having an important word in the matter. Her position on the borderland of Western Asia thus endowed her with a strategic and commercial importance, which explains the prominent rôle she played among the civilised races of the ancient world.

Importance of Elam in History

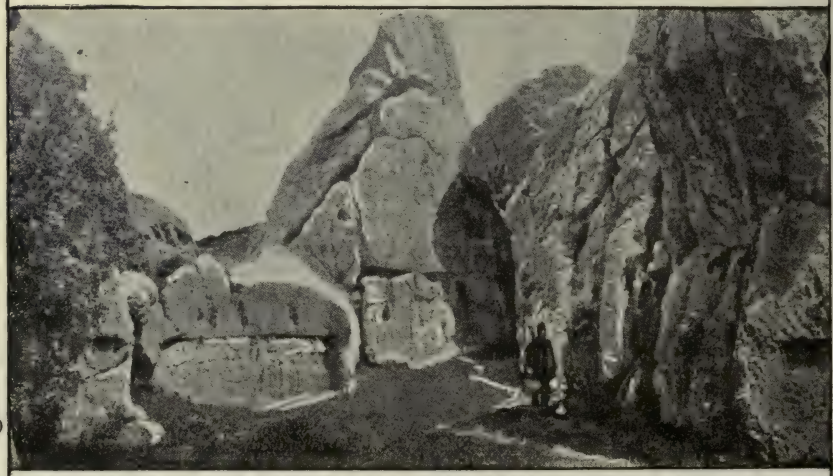




PASS THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS DEFENDING THE HITTITE CAPITAL

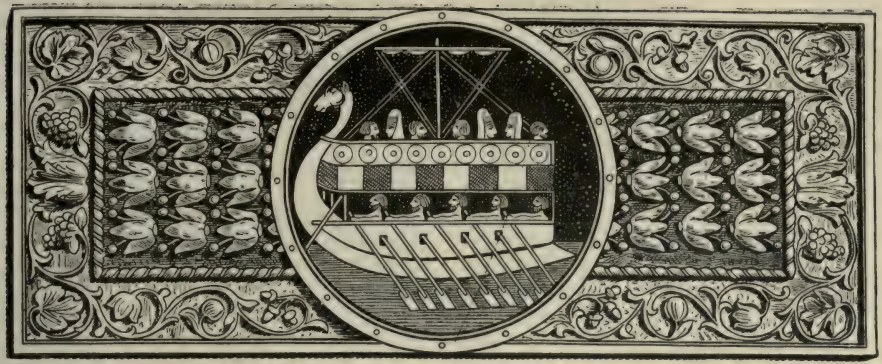


THE PLAIN AND MODERN VILLAGE OF BOGHAZ KÖI



SANCTUARY OF THE TEMPLE: ALL THAT REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT CITY

BOGHAZ KÖI, THE GREAT CAPITAL OF THE MYSTERIOUS HITTITE EMPIRE



EARLY NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER, L. W. KING, M.A.,
DR. K. G. BRANDIS & H. R. HALL, M.A.

SYRIA AND THE HITTITE EMPIRE

THE tract between the Euphrates, the Armenian mountains, the Taurus, and southward as far as the end of the Lebanon —that is, as far as Hermon—is roughly what is designated *Syria*. The name has an historical development, and is, therefore, applied here with some freedom, in a way, perhaps, more suitable to later ages. Its origin is now known. The Babylonians termed the land which runs northward of Mesopotamia to the mountains and westward to Cappadocia, Subartu, or, as the characters in the original ideograph for the name may very probably be read, Suri; the latter name survives even in classical times in that of the Leuco-Syrians in Cappadocia. When Assyria and the southern part of Syria became Aramæan the name was then extended to the more southern countries, since Aramæan and Syrian became to a certain extent synonymous terms.

Syria's Varying History

Syria, in our sense of the term, had no uniform history. Situated between the civilisations of Babylonia and Egypt, it was exposed to their influence, and its history is completely dominated by them. But yet a third civilisation had great power here; one which for the least obscure part of its history had this region for its scene, so that Syria appeared until quite recently to be the country where we were best informed as to an otherwise unsolved riddle of the East. But recent discoveries have shown that it is to Cappadocia we may look for further enlightenment upon the subject. We call this civilisation the "Hittite," after the people, the Khatti, who are the most clearly recognisable representatives of it. Khatti is the title of this people among the Assyrians; in Egyptian, Kheta. The reader must, however, understand that in what follows we designate by this name only this one people while by this term Hittite complete ethnic group is meant to which the Khatti belonged. According to our present knowledge, they appear to us to be the most important people of the group, for the recent discoveries at Boghaz Köi in Cappadocia prove that on that site stood the ancient capital of the Hittite empire, which bore the name of Khatti and gave its title to the Hittite people. Here, as we shall see, was the original centre of the great Hittite empire, and it is probable that the city from the earliest times played a prominent part in the history of the race.

The Hittite Peoples

We know nothing of the Syria which was contemporary with the Old Babylonian empires. Since, however, Phœnicia was subject to their influence, Syria must also have received its share of the "Semitic Babylonian" and "Canaanite" immigrations. What sort of nations invaded or tried to invade simultaneously from the north, whence the "Hittites" were advancing, is a question about which we know little as yet, though the Hittite

invasion of Babylonia at the close of the first dynasty of Babylon is proof of the early date of the Hittite southward movement. We do obtain further information at the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, when Egyptian accounts and the letters from Tell el-Amarna and the despatches recovered from the native Hittite archives at Boghaz Köi afford us some insight into the conditions. We see from them that in the meantime a non-Semitic population had forced its way forward, and that other portions of the same race were pressing on behind, and from this period we can form at least a rough idea of Syrian history.

Coming of the Hittites

This is the population which we call Hittite, and its characteristics may probably be traced in a number of monuments which give representations of early dwellers in Asia Minor, or are covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphic writing. The Hittite type differs considerably from the Semitic: race, dress, finally technique, show that we have to do with representatives of a peculiar civilisation distinct from the two great Oriental forms. In dress we find a characteristic feature in the Hittite cue and the shoes, usually with points bending upward. The writing is also characteristic: a clearly defined hieroglyphic script employing pictures, which has no affinity with the Egyptian or the Babylonian script [see page 1729]. We possess a number of these hieroglyphic inscriptions; but hitherto no one has succeeded in deciphering them and in making the language or languages of those who engraved them speak to us in their own form. But since the Mitani population and the "Urartæans" probably belong to the same group, we have in them two languages of "Hittite" peoples, although not of that section which employed this picture-writing. The native inscriptions, written in Babylonian characters upon clay tablets, which have been found at Boghaz Köi furnish numerous examples of the principal Hittite language employed during the period of the empire; and it is probable that we shall be able to recover the linguistic outlines of other Hittite dialects. Moreover, when the new material is published and made available for study, it will be possible to form a more definite opinion on the disputed question of the Hittite origin of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Languages of the Hittites

The Hittite civilisation was brought to Syria from outside by the conquerors, especially by the Khatti. The question arises, whence? The Khatti were settled, before their invasion, in Cappadocia—that is to say, in North-east Asia Minor. There we possess in the rock sculptures of Boghaz Köi conspicuous monuments of "Hittite" art, and it is on this site, as already stated, that recent excavation has brought to light a wealth of tablets inscribed not only in Babylonian, the early language of diplomacy, but also in the native tongue. Similar monuments are found over the whole region of Asia Minor as far as the west coast, where the "Sesostris" sculptures in the vicinity of Smyrna are the best known. We conclude, therefore, that Asia Minor was the home of Hittite civilisation. Future research will, perhaps, throw light on the relation of the Hittites in question to the pre-Aryan populations of the West, and render it possible to compare them with Etruscans, Iberians, and other types which loom in the mists of primitive history. We cannot, at present, do much more than conjecture that the population of Asia Minor in the second millennium, and even earlier, was Hittite, and that we must look there for the centre of this civilisation, which here concerns us only in so far as it spread over the Taurus. Here, again, it is impossible at present to establish proof of the mutual connections and affinities of the separate nationalities, but it is unreasonable to suppose that in an organised and united movement of nations different races took part promiscuously. When, therefore, the problem of the "Hittite" hieroglyphic writing is solved, we may, perhaps, find different dialects represented in the inscriptions of the different countries, inscriptions having been found in Syria, especially at Hamath, Aleppo, Carchemish, Marash, and Cilicia.

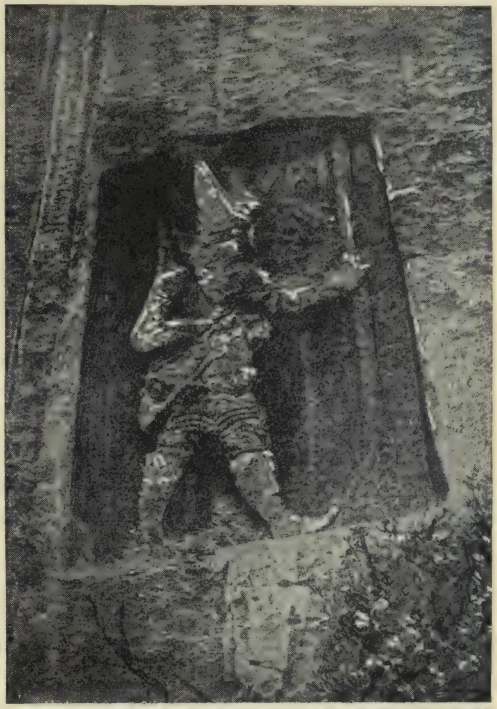
Whence Came the Hittites?

The Hittites, at the epoch when our information begins, had already forced their way into Syria, Mesopotamia, and even Northern Babylonia, for our earliest mention of them is in a recently discovered chronicle in the British Museum, which proves that they succeeded in capturing and sacking Babylon at the end of the first dynasty of Babylon before the Kassite conquest. Later on, in the

fifteenth century, Mitani possessed the supremacy in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, especially Khanigalbat, or Melitene, and in Musri, the tract which lies south of it, reaching away to the Anti-Taurus and the Taurus. This is the most ancient Hittite people with whom we are acquainted by means of their own inscriptions; it is, however, to be conjectured that they formed by no means the first detachment of the race which penetrated to Syria and across the Euphrates. In the Tell el-Amarna letters we find many indications of a Hittite population even in the southern district of Syria; the name of a prince, whose town we must look for in the territory of the Phœnicians, is undoubtedly Hittite. It cannot be ascertained at present to what extent we must look for Hittite names among the many which have not a Canaanite sound, especially in Syrian towns. This much, however, is clear—that the Hittites by that time had penetrated far into Syria.

By the side of these early Hittite tribes the empire of the Khatti, or Kheta, must have already existed, being called so uninterruptedly after the time of Thothmes III. We can now accurately determine from its own records and from the letters of Tushratta that it still had its capital in Cappadocia. We do not yet know how far it extended to the west, but we can trace both in the Tell el-Amarna letters, and in recently found documents at Boghaz Köi its later advance toward Syria. Tushratta himself was attacked by the Khatti, and before the end of the reign of Amenophis IV. the kingdom of Mitani had been brought to an end by the victorious advance of the Hittite king Shubbiluliuma and his successors, Murshili and Muttallu. In Phœnicia it was known how to make their menacing inroads not less alarming to the Pharaoh than the plans of the Babylonians. Aziri, the Amorite, in particular based his attacks against Nukhashshe, in the district of Aleppo, on the invasion of the Khattian king, from whom he professed to wish to rescue the land for the Pharaoh. As it turned out, Sapalul had already invaded Nukhashshe—that is to say, had advanced south of the territory of Mitani. Some fragments of the correspondence between him and the Pharaoh are extant. They testify to a strained position. Matters had gone to the extent of a refusal to show respect, since in the correspondence the king of the Khatti placed his name in front of that of the Pharaoh instead of after it, the position which is demanded by courtesy. This furnishes the subject of a special letter of the Pharaoh.

The advance of the Khatti, which is thus attested, was favoured in the next period by the impotence of Egypt. Accordingly, Assyria and the Khatti were natural rivals in Syria. So long as Adadnirari I., Shalmaneser I., and Tukulti-Ninib



A HITTITE SCULPTURE FROM WESTERN ASIA
Hittite sculptures are found over the whole of Asia Minor as far as the west coast. This is one of the "Sesostris" sculptures, near Smyrna, showing the pointed cap and turned-up boots.

asserted their power and kept possession of Mesopotamia, their advance must have still been blocked; indeed, under Shalmaneser, Assyria advanced as far as the borders of the Khattian empire itself. However, by the precipitate downfall of the Assyrian power, owing to the death of Tukulti-Ninib, about 1270 B.C., they obtained a free hand in Syria.

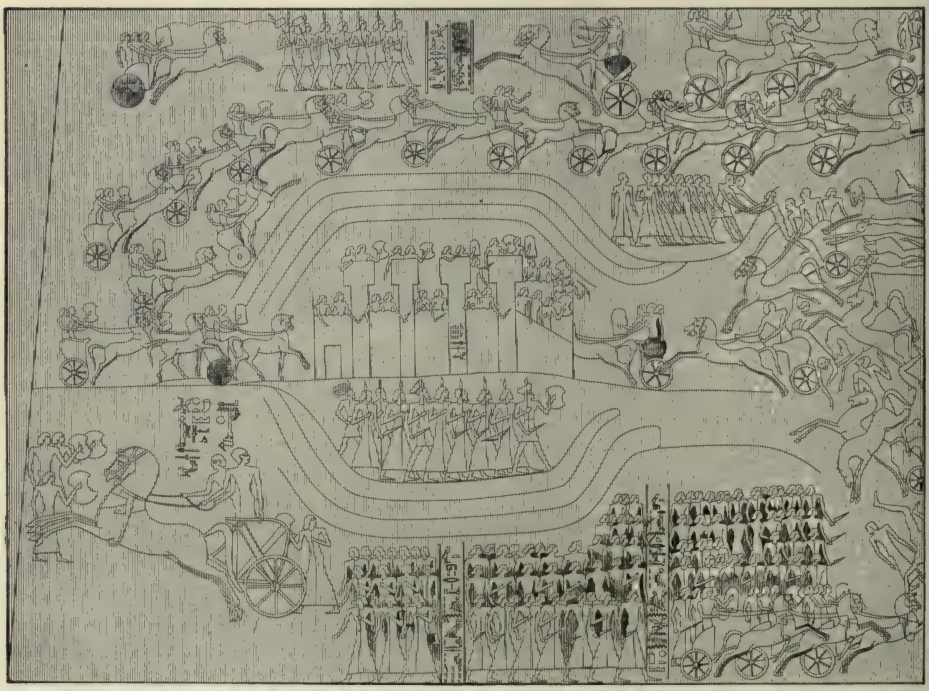
We now find them, on the renewed advance of Egypt in the twelfth century B.C., in possession of almost all Syria, and it is to this period that the large and

important find of tablets at Boghaz Köi mostly belongs. It was already known from the Egyptian inscriptions that under Rameses II. friendship existed between the kings of the Khatti, Sapalul, and Mautenra —that is, that Egypt had tolerated their advance. Seti I. records wars against the king of the Khatti, when he begins to reconquer the Asiatic provinces; but it is improbable that he had already won victories over him. Ramses II., on his further advance into Palestine, had been forced to fight several battles with the Khatti, and boasts, in particular, of a great victory at Kadesh, on the Orontes, one of the towns which even in the Tell el-Amarna period had a prince with a name that is probably non-Semitic. The battle is more important from its description than from its results. Sixteen years afterwards a solemn treaty was concluded between the two powers, in virtue of which both states mutually acknowledged their respective rights, and pledged themselves to guard their common interests. The king of the Khatti was Khetasar—or, as we now read the name in his own inscriptions, Khattu-shili. While Egypt, by this agreement, claimed Palestine roughly as far as Mount Carmel, Syria was completely conceded to the Khatti, and belonged to them as absolutely as it did, for example, to the Assyrians in the eighth to the seventh centuries. Henceforth the term "land of the Khatti" was adopted by the Assyrians to designate Syria; and the title remained, and was even extended further to the south in times when the Khatti had long since disappeared, or only the small remnant of their former greatness, the kingdom of Carchemish, still existed.

Egypt's Hittite Wars

It is interesting to note that among the tablets recently found at Boghaz Köi one of the most important of the diplomatic communications as yet deciphered is a version in the Babylonian language of the treaty drawn up between Khattu-shili and Ramses II., which was previously known to us only from the Egyptian copy upon the walls of the temple of Karnak. The tablets, and fragments of tablets, found upon this site during the excavations carried out since the summer of 1905 number several thousands, and it is probable that the site is still far from exhausted. They are all

Treaty with Egypt



A PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE VICTORY OF RAMSES OVER THE HITTITES AT KADESH
From a sculpture in an Egyptian temple commemorating the victory of Khatusaru



"Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

HITTITE SPIES CAUGHT BY THE EGYPTIANS

From a picture in an Egyptian temple, illustrating an incident before Ramses' battle with the Hittites at Kadesh. The spies, being beaten, disclosed the secret of a Hittite ambush, thereby contributing to the Hittite defeat.

written in the cuneiform character of Babylonia; but while some are composed in the Babylonian language, the majority are written in the native language of the country. Those in the former category, like the Tell el-Amarna letters, are composed in Babylonian, since that was the language of diplomacy throughout the East. Of these several represent diplomatic communications which passed between Ramses II. and the Hittite king Khattu-shili, the most important being the Babylonian text of the treaty already referred to. From these documents we learn that the native name of Khattu-shili's wife was Padu-khipa, and that among his predecessors upon the Hittite throne were Shubbiluliuma, Murshili and Muttallu, under whom the Hittite advance into Northern Syria took place. As might be expected, the tablets also begin to furnish information concerning the kingdom of Mitani, and the names of other members of the family of Tushratta who occupied the throne have recently been recovered. We may note that in Khattu-shili's correspondence the full name of Ramses II. is given as Uashmuaria Shatepuaria Riamashesha mai-Amana, which gives the appropriate pronunciation, doubtless slightly altered in a foreign tongue and writing, of the Egyptian name which we conventionally read as Usermaa(t)ra setepenra Ramses meri-Amen. We thus see, as in the Egyptian names which occur in the Tell el-Amarna letters, that no modern transliteration of ancient Egyptian represents accurately the true pronunciation of the characters. It is natural that of the documents discovered, those in the Babylonian language should be the first to be deciphered. When the whole "find" has been made available for study we shall be able to trace in considerable detail the history of the Hittite empire at the period of its greatest prosperity. A preliminary examination of the documents composed in the native tongue seems to indicate that this was employed for communications to vassal states, for matters of internal administration, and for local and commercial intercourse. The decipherment of this class of tablets is facilitated by the fact that the language is written upon them in the Babylonian character, which was thus employed by the Hittites of this period in much the same way as the Arabic character by the Persians and the Turks. The language itself, it is already noted, is very similar to that of Arzawa, in which two of the letters found at Tell el-Amarna are written, and it is not improbable that the tablets will furnish us with examples of other native languages and dialects. These documents, both Babylonian and Hittite, are already yielding the names of a large number of provinces and cities of the Hittites themselves, and of the races with whom they were in contact, and when they have been completely deciphered

Hittite Egyptian Letters

Babylonian Hittite History



CARCHEMISH, A LANDMARK OF THE VANISHED HITTITE POWER IN SYRIA
This mound at Jerabis, on the Euphrates, probably covers the remains of the Hittite state of Carchemish.

and translated, there is little doubt that they will reveal an entirely new chapter in the ancient history of the Nearer East.

The supremacy of the Khatti in Syria did not last long; they were not driven out by Assyria, which did not stand in the way of their advance, but when Tiglath-pileser again invaded Syria their empire had already lost its power. It had been overthrown by peoples of its own race, those which followed the very same road as the Mitani in former times. We find these people in 1100 B.C. in the extreme north of Mesopotamia and on the borders of Asia Minor in conflict with Tiglath-pileser. They may have destroyed the empire of the Khatti in Northern Asia Minor, and occupied the most northerly part of Syria as well as the adjacent districts of Asia Minor, invading them from the north. The sole remnant of the Khattian empire was the state of Carchemish, on the Euphrates, which may at first have also possessed part of Syria. After this time this state is termed Khattian by the Assyrians, and this is the cause of the transference of the term "land of the Khatti" to Syria proper. But soon, being hard pressed on the south by the Aramæans, it lost its importance, and after the time of Shalmaneser II. it meets us as an insignificant tributary state of Assyria, or of the other great powers which dominated Syria, such as Urartu, before 745 B.C., and was then annexed by Sargon under its last king, Pisiris.



KHATUSARU, PRINCE OF THE KHATTI
From an Egyptian sculpture of the Hittite prince and his daughter. The above is reproduced from "The Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K.

The newly immigrated peoples which thus took the place of the Khatti, and were, according to the theory referred to above, Hittites also, were especially the Kummukhi, or Kumani, who had been settled for some time in the district south of Armenia on both banks of the Euphrates when Tiglath-pileser mentions them for the first time. They remained permanently settled there, and their name (Commagene) was retained for the district on the right bank up to Hellenistic times. In the Assyrian era they were governed by kings of their own, but, like Carchemish, they were gradually brought under the yoke of Assyria, or had to obey the existing rulers of Syria. During the wars of the Assyrians with Urartu, the princes of Kummukhi, being situated exactly between the two powers, naturally vacillated from one to the other. The Hittite population here, as throughout Armenia, was first driven back by the immigrating Indo-Aryans. Besides this older stratum of the Kummukhi, the Kaski are mentioned, who

dwelt towards Northern Asia Minor—roughly speaking, Armenia Minor—and soon disappeared from the Assyrian horizon; it is possible that their name is identical with that of the Colchians. Tiglath-pileser mentions together with these, for the first time, the people of the Muski, some of whose levies tried in his time to conquer the territory on the left bank of the Euphrates, which had already been occupied by the Kummukhi. They were repulsed, and likewise disappeared from view, until their name meets us 400 years later, when Mita of Muski, as sovereign of a powerful kingdom in Asia Minor, waged war with Sargon on the Halys and in Cilicia, and was solicited by Carchemish for help against the Assyrian. The fact that the last representative of the Hittite power in Syria did this proves that the Muski were regarded by him as the successors of the Khatti, who once dominated



TYPES OF HITTITE SOLDIERS



"Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K.

A PRINCE OF THE KHATTI HITTITES

Asia Minor. They must, therefore, have replaced these in the supremacy of the Halys, and further westward; for Mita of Muski is none other than the Midas of Phrygia, who, soon after 700, met his death in the wars with the Cimmerians.

Melitene itself was also a separate state under princes of its own. The inhabitants were closely akin to the Tabal, who adjoined them on the south, and were settled mainly in Cappadocia as far as the Taurus, which separated them from Cilicia. They were split up generally into a number of cantons, which were governed by their own princes; their neighbours in Melitene were occasionally included among them, although sometimes we hear of a union under an over-lord, which amounted to a regular Tabal kingdom. Thus Sargon actually gave his daughter in marriage to Ambaridi, the "king" of the Tabal, and ceded to him, as a dowry, a portion of Cappadocia. He evidently intended by this favour to secure for himself a sort of "buffer state" against Midas, and thus to bring the Tabal—who had never been subjugated—if not under Assyria, at least under a native yoke. These were considerable nations, which had preserved the bond of national homogeneity, and in the highlands, a district more remote from the influence of Babylonian civilisation, were better able to retain their characteristics as well as the organisation of their tribal life. These immigrations also left some trace in the Syrian towns. We can clearly distinguish in them down to the Syrian age a non-Semitic as compared with an Aramæan population. But in them, just as in Carchemish, we should, on the whole, see not component parts of this new wave, but rather remains of the conquest by the Khatti, or of the "Hittite" immigrations which preceded them. At least, no definite people is here named by the Assyrians, but the accounts speak of princes who had long been in possession of the land, bearing both Semitic and non-Semitic, that is, Hittite, names.

We must equally reckon among the Hittites the population of Cilicia, called by the Assyrians Kue; and here hieroglyphic rock-inscriptions have been found right up to the Taurus. We may see in this population a wave of the great stream

which flowed thither from the Tabal. We ascertain from the Tell el-Amarna letters that the Lukki, also mentioned in Egyptian inscr ptions, engaged in piracy on the coast of Asia Minor and proceeded as far as Cyprus ; this was the people which gave Lycia its name, and from which Lycaonia also derived its title. If we add to this the Leuco-Syrians, who naturally are not "white Syrians," as the popular Greek etymology signifies, but are the Lukki from Suri, or Cappadocia, we thus have another branch of the Hittite migration which we may probably bracket with the Khatti. We might include in it the Hittite inhabitants of Cilicia. They would thus form a broader stratum than the Kummukhi, Muski, and Tabal, and would have entered the country almost contemporaneously with the Khatti.

Western Group of Hittites

If we consider these and the Tabal to compose a western group as compared with the eastern, which is represented by the Mitani and the Urartu nations—the Kummuki also belong more to this group—we can find authority for this division in a fact which, in the lack of other evidence, rivets our attention. The eastern group worshipped as their chief divinity Teisbes, or Teshub, who was identified with the Semitic Hadad, or Ramman. In classical times we find him still represented as Jupiter of Doliche in Commagene, with thunderbolt or lightning and the Hittite double axe. The chief deity of the western group, on the contrary, is Tarkhu, or Tarku, whose name meets us in the composition of many proper names. The hieroglyphic rock-inscriptions which we possess from Syria and Cilicia probably date from a period before Assyria was supreme there, or, indeed, had appeared upon the scene, and they may belong to the period of the earliest Hittite migration. The most ancient Hittite sculptures on Syrian soil have been brought to light by the excavations at Senjirli in Amq. They belong to the pre-Assyrian age, the most ancient of them probably to the second millennium B.C. ; in Senjirli we assume at all events only an old Hittite population, springing at latest from the Khatti ; Aramæans forced their way there later.

Most Ancient Hittite Sculptures

The result of this development is that Syrians and Aramæans are treated as synonymous, although this is true only in later times. In reality the Aramæans did not immigrate into Syria first, but became predominant there only after they had already spread over Babylonia and Mesopotamia. The reason of this is not far to seek ; the Hittite migrations had been able to advance only so long as no state powerful enough to offer a vigorous resistance was formed in the valley of the Euphrates. Mitani and the Kassites had advanced from two sides of the civilised country ; the earliest waves of the Hittites had equally profited by the weakness of Babylonia and Assyria. Contemporaneously with this stream, the flood of the Aramæan migration spread from the south over the Euphrates valley and Syria, meeting with no resistance from the Kassites who had settled on the river banks but forced to fight in Syria with the Khatti and their successors. Thus districts which appear to us at a subsequent period as completely Aramæan can have been occupied by Aramæans only at a comparatively late date. Damascus, Aleppo, and the towns of Northern Syria thus became Aramæan last of all, when Mesopotamia and Babylonia had long since been inundated by Aramæans. A town such as Pethor on the Euphrates, until then Hittite like Carchemish, was occupied only by Aramæans under Ashur-irbi ; Carchemish had always resisted them, and the more notherly districts of "Suri," like Commagene, had never been conquered at all by Aramæans, but had remained, until the annexation by Assyria, under the government of Hittite princes and tribes—a state of things which does not exclude the possibility of an advance by sections of the Aramæan population.

Limits of Aramæan Influence

The picture which Syria presents to us of the Aramæan migration about 1500 B.C. is as folllows : The old Canaanite population was driven out or subjugated by the Hittites, and now the Aramæans were advancing against these latter. Since Hittites still possessed in the twelfth century Cœle-Syria as far as Kadesh, the advance of the Aramæans into Syria was not, like that of the Arabians, immediately connected with the Syrian hinterland—that is, with the occupation of the countries of Damascus, Hamath, and Aleppo. They first went in a more easterly direction along the Euphrates, and, having seized Mesopotamia, they crossed the Euphrates and advanced towards the west—that is, toward Central Syria. Tiglath-pileser I.



ENTRANCE TO PALACE OR TEMPLE AT OYUK, GUARDED BY TWO SPHINXES



BAS-RELIEF AT FRAKTIN, REPRESENTING SACRIFICES TO HITTITE GODS



FACADE OF SCULPTURED STONES AND ENTRANCE TO BUILDINGS AT OYUK

drove the Aramæans at Carchemish over the river, where they occupied places of retreat on the right bank. The Hittite towns of Syria, with the exception of Damascus, were not occupied by them until later. It was only, therefore, in the Assyrian time that Aramaic supplanted the old Canaanite language. In the inscriptions of Senjirli from the time of Tiglath-pileser IV. we have perhaps the first attempts at Aramaic writing in these districts. Further to the north the Aramæan migration came into contact with the last wave of the Hittites, the Kummukhi, etc., and was thus hindered from any further advance. On their side they again prevented the advance of these latter into the regions once occupied by the Khatti as far down as Cœle-Syria. The action of Assyria after Ashurnasirpal prevented the Aramæans from occupying the larger cities and thus completing the subjugation of the countries already overrun by them. When that happened, the power of the Hittites to resist had certainly been broken, as is shown, for example, by the above-mentioned occupation of Pethor by Aramæans. But now everything was subdued by the Assyrians; the supremacy rested with them, and in a few districts with the Hittites. The failure to gain the political control is no proof indeed that the population was not becoming Aramæan; this tendency indeed would increase, unhindered, by peaceful methods.

Growth of Aramaic Language

The interference of Assyria explains the fact that we do not meet Aramæan states—that is, states where Aramæans ruled, a point which is almost clearly shown in our authorities by the names of the princes—in the old seats of civilisation of Central Syria; we may disregard those settled in the open country, since they could have had little influence on history. The only considerable Aramæan state which had for its home one of the centres of civilisation was Damascus; this, the farthest from Assyria of all those which we have mentioned, was the last to be attacked by the Assyrians.

Damascus Ruled by Aramæans

When Ashurnasirpal undertook his Phœnician expedition in 877 B.C., Amq, the tableland extending north of the lake of Antioch as far as the spurs of the Taurus, was united under one government, the kingdom of Patini. This is called in the Bible Padan-Aram, and is therefore regarded as Aramæan, the document which so calls it being the late Priestly Code. Nothing more need be inferred from this than that the population here at a later period was Aramæan. It does not seem probable that Aramæan princes ruled here in the time of Ashurnasirpal, and that the kingdom was therefore Aramæan; the names of the princes are indeed non-Semitic, therefore Hittite probably, so that we may see in this state a product of the Hittite conquest. We can determine from the Assyrian inscriptions the names of several kings; these are, Lubarna or Liburna, in the time of Ashurnasirpal; then Sapalulme, Kalparunda, Lubarna II., who died in 833 B.C., under ShalmaneserII.; Surri in 832 B.C., and Sasi after 832 B.C. The centre of the state is Amq, with its capital, Kinalia. The whole state had, like all these products of the Hittite time, a feudal constitution based on the system of cantons and tribes, the separate princes of which were independent or subject, according to the power of the suzerain. When, therefore, subsequently, Tiglath-pileser appeared upon the scene, the princes of the separate districts acted independently, and the kingdom of Patini apparently ended. We find, therefore, in its place the following separate states: Marqasi, the present Marash; Gurgum, Unki, or Amq, the former capital of the kingdom; Sam'al, and Ia'udi; and they were gradually annexed by Assyria.

Break-up of the Kingdom of Patini

The inhabitants of these countries, whose kings were, as compared with the Assyrian kings, merely large landowners, became in the meantime strongly tinged by Aramæan influences, although this does not prove that the Aramæans were rulers. Indeed, the names of the princes, such as Panammu and Karal, are hardly Semitic; and the only Semitic name, Azriia'u of Ia'udi, is probably not Aramæan, but Canaanite, and therefore belongs to the pre-Hittite stratum; the former have actual analogies in Cilician proper names, and may therefore be Hittite. On the other hand, the spread of the Aramæan language is noticeable, and the use of Aramaic and of alphabetic writing begins. It is also illustrative of the composition of the population, and of the persistence of an old Canaanite strain, that even now Canaanite was written in the "Phœnician" style, as is proved by a small fragment found a mile or two west of Senjirli.

The traces of the Aramæan script and language of this period were derived from excavations carried out in Senjirli at Amq, the capital of the small country Sam'al. These documents were drawn up by Barrekab, the vassal of Tiglath-pileser IV., the son of the Panammu mentioned by Tiglath-pileser, who died, according to his son's inscription, in 732 or 731 B.C., in the camp of Damascus, to which place he had followed the army. A somewhat older monument comes from Gerjin, a place five miles east of Senjirli, and was erected by Panammu the elder, " king " of the neighbouring district Ia'udi. The inscriptions are the most ancient texts in Aramaic which we at present possess, and they show by an unskilled employment of the language, and the want of any uniform orthography, that we have here the first attempts made in these regions at writing Aramaic. It follows from this that Aramaic was now spoken here, and that Aramæans had established a dominion by peaceful measures such as they could not have founded by force.

Aleppo a Separate State

To the east of this district lies Aleppo, which is not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as the seat of a separate state. When Shalmaneser II. came there on his first expedition against Damascus, in 854 B.C., he sacrificed to Hadad, but he tells us nothing as to the political position of the town; we might suppose that it then had its own government, and was therefore a relic of the Canaanite-Hittite power. In the Tell el-Amarna period we find in this country the state of Nukhashshe, which had a constitution similar to that of Patini. Its suzerain writes to Amenophis III. that his grandfather had been appointed by Thothmes III.; he himself was being hard pressed by the Khatti. Aziri, the Amorite, speaks of kings of Nukhashshe; the land was governed, therefore, by various cantonal princes.

To the south of this, Hamath commands the country between the territories of Aleppo and of Damascus. In the Tell el-Amarna letters the towns Ni, Katana, and Kadesh are named in its place. We may see in the first two the most important towns of the country, Apamea and Hœms, or Emesa, or their predecessors. They were occupied by a Canaanite and Hittite population; we have already become familiar with Kadesh as the home of the Khatti in the twelfth century. Here, too the Aramæans were unable to make conquests. We therefore find in the kingdom of Hamath, which soon afterwards comprised the whole country, a state with a mixed population of Canaanites and Hittites. When Shalmaneser, in 854 B.C., marched against Damascus, among his " allies," in reality his vassals, were Biridri and Irkhulini, king of Hamath. Like the other vassals, he broke away from Damascus on the change of dynasty under Hazael, and appears to have joined Assyria, since after that time no more is heard of Hamath. We meet Hamath again, under Tiglath-pileser IV., as an Assyrian vassal state, but under Sargon in the rebellion of Ia'ubidi it lost its independence.

Hamath a Vassal Kingdom

The territory of Damascus, the last great city toward the desert, adjoined that of Hamath on the south. At the period of the Tell el-Amarna letters it plays no more important part than Hamath, although it is mentioned as still subject to the Egyptians. It then suddenly appears, contemporaneously with the kingdom of David, as the seat of another kingdom, which had arisen during the impotence of the greater nations. From the very first it was in the possession of Aramæans, for the kings of Damascus were Aramæans, and this state is always expressly designated as Aramæan. This is the only instance in which the Aramæans, generally speaking, were ever rulers of a considerable state, based on an old centre of civilisation, and in which we can speak of any encroachment of the Aramæans on the political field of world history.

Damascus owed this advantage to its situation, which long protected it from the attacks of Assyria. On the other hand, it lay the nearest of all the centres of civilisation to the plains; and its importance consisted then, as now, in its peculiar position as the starting point of the caravan route through the Syrian desert. Damascus was thus the emporium of the Arabian and Babylonian trade with Syria and Palestine. It was therefore the great city in Syria which was first exposed to the attacks of the Aramæans invading from the plains, and it thus first fell into their hands. Even among the Tell el-Amarna letters a short despatch to the Egyptian court speaks of a menacing advance of Aramæan hordes; it is not clear

Damascus Syria's Greatest City

from what place they came, but the writers must have been settled somewhere in Syrian territory. The advance of the Aramæans and their successes in this district are further proofs of the fact that to the south of Damascus in the time of Saul and David there was a small Aramæan state in Soba, and also, stretching right up to Israelitish territory, the state of Geshur, where Absalom lived in banishment. But these states attained no position of importance, nor did they endure for long. It is indeed a probable conjecture to associate the rise of Damascus under such circumstances with its occupation by the Aramæans. According to this view the empire of Damascus would rank from first to last as a creation of the Aramæans, and may, from the standpoint of political development, be regarded as the focus of Aramæan history.

Scene of Absalom's Banishment

The first references to the empire are found in the Bible. According to these, in the time of Solomon, Rezon, son of El-yada, threw off the yoke of his lord Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, seized Damascus, and thence, like David from Hebron, increased his power. Zobah must thus have been a centre of the Aramæans, who had pressed on against Syria. The occupation of Damascus would accordingly be the next stage in their advance, as well as their greatest success in this region. Rezon is said to have been continually at war with Solomon. Galilee and the district east of Jordan are henceforth a constant object of contention between Damascus and Israel. The Bible mentions other kings of Damascus; the tradition is uncertain, however, and the names are corrupt. It is most probable that we have in them the next two kings, the first of whom is called by the Bible Hezion, and may well have been named Hazael; he was followed by Tab-Rimmon, or Tab-el, but nothing beyond their names is known. In the period after their successor Bir-idri, the Ben-hadad of the Biblical narrative, our accounts are more copious. Damascus under him, about 885–844 B.C., comes into prominence as the leading state in Syria. In the year 854 B.C. Bir-idri was attacked by Shalmaneser II. On this occasion the latter enumerates the states dependent on Damascus, which had been forced to supply troops, as follows: Hamath, Israel—under Ahab, Moab and Judah are included as being dependent on Israel, and Edom, in its turn, dependent on Judah—the North Phœnician states to the north of Gebal, Ammon, and Kue, or Cilicia, in fact a list of vassals which represents an empire such as cannot be shown to have ever existed there before. The battle at Karkar did not result in any success for Shalmaneser. Equally fruitless were the attempts in his next expeditions to defeat this vanguard of Syria. So long as Damascus was not subdued, Assyria could not get a firm footing there. While this was the case, it was impossible for any states in those regions to side with Assyria, even if they wished to, for they were always exposed to the attack of Damascus so soon as the Assyrian army was withdrawn. We can trace this fact in the history of Israel. The issue now always turns on the question whether Assyria or Damascus should be supported; and this question continued to influence the policy of the smaller states until Damascus was taken by Tiglath-pileser.

The Rise of Damascus

We must regard the increased power of Damascus, which we now first notice, as due to Bir-idri. Even in later years he and his successor Hazael were taken by the Israelites as types of the greatness of Damascus. Amos (i. 4) mentions the palaces of Ben-hadad as signs of the flourishing power of the state, which then for the last time was interfering in the history of Israel. Damascus is not alluded to before Shalmaneser. But we may, perhaps, gather from the silence of Ashurnasirpal on his way to Patini, and from the road which he then took, that the empire of Bir-idri already existed at that time, and that the Assyrians avoided any collision with it. For this reason he did not extend his movements beyond Patini, and did not march further southward into Phœnicia; with the exception of Arvad he mentions no tributary Phœnician states, beyond a few which Shalmaneser does not enumerate as vassals of Damascus. It is possible that here also a critical state of affairs may have existed. In any case he avoided an attack on the hinterland or even a demand for tribute from it; this may account also for his silence as to Israel—then, perhaps, under Omri—which was tributary to Damascus, while Tyre, for example, pays tribute to Assyria. The Bible tells us—in 2 Kings viii.—

Powerful Kings of Damascus

of the death of Bir-idri in one of the narratives of the prophet Elisha, but in a way which does not make it clear what part his successor Hazael played in the matter. This change of monarchy is clearly connected with the fall of the house of Omri —that is, of the great Yahve movement in Israel and Judah, which had brought Jehu to the throne. Since Jehu quickly submitted to Assyria, it may be concluded that Assyria had a hand in the revolution, which she fostered in the hope of weakening an enemy she could not subdue in the field. Hazael may also, perhaps, have courted Assyria in order to secure his throne, but, so soon as he was king of Damascus his interests demanded resistance to Assyria and an attempt to recover his old power. We therefore find him at once, in 842 B.C., at war with Shalmaneser. But a vast difference is now perceptible, which shows how Assyrian diplomacy had carried out its task. While under Bir-idri the vassal princes were always mentioned, Hazael now stands alone; and while the Assyrians had always hitherto been repulsed, they advanced this time right into the territory of Damascus itself, and Hazael was forced to defend himself in the capital. The other strong places were naturally not captured; Shalmaneser was obliged to content himself with laying waste the open country in the true Assyrian fashion. The expedition of 839 B.C. met with equally small success, and after that Assyria renounced for the time any further efforts to reach her goal. A disastrous time now dawned for the



HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS FROM ALEPPO
An untranslated inscription representing a distinct Hittite dialect.



AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM IN HIEROGLYPHS
This Carchemish inscription, like all other Hittite inscriptions, has not been deciphered.



HITTITE INSCRIPTION IN HIGH RELIEF FROM CARCHEMISH

states—Israel among the number—which meanwhile had joined Assyria, for Hazael began to subjugate them once more. Their position was the more unenviable, since a renewal of submission to their old lord implied a defection from the new lord, whose vengeance was then to be dreaded. They were thus placed between two fires. Israelite history shows us the distress to which this state was reduced, and the Bible has preserved the recollection of it when it makes Elisha bewail the evil which Hazael would bring upon Israel.

Israel Between Two Fires

The successor of Hazael must have been Mari, who is familiar to us from the inscriptions of Adad-nirari III.; the Bible in 2 Kings xiii. 25, appears to mention him also under the name Benhadad. He had been again attacked by Assyria, and had submitted after a siege of Damascus. Through this the other vassals of Assyria at least enjoyed peace, among them Israel. The decadence of the Assyrian power after Adad-nirari had once more given Damascus a free hand. In 773 we have evidence of a new expedition under Shalmaneser III.; then nothing more transpires as to Damascus until Tiglath-pileser IV. appears to resume and to conclude the struggle.

We must see the successor of Mari in Tab-el, whom the Bible, in Isaiah vii. 6, names as the father of Rezon; nothing further is known of him. With his son and successor, Rezon, we have once more additional sources of information. We find him, in 738 B.C., on the first appearance of Tiglath-pileser IV., still among the tribute payers. But soon afterwards he revolted, and at the same time, by contriving the rebellion in Samaria, which caused the fall of Pekahiah, the son of Manahem, who was loyal to Assyria, he raised his partisan Pekah to the throne. We then find the two together in 735 B.C. before the gates of Jerusalem (Isa. vii.) attempting to overthrow Ahaz, who adhered to Assyria, and hoped with its aid to gain Israel. But in the very next year Tiglath-pileser appeared in Palestine, subjugated Philistia, overthrew Pekah in Samaria in 733 B.C., and besieged and captured Damascus in 732 B.C. Rezon lost his throne and his life, and Damascus became an Assyrian province. This virtually completed the subjugation of Syria, since no further resistance of a serious nature was possible. The rebellion of Ia'ubidi of Hamath, which had hitherto supported Assyria, was easily suppressed by Sargon. Syria after that time was ruled by Assyrian governors, or feudal lords, who were unable to follow out any independent policy of their own.

Final Subjugation of Syria

There never was a Syrian civilisation in the sense in which we speak of a Babylonian or Egyptian culture. History has shown us how Syria, lying between the two great zones of civilisation, was almost always subject to their influence. Such investigations, as was the case with the political history, present far greater difficulties than in the region of the Euphratean empires, since a system of petty states has always prevailed in Syria, which renders it hard for the historian to adopt a comprehensive view, even if he were sufficiently acquainted with the necessary details. Here, therefore, we must content ourselves for the present with ascertaining isolated facts of which chance has informed us. At the same time we possess in the monuments on Syrian soil the productions of a civilisation the history of which is only beginning to be revealed to us. The explorer looks with longing eyes at the so-called "Hittite" hieroglyphs, in which an increasing number of inscriptions are being found. The materials are as yet, comparatively speaking, insufficient to furnish a key to their decipherment, which a more copious supply of specimens or the discovery of a lengthy bilingual inscription may reveal in the future. We can demonstrate that the system of writing employs the same fundamental notions as the cuneiform characters and the hieroglyphs, the main principle being the employment of separate signs for the syllable and for ordinary ideas; but a simple conjecture might have deduced that from the mere number of the written characters. Only their outward forms, therefore, are clear to us as yet, and these show, apart from their shape, a fundamental distinction from those of Egypt and Babylonia. While the Egyptians or Babylonians scratch or cut the writing into the material, the greater number of the Hittite inscriptions which we at present possess are executed in high relief upon the stone. It is idle to speculate as to the origin of this custom from the

Civilisation That is Still Obscure

comparatively late documents which have been found on a foreign soil; but, since the incised cuneiform writing is the reproduction of what was originally scratched or impressed on clay, the reverse usage must point to a different origin. It is, indeed, a point to be considered that we have as yet to do only with monuments engraved with this hieroglyphic character; simple documents, corresponding to the Babylonian clay tablets and our written papers, with which the writing originated, are wanting, for the tablets found at Boghaz Köi, including the native Hittite texts, without exception employ the Babylonian syllabary. It is worthy of note that the style of the older Aramæan inscriptions on Syrian soil meets us in those of the eighth century, while, on the other hand, the oldest inscription found on Canaanite soil—the stele of King Mesha, of Moab, the contemporary of Omri—is scratched upon the stone. If we are to recognise in the latter the influence of Babylonia and Assyria, it is clear that the Hittite custom continued to operate in a district once occupied by the Kheta. As we have already stated, the tablets discovered at Boghaz Köi will probably furnish us with evidence on which we may decide the disputed question as to the origin and date of these hieroglyphic inscriptions, which are usually regarded as products of the Hittite civilisation.



THE MOABITE STONE
This stele of Mesha, king of Moab, is the oldest inscription found on Canaanite soil. It is cut in the stone, while Hittite inscriptions are in high relief.

Granted that the Hittite culture exercised an influence which for a time matched that of the other bank of the Euphrates, this will have shown itself in many achievements of civilised life which are as yet unknown to us. We possess perhaps an important testimony of this in the *mina* of Carchemish, which was distinguished by the Assyrians from their national one. It is not, indeed, established whether that was a weight adopted from the Hittites. But if such was the case, this alone would indicate a far-reaching influence of the Hittite spirit upon trade and business transactions; and indeed even on the conditions of the tenure of the soil. From this it would result that not only a dominant section of the Syrian population represented the Hittite strain, but that in reality a population had developed which preserved its national characteristics, and under the changed conditions of life in their new home continued to develop independently. If an art, which existed there only for the powerful and ruling classes, and was fostered for them alone, had comparatively little to do with the subordinate sections of the people, the universal adoption and recognition even by the later Assyrian rulers of the Hittite weights and measures show that the population of Syria in all its classes must have been Hittite, or permeated with Hittite customs. This would, besides, tally in every respect with what we are as yet able to ascertain as to the religious conditions. We have not regarded the conquest by the Khatti as the first appearance of "Hittite" peoples in Syria and we may assume that, both with them and after them, other kindred nations settled there. The conquest of Syria, evidence of which we begin to see in the Tell el-Amarna letters, was one undertaken by a great state, which had its seat and the central point of its civilisation and power in Asia Minor. It thus differed little from the Assyrian conquest two centuries later; just as this did not give Syria an Assyrian population, so that of the Kheta, or Khatti, did not make the country "Khattian" down to the plain of

the Orontes. The actual result was only a military occupation of the country and its impoverishmnet by officials. If, therefore, we may conclude that the population even of the ninth and later centuries B.C. contained an admixture of the earlier Hittite elements, we must equally see in it the result of occurrences which preceded and followed the conquest. Out of the countless waves of this great immigration that of the Khatti represents only one, possibly the most far-reaching in its effects, but not for that reason the most lasting. Similar migrations of homogeneous tribes which inundated the empire of the Khatti in its original home, and gave it a new population, must have also affected the Syrian conquests of the Khatti. So soon as a foreign power ceased to hold in subjection the separate countries which were ruled by their native princes or governors, the result immediately followed that these hitherto dependent countries constituted so many small " kingdoms " which waged war with each other. The result of the Khatti conquest was a " Hitticising " of the country in so far as the country was open to the advancing tribes.

Hittite Influence in Syria

The same conditions prevailed when the Aramæans a little later advanced from the south. The result of this contest between the two great movements which here crossed each other's path was a population mainly Aramæan in the south, a mixed population in the centre, and a predominantly Hittite one in the north. It was organised in separate petty states, which remained independent until conquered by Assyria, a power as strong as that of the Khatti.

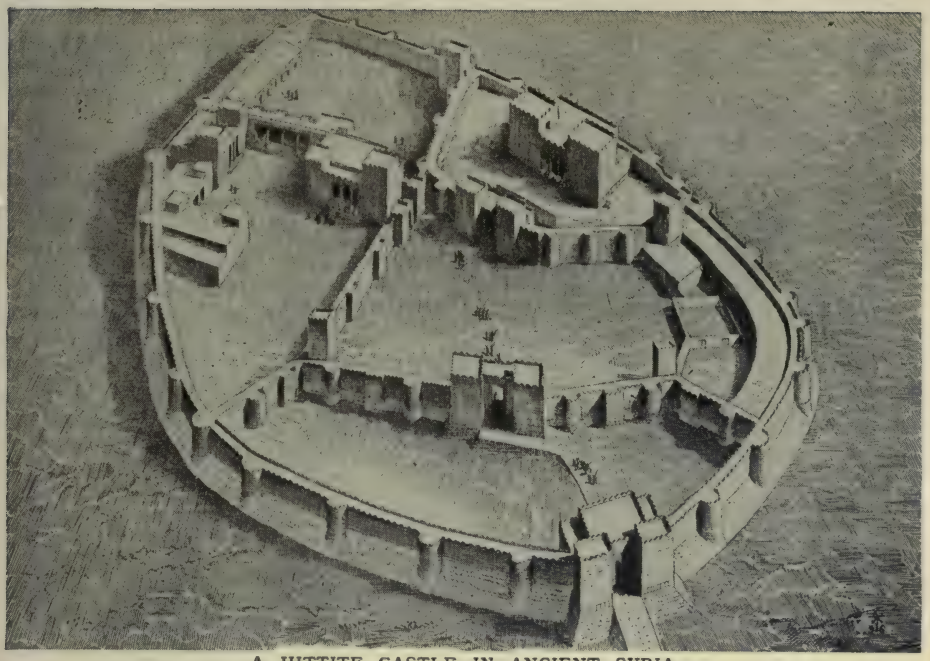
Such conditions could not develop any true Syro-Hittite culture. The state of things was too precarious, and revolutions followed too rapidly to allow anything peculiar to the Syrian soil to be formed which might be compared with the Babylonian civilisation. All, therefore, that we possess of the productions of " Hittite " art is very rude. Of course, an unimportant provincial town like Sam'al, or Senjirli, to which we owe the oldest sculptures, cannot be regarded as determining the extent of Hittite achievements on Syrian soil.

We may expect to find a genuine Syro-Hittite art in Carchemish, which remained for the longest period the most flourishing seat of the Hittites. Indeed, a large number of monuments have been discovered there, but not sufficient to enable us to pass a final judgment upon Hittite art. Those taken to Europe are for the most part fragments on which all that is preserved is the inscription ; other sculptured slabs were not removed from the mound during the excavations on this site, and they are still to be seen above the soil. They include representations of two Hittite gods, the figure of a Hittite goddess, and the like. We can summarise briefly the productions of Aramæan skill. The only specimens, indeed, to be considered are the sculptures of the last period of Sam'al-Senjirli, the statue of the god Hadad, the statue of Panammu, and the reliefs of the palace erected by his son Bar-sur. Just as the execution of the writing in high relief imitates that of the Hittites, here again hardly anything original is to be found. If it were not that Aramaic inscriptions are cut on them they would be included with the rest as merely Hittite. We have little else that is Aramæan ; nothing actually from a soil which was more purely Aramæan than the Sam'al of the eighth century. The Aramæans display but small capacity to produce independent results in culture and intellectual achievements. Just as the Arab lived on the powers of Byzantium and Persia, so they lived

Products of Aramæan Skill



HITTITE KING AND A WARRIOR
From the remains of Senjirli, Northern Syria



A HITTITE CASTLE IN ANCIENT SYRIA
A reconstruction, from remains at Senjirli, Northern Syria, of a brick castle of the Syro-Hittites.

on those of the Babylonians, Assyrians and Hittites.

Senjirli, the only ruined place in Syria which has hitherto been thoroughly excavated, has given us information as to the architecture, since it has transmitted to us the form of a midgal, or castle. This, from being the centre and place of refuge of an originally open settlement, became later the nucleus of a walled city. The influence of Babylon is noticeable in the choice of brick as the building material. It would be premature to form from this one building any opinion of the construction of the rich and powerful Syrian towns, the different centres of civilisation: Carchemish or Hierapolis, Aleppo, Hamath, Damascus, etc.

It would be still more rash to attempt to formulate the Aramæan ideas of faith and religion. A few names of deities in later tradition comprise nearly all that could serve as a basis for such speculation. The Aramæan characteristics are most strongly marked in Southern Syria, owing to the comparatively weaker influence of the Hittites, which the old Canaanite life of the second Semitic migration had successfully resisted. The ideas of Canaanites and Aramæans may, indeed, be assumed with some probability to have been originally identical, and the question is mainly one of different names for similar religious conceptions. Thus, in view of the traditions of a time which had no longer any comprehension of the old stratification of the peoples and their different characteristics, we are hardly in a position to single out anything as peculiarly Aramæan. If, even at the period of the eighth century B.C., traces of the Canaanite language can be proved to have existed in the district of Senjirli, we must also regard the few names of gods in the inscriptions found there as a Canaanite, and therefore pre-Aramæan, inheritance which was not affected by the intermediate rule of the Hittites. At the same time, it is of course to be remembered that foreign influence must have made itself felt in great centres of culture sooner than in remote provincial towns. Thus the divine name El is clearly common to Canaanites and Aramæans. Rekab is originally Canaanite, and is found in Southern Judah. Only Hadad, whose cult is proved to have been the most important in Damascus, may be Aramæan; his Canaanite name was Ramman, or Rimmon, the god of weather and fertility.



VIEW OF MODERN SIDON SHOWING CONNECTION WITH MAINLAND



SIDON FROM THE NORTH SHOWING THE FORTIFICATIONS



THE ISLAND CITY LOOKING TOWARDS THE LEBANON MOUNTAINS

SIDON, THE ANCIENT SEAT OF PHŒNICIA'S RELIGIOUS CULT



PHŒNICIA AND CANAAN

THE strip of land which is bounded by the Syrian desert and the chain of Antilebanus on the east, and by the Mediterranean on the west, has never been the home of a great unified kingdom. Being chiefly mountainous and intersected by the two streams which rise in the centre and are of no importance for communication, the Orontes from south to north, and the Jordan from north to south, it was never able to advance far beyond the cantonal system natural to highlands, and was always hindered by the system of petty states. The sea, indeed, afforded a natural high-road of commerce for the towns on the coast; but these lacked the hinterland, which would have offered the requisite territory for a larger population bent on developing a higher civilisation. They were thus prompted from the first to extend their power beyond the sea, and the more so since they were hard pressed in the rear by a succession of new and still uncivilised nations. The country, in consequence of its situation between the two great civilised states on the Euphrates and the Nile, must have been a natural goal for the efforts at expansion made by both nations long before we have any record of it. The history of these regions varies according to the power, whether Babylonian-Assyrian or Egyptian, to which they were subject. The ever-recurring spectacle, which has continued from the Hellenistic period through the Middle Ages down to our own time, is due to the position of the country and its configuration, which prevents the formation of a large state.

The Need of Oversea Expansion

Accordingly in the millennia of the development and full expansion of the Sumerian and of the contemporary Egyptian civilisations a population was settled there which was probably of mixed origin. That there was a pre-Semitic element is certain. We cannot say that the pre-Semitic Palestinians were connected by kinship with the Sumerians. It is most improbable that the Sumerian race ever extended itself west of the Mesopotamian valley. And the pre-Semitic elements in Palestine are quite different from the pre-Semitic elements in Mesopotamia. There are elements in the Semitic cultures of both Palestine and Mesopotamia which must be put down to the pre-Semitic inhabitants of these lands, but whereas in Mesopotamia these elements are evidently of Sumerian origin, in Palestine they are to be ascribed to the older inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin, whose race is to be found in Spain, in Italy, in Greece, and probably also in the Egyptian delta and the Northern African littoral: the short, dark, dolichocephalic race, which is collectively known to us now as "Mediterranean." It is to this race that the distinctively "Canaanitish" elements in the Semitic culture of Palestine must be ascribed; in Palestine, as in Crete, sacred stones and groves were venerated, and modern British archæological labour has made it very probable that these elements of religion are in Crete of pre-Hellenic, in Palestine of pre-Semitic, origin. This is but a cursory reference to a revolutionary theory, which considerations of space forbid us to elaborate further here.

Nature of Pre-Semitic Influences

Eventually, the Semites, whom we find in the earliest ages of Egyptian history settled in the Sinaitic peninsula and possibly also in the highlands of Southern Palestine, pressed northwards, and supplanted in Palestine and Mesopotamia the older inhabitants. Henceforward Semitised Canaan, connected by kinship with the ruling people in Babylonia, was subject to its influence and acknowledged its sovereignty alternately with that of Egypt. Just as all subsequent Semitic migrations probably brought to Palestine a new stratum of population, so the first of them, the Semitic Babylonians, may have discharged there some portion of its tribes. Even if this stratum of the population is more tangible for us, since it is historical in Babylonia at least, and if we can

Semitic Migrations to Palestine

therefore see traces of it later in Phœnicia, in much that strikes us as Babylonian, yet we know nothing of any tribes which pushed on from the north toward Phœnicia; we are still without detailed accounts of the civilisation of Asia Minor at this early period.

The Canaanite Group

The real history of Canaan and Palestine begins for us with the immigration of the new inhabitants. These nations really developed themselves there, and on the soil of that land sustained the part they played in the world's history. Since during this time Canaan in its peculiar way was comparatively independent, we term this group, which alone has given a certain importance to the country, the Canaanite. We have assumed that this migration led also to the occupation of other countries—of Babylonia, and thus of the whole Euphrates valley—and not impossibly influenced early Egypt. In Canaan and Palestine we can distinguish two sections of this immigration—an older one, which, already settled at the time when our sources of information are more copious, had long been in possession of the towns, especially of the seaports; and a younger one, which at this very time was on the point of conquering the country. The former is called the Phœnician, after its chief representatives; the second, in conformity with the Bible and the Tell el-Amarna letters, the Hebraic group. While therefore we understand by the former almost all the tribes which immigrated first, and accordingly settled in the towns and on the sea coast, the latter comprises the section which the documents at our disposal distinguish as still migrating and conquering, and thus opposed to and at war with the former. The best known of these are the tribes which the Israelite national confederation comprised, the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites.

Israel's National Confederation

They spoke, on the whole, the same language; but the distinction between the two main groups is noticeable by differences of dialect. It is not improbable that the red-headed Amorites were not of true Semitic origin, but were Berbers, or Libyans, from Africa, possibly ultimately, like some of the Egyptians, of "proto-Semitic" affinities. They then represent a third element in the land—the Libyan or Kabyle—as distinct both from that of the Mediterranean and the Semitic.

Our present task is to treat the elder of the two Semitic groups, the settled group, according to our accounts. This contains, first and foremost, the inhabitants of the towns on the coast, the Phœnicians, as they were called by the Greeks. They immigrated into Canaan probably before the middle of the third millennium, B.C., and overran the country at first, until, pushed on by the masses following after them, they established themselves in the maritime district. The kindred tribes which pressed on after them are the Canaanites of the Bible, whom we then find, at the time of the Hebrews, in the towns of the interior, and of whom we hear nothing except their struggle with the "Hebrews."

The immigrating "Phœnicians" were naturally not a people under a uniform government and rule, but tribes which usually pressed forward independently, swept on by the general stream, pushing and being pushed, until the surviving fragment of them finally found in some place rest and settlements. There they distributed themselves among the various fortified towns, or the districts lying under their protection.

Phœnicians a Settled People

Thus they were not the founders of these towns, but took over what had been already achieved by the earlier population. Their destinies were those of settled nations. They entered into alliances with each other when their method of life brought them together; they separated when it kept them aloof. The Phœnicians proper are a settled people, and, as such, a product of the conditions which had forced them to settle permanently. Their individual groups did not migrate as compact units, and it was not until the new homes were reached that these combinations were formed.

We can distinguish some of these groups, taking them from north to south, which correspond in their main features to the important towns. The most northerly of the Phœnician states proper is Arvad. The towns lying to the north certainly belonged to it. Its exact site is known, and to the present day retains its name, Ruad. The town was situated on an island, as are Sidon and Tyre. As we go further towards the south, we come on Gebal, or Byblos, the modern Jebeil, built on the mainland, with the cult and temple of the "Ba'alat of Gebal." This town already existed before 2000 B.C., when it was

known to the Egyptians at the beginning of the twelfth dynasty as Kapuna, a name which it preserved always in Egyptian. South of this comes Beirut, a separate kingdom at the Tell el-Amarna period, afterwards usually joined to Gebal; it is never mentioned by the Assyrians. Then comes Sidon, also originally situated on an island. Its chief cult was that of Astarte, and it contained the acknowledged national sanctuary of the Phœnician tribes. Finally, the most southern state, Tyre, possessed the sanctuary of Melkart, Melek-kiryat, "King of the city," who was afterwards imported by the Tyrians into Greece as Melikertes of Corinth. More of the coast was also originally in the possession of kindred tribes; these, however, either did not, or could not, join the Phœnician tribal league. Even in the Tell el-Amarna period we find independent princes there, whom we must call, according to the Biblical designation, "Canaanites." But then these towns, so far as they did not belong to Tyre, like Akko, Dor, and Jaffa, were occupied by the Philistines, who were not of Semitic race at all, but European immigrants from the Ægean. Their connection with the Phœnician league was thus once for all frustrated. To these larger states belonged the separate small towns. These, in part originally occupied by portions of the tribes which conquered the chief towns, in part subdued in the natural course of affairs or by force, had been compelled to join them. Many of these may occasionally have had their "king," or some other form of self-government, though they never attained any importance.

Regime of Independent Princes

Of the four states of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, not one ever extended its dominion beyond its own coast territory; thus their position was quite small, or even insignificant. The most influential of the four were Tyre and Sidon, and they were consequently always rivals. This rivalry led for a long period to the subjection of the one by the other—the kingdom of the "Sidonians," with its capital, Tyre. A union of all the Phœnicians, or even the subjugation of the hinterland, was never accomplished. There never was an empire of all Phœnicia.

Only Sidon and Tyre attained any importance in the world's history, while the two northern states sank more and more into the background. We must not overestimate, however, the importance of the former; it was their reputation which made them prominent in comparison with the other two, rather than a conspicuously powerful position. They owe this reputation to the fact that precisely at the time when they appear on the horizon of the west—that is, when they came into touch with the Greeks—the Sidonian empire of Tyre was in existence, which was in reality somewhat superior to the others. Thus the name of the Sidonians and Tyrians is prominent after the ninth and eighth centuries. Two or three centuries previously there was not the slightest trace to be observed of it. In the Tell el-Amarna letters in the fifteenth century they are all equally petty, Sidon and Tyre perhaps more so than Gebal, and all alike threatened by the Amorites, who had then already occupied Arvad.

Eminence of Sidon and Tyre

Sidon must, however, have occupied a peculiar position. The "Phœnicians" were designated by the neighbouring peoples, as by the Israelites, by the collective name of Sidonians, and it is proved that they must have so called themselves, since the same appellation is found among the Greeks of the oldest period in Homer, and the kings of the united kingdom of Tyre and Sidon bore the title "King of the Sidonians." This does not imply merely the inhabitants of Sidon, but the entire people, so far as it was then a coherent whole. That designation shows that Sidon must have assumed a commanding position, which, in conformity with these conditions, can have been only that of a universally acknowledged federal sanctuary. This position is clearly demonstrated in the veneration which was shown to the sanctuary of Sidon, the famous temple of Astarte; it was for the Phœnicians somewhat the same as Delos or Dodona was for Greek races. This did not lead to any political supremacy any more than in Greece the common devotion of certain states to a certain deity meant the recognition by them all of any political supremacy of the state in whose territory the common sanctuary lay. On the contrary, the only case of a permanent subjugation of a considerable tract of the coast, which we shall have to notice, originated with Tyre.

The Famous Sanctuary of Sidon

The accounts of the earliest times are more than scanty. The traditions



ALL THAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF ARVAD, ONE OF THE PHŒNICIAN STATES

The most northerly of the four Phœnician states was Arvad, now known as Ruad. It was situated on an island.

concerning Sargon of Agade and his western conquests at the beginning of the third millennium, though they have come down to us in documents of a late date, are probably trustworthy so far as they record his conquest of the Palestinian coast, and are evidence of Babylonian influence in that region. We have merely a few statements of the Sumerian patesi Gudea as to the intercourse of his country with the West. We require to realise the significance of this influence not less than that of the succeeding period, and must not judge it by the paucity of such records. Even then it is possible that ships put out to sea from the settlements which afterwards the Phœnicians occupied, and were the medium of intercourse with the West. The nameless inhabitants of this coast may even then have distributed the products of Babylonian civilisation to the rising peoples of the eastern Mediterranean.

A change in the situation was later produced by the immigration, which made the Phœnicians and their congeners lords of the land. It may have been this same immigration that brought Babylonia and Egypt also into the hands of Semitic "Canaanites," in Egypt called the "Hyksos." Thus during this period the bond of union with the great civilised country on the Euphrates had been drawn closer; on the other hand, intercourse was maintained with their kinsfolk in Egypt. It is thus intelligible how the influence of this connection meets us later in the civilising effects of the Tell el-Amarna period, and how the Palestinian chiefs, when subject to Egyptian rule, exchanged



PHŒNICIAN TOMB OF EGYPTIAN DESIGN

A Phœnician adaptation at Arvad of tombs at Memphis. It contained several stories, with chambers for the bodies. From a reconstruction by Ernest Renan.

with the Pharaoh letters written in cuneiform characters.

While the "Canaanite" rule in Babylonia was being ended by the Kassites, Egypt was in revolt against the barbarian Hyksos; and the revival of prosperity induced the Pharaohs to turn their attention to Palestine, which the Kassites, who met the opposition of the bands pressing forward from Asia Minor, had been obliged to leave to its fate. There now begins the period of the Egyptian rule which was founded by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, notably Thothmes III., and lasted for a long time.

Under his successors, Amenophis III. and IV., we have in the Tell el-Amarna letters the most trustworthy documents as to the condition of Palestine under the Egyptian rule, and we can by their aid picture to ourselves the state of the country in the second millennium, the era into which the immigration of the second, or Hebrew, group of the Canaanite population falls. We possess some 300 of such letters, which were sent by princes of Syria and Palestine to the Pharaoh or his officials. All countries, so far as they acknowledged the Egyptian suzerainty, are represented in the collection. The most northern country, corresponding to the district of Aleppo, is Nukhashshi, which maintained a very independent attitude towards Egypt. There are letters from all the places thence as far as the southern frontier of the country. All these letters are written in cuneiform, and composed in a language which may be described as Babylonian adapted to Phœnician, a lingua franca which employed the Babylonian vocabulary, but often modelled it on the laws of Phœnician, and constructed new forms, particularly in the conjugation of the verb, which is very distinct from the Babylonian.

We are now concerned chiefly with those states only—among the number represented in the letters—which lie to the west of Lebanon and further to the south in the territory of the subsequent kingdom of Israel. We will begin with the most important, the Phœnician. These states, like the whole land, were governed by their own native princes, under the sanction of the Pharaoh. No actual Egyptian administrators on the model of the Assyrian provinces were appointed. We may best call the established system an Egyptian "protectorate," as that will serve to give a picture of the local independence controlled by Egyptian residents and subject to state service which prevailed under the Pharaohs in the outlying lands of their empire.

The most northerly Phœnician town, Arvad, precisely at this time fell into the



PHŒNICIAN TOMBS AT ARVAD AFTER CHALDÆAN MODELS

Two chapel-tombs in the Phœnician cemetery at Arvad, with the Chaldæan round tower and cupola. Like the pictures on opposite page, the above was obtained by the official French mission to Phœnicia under Ernest Renan in 1862.

hands of a prince named Aziru, advancing from the hinterland. He is described as an Amorite. His rise determined the entire policy in Northern Phœnicia; for, being dissatisfied with Arvad, he advanced further toward the south, where the nearest state was Gebal—then the only one of any considerable extent—and conquered in the hinterland towns of the Beka'a, such as Tunip, perhaps Heliopolis-Baalbek, and, further to the north, Ni. He extended his territory northward as far as that of Nukhashshi. His career proves that we have to do with all the phenomena of a feudal state, and one without a strong superior lord. The Pharaoh indeed does not admit any obligation to secure tranquillity in the country. His vassals have the right of declaring war, and only when they declare themselves independent, or throw themselves into the arms of another great power, or are suspected of so doing, is there any excuse for taking active measures against them. Accordingly we find continual wars waged by one neighbouring prince against another, and each one tries to make the court consider his opponent disloyal. Suspicions thrown on the loyalty of others, and assurances of their own fidelity, with protests against the accusations of the others and requests for support against them—such matters compose the contents of the letters.



ASTARTE
The goddess of Sidon.

Aziru was a prince of tribes which first conquered the land, and so belonged to the later stratum of the great Canaanite immigration, and thus stood in natural opposition to the inhabitants already permanently settled. These latter we described as Phœnician, from their oldest and most powerful representatives; the former, as Hebrew, for, as in the Old Testament, "Hebrews" is the designation of the first tribes who immigrated, living in the open country and aspiring to the possession of the towns. That the Hebrews are the same as the tribes called in the letters of the Egyptian national archives "Khabiri" is doubtful, since the initial guttural is quite distinct in the two words, but is by no means impossible.

Aziru, advancing southward from Arvad, and conquering two or three small towns, among them Arka, ruled by princes of their own, which lay on his route, reduced to great straits the territory of Gebal, whence the prince, Rib-Adda, sent letter after letter to the Egyptian court asking for help. Sumur, or Simyra, a town on the coast north of Gebal and belonging to it, was captured, and Aziru invested Gebal itself without the Pharaoh's intervention. Rib-Adda went to Beirut to obtain assistance, and thus lost his throne to his brother, who did not relinquish it again. Aziru then advanced still further; he was indeed the ultimate cause of all the disorders in that country. At last, however, he was forced to appear at the court to answer for himself, and was kept under arrest. We possess a letter of condolence sent to him in Egypt by one of his loyal followers, which must have been intercepted by the Egyptians, since it was put among the records and preserved in the State archives. The Amorites, nevertheless, advanced still further. The oldest of the written documents of the Old Testament describes the original inhabitants of the Israelitish territory as Amorites.

Going southward from Gebal we come to Beirut, where Rib-Adda sought refuge with the king Ammunira, who seems to have been anxious not to quarrel either with Rib-Adda, who really had reposed trust in Egypt, or with his dangerous opponent. Zimrida, king of Sidon, gives little sign. We gather from the complaints of his neighbour, and thus his natural enemy, Abimilki or Abimelech of Tyre, that he made common cause with Aziru, and thus attempted to gain an advantage over his neighbour in Tyre. Things went very badly with the latter. He was besieged on his island and cut off from the mainland by Zimrida, who had secured the support of Aziru, so that he could not even draw water on the land. He tried to propitiate the Pharaoh by communicating all sorts of news from the country. Neither he nor Zimrida had any considerable territory, and there is no idea of the supremacy of the one or the other.

Further to the south, Akko had a prince of its own; it is often mentioned as a port for travellers to Egypt. Jaffa and Gaza, further on, were under one prince, and



VIEW FROM THE MAINLAND SHOWING THE ARTIFICIAL ISTHMUS



RUINS OF OLD SEA WALL: ALL THAT REMAINS OF ANCIENT TYRE



FROM THE MAINLAND SHOWING RUINS OF AQUEDUCT TO THE ISLAND

REMAINS OF THE ISLAND CITY AND KINGDOM OF ANCIENT TYRE

Askalon, between the two, under another. We cannot decide whether these were already Philistines, immigrants from Crete; but their names do not look like those of Phœnicians and Canaanites, and the Greek tribe of the Danuna, or Danaans, are already mentioned as settled on the coast. The only one of the numerous princes of the hinterland that interests us is Abd-khiba, king of Jerusalem, not an hereditary prince, but one appointed by the Pharaoh. He is hard pressed by his neighbours Tagi, Milki-el, and the sons of Lapaia, and cannot find words to express the certainty that, if help is not brought to him, the country, which otherwise would be secured to the king, will inevitably fall into the hands of the Khabiri. A detailed description of the letters would take too long; a large number of well-known Biblical localities are specially mentioned as objects of these wars. The princes from a whole series of towns merely announce in short formal letters their readiness to submit to the royal commands and to put their troops at the disposal of the Egyptian general.

Abdkhiba King of Jerusalem

A remarkable document has been found in Tell Hesy, the ruined site of Lachish. Closely resembling the Tell el-Amarna letters in writing and appearance, it is a letter addressed to an Egyptian general, which announces the defection of two princes. The one of them is called Zimrida, like the Sidonian prince, and he is known to us, both by one of his letters from Tell el-Amarna and by his accounts of Abd-khiba, as king of Lachish. By a remarkable coincidence this isolated tablet was found in the excavations at Tell Hesy almost at the same time as the great discovery of archives in Egypt was made known. The discovery at Tell Hesy can be explained only on the ground that the letter of Zimrida had been intercepted.

The letters from Tell el-Amarna cover only a few years of the last period of Amenophis III. and of the beginning of the reign of his successor. All accounts lead us to conclude that the Egyptian power was not firmly established. It rested really more on the impotence and the discord of the innumerable petty princes than on the strength of Egypt. Rib-Adda, then, tries to traduce his rival Aziru, who is, he says, conspiring with the kings of Babylonia, Mitani, and the Kheta, and if he seizes the country, will hold it as a fief from them.

Rivalries of Petty Princes

In the disorders which ensued on the death of King Amenophis IV., Egyptian influence, especially in the north, was destroyed, and the land became dependent on the Kheta, whose advance we can ascertain even from the Tell el-Amarna letters. Shubbiluliuma their king, and his successors, Murshili and Muttalu, were bent upon the extension of their power over the whole of Northern Syria, and were only checked by the defeat of Khattushili by Ramses II. at Kadesh a century later. Babylonia could not extend her power to the west. She had in Assyria a perpetual opponent which diverted her attention. The kingdom of Mitani, which bulks so large in the Tell el-Amarna letters, was destroyed by Shubbiluliuma before the end of the reign of Amenophis IV. The Egyptian rule was therefore once more established in the thirteenth century B.C. by the repulse of the Kheta and the treaty made with them under Ramses II., who left a monument of his presence in Phœnicia in the shape of the stele of the Nahr el-Kelb. The picture presented by the land at this time thus presents the closest resemblance to that which was noticeable two centuries before, only that the bearers of other names played the parts of Rib-Adda, Aziru, Abd-khiba, etc. At that very time the tribes of Israel may have conquered their homes, and have combined into a tribal federation. In the north the Egyptian supremacy had once more been shaken off, and even in the south the princes turned to the Pharaoh only as a last resource, when they could not hold their position with their own forces. The eleventh century sees the conquests of the Philistines, immigrant from Crete and the Ægean, and the rise of the monarchies of Saul and David; the new millennium sees the kingdom of Damascus, when neither Egypt nor Assyria, which in the interval had come to the front, was powerful in Palestine. In the south merely banished princes like Hadad of Edom, or unsuccessful pretenders, like Jeroboam, sought an asylum, and sometimes saw their wishes realised by the arrival of an Egyptian army, as Jeroboam did.

Ramses the Great in Phœnicia

The four Phœnician states were still less affected by these circumstances than the countries in the interior, for the sea always gave them more independence, and the wealth which their trade procured

them lent them the strength to resist the Egyptian armies, or the means of securing their freedom by payments. Arvad had received a new population from the Amorite conquest, and we left Gebal when Aziru was on the point of subduing it. The Amorites by their further advance, as the subsequent dialect shows, apparently succeeded in winning this also. The two did not appreciably change their character in consequence; they remained maritime and commercial cities as before; but they were certainly detached from the old confederation of the Phœnicians or Sidonians. There is the additional fact that Egypt's power here in the north was less strong, so that these towns were forced to submit sooner

without any hindrance. So the kingdoms of David and of Tyre and Sidon grew up. In the time of David and Solomon, Tyre had already assumed the leading place. Its princes styled themselves "kings of the Sidonians"; they dominated Sidon as well as the whole coast, so far as it still belonged to the confederation of the "Sidonians"—that is to say, all except the northern states. If the term "Empire of the Phœnicians" can ever be used, it is applicable at this period. We really do not know much beyond the little which the Bible tells us of the relations of Solomon to Hiram. We know that Hiram and his father Abi-baal did the most for the extension of their "kingdom." If a reading in Josephus is correctly restored,



CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF THE RED-HEADED AMORITES OF CANAAN
The Phœnicians, Hebrews and Amorites were the principal immigrants into Canaan. It is not unlikely that the Amorites were not Semites, but Berbers or Libyans. From "The Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K.

than Tyre and Sidon to the powers pressing on from Syria. They will thus have been tributaries to the Kheta, or Hittites, at a time when Sidon and Tyre must have still remained loyal to the Pharaoh. When Tiglath-pileser was in Arvad, which had therefore acknowledged his suzerainty, the Pharaoh sent him presents, and thus maintained neighbourly relations with him as the lord of the southern country. We may assume a similar state of things quite soon afterwards between Egypt and Nebuchadnezzar I., when the latter, before his defeat by Ashur-resh-ishi, had occupied Palestine.

The eleventh century B.C., which shows the least traces of any encroachments on the part of Assyria and Egypt, was the period when large states might arise in Phœnicia

Hiram founded Kition in Cyprus, which means that he captured the town with its inhabitants, and installed a Tyrian governor there. Kition is, however, mentioned by the Egyptians, with other Cyprian cities, as early as the time of Ramses III. (1150 B.C.), who speaks of the countries of Salames-ki, or Salamis, Katian, or Kition, Aimare, or Marion, Sali, or Soloi, and Ital, or Idalion, together. The *ki* at the end of the name of Salamis may be accounted for on the supposition that the Egyptian scribe was transliterating from a cuneiform original, and had inadvertently transliterated the city-sign *ki* after the name Salames. These names are all in very much their Greek form: were Aryan-speaking Greeks already settled in Cyprus as early as the twelfth century?

In the Tell el-Amarna period (1400 B.C.) Cyprus was the seat of a kingdom of Alashia, the king of which conducted a correspondence with Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., and even then was supplying them with copper. He also wrote in "Babylonian," and used cuneiform characters. Nothing is certain as to his nationality, but that he was "Greek" is highly improbable, though he may have been "Minoan"; no Phœnician name appears among the few mentioned. Indeed, it does not seem as if a Phœnician population had by that time assumed a commanding position in the island. Its seizure by Hiram three hundred years later would, therefore, mark the first foundation of Phœnician influence there. As is usual in such cases, the captured town Kition was "refounded," as the Assyrian expression is, and received a new name, in this case Kartikhadasti, or "New Town," the same, therefore, as the "New Town," or Carthage, in Africa. The island of Cyprus, which now became subject to the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon, was thenceforth administered partly as a Tyrian province under governors, partly by tributary kings of the separate towns. This must have been the most important possession of the Tyro-Sidonian kingdom; we can hardly entertain the idea that any of the African colonies were dependent. The splendour of the new kingdom found expression in Oriental fashion by the erection of new and magnificent buildings on the island of Tyre.

Cyprus Before the Phœnicians

We are indebted to an abstract by Josephus from the Annals of Menander, the Greek-writing historian of the Phœnicians, from whom these accounts are also taken, for the record of the most valuable facts about the reigns of the subsequent kings; being extracted from the Tyrian archives they have a claim to be reproduced in spite of their vagueness. According to them, after Hiram his son Baal-azar reigned seven or seventeen years, about 970–953 B.C., and then his son Abd-ashtoreth for nine years. He was murdered by the "four sons of his nurse," one of whom, Methu-ashtoreth, became king and reigned twelve years. He was followed by his brother Asterymus for nine years; the latter was murdered by his brother Phelles, who held the power for eight months. Nothing is said as to the motive for the rebellion of the brothers, nor does it appear what revolution was signified by their accession to power.

From the Archives of Tyre

Phelles was overthrown by Ithobal, the "Priest of Ashtoreth," who reigned thirty-two years, about 900 B.C. Even in this instance it is not known how the internal conditions affected this change, especially how far any antagonism between the two capitals, Tyre and Sidon, may have contributed to it. Ithobal is also mentioned in the Bible; Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, was his daughter. Then followed his descendants, Baal-azar, six years, Metten, nine years, and Pygmalion, forty-seven years — until about 800 B.C. Josephus draws up his list so far after Menander, since Carthage is said to have been "founded" under Pygmalion, and he makes a point of settling this date at the place in question. In any case it is certain that the dynasty of Ithobal held the power for a long period. The story of Dido and the foundation of Carthage have been connected with the revolution in which Pygmalion killed the husband of his sister, the priest of Ashtoreth. Since there is no need to doubt the historical nucleus of the story, we may well assume that the high-priest, connected by marriage with the king and probably otherwise related, had attempted to seize the throne, but had been defeated in the attempt. Thus it was a struggle of the priesthood against the monarchy, an incident common in the East and observable at this same period in Israel and Judah.

Priesthood Against Monarchy

We can extract very little from the notices of Josephus, derived from Menander, as to the relations existing between Tyre and Sidon. With the rise to power of Abi-baal, Tyre becomes the ruling city, while Sidon, the seat of the universally acknowledged cult, and thus enjoying a religious prestige, is in reality the subject city. It is conjectured that in the two revolutions just mentioned this position was to some extent affected. Our accounts do not inform us whether the "Empire" still continued to exist under these circumstances, or whether a fresh separation of the two states resulted. At any rate, the Assyrian accounts from the period after Ithobal speak of the two towns as separate. Shalmaneser II., both in 842 and 839 B.C., mentions the Sidonians and the Tyrians (under Pygmalion

therefore) as paying tribute separately. As, then, Ithobal in the Bible is still termed "King of the Sidonians," a separation must have taken place in the interval between 900 and 800 B.C.

Adad-nirari III. speaks of Tyre and Sidon as two states; his expedition towards the west must have taken place soon after Pygmalion's death. Assyria, perhaps, had favoured and brought about a separation of the two states on the principle "divide et impera." Tradition places the "foundation of Carthage" about 845 B.C.—namely, at the time when Shalmaneser, after 854 B.C., waged war in the west with Damascus; in 842 B.C. Sidon, Tyre, and Jehu of Israel paid him tribute. On the basis of similar circumstances it may be supposed that the intrigues in Tyre between Pygmalion and his brother-in-law had been carried on with the support of Assyria. Sidon would thus have probably acquired its independence as regards Tyre through the support of Assyria, and would have lost it when help was not forthcoming; at least, that happened again in 701 B.C. At the time when Assyria could not interfere in the west the old conditions had been restored. When Tiglath-pileser again appeared here in 738 B.C., he recognised only a king of Tyre, and none of Sidon, which accordingly must have been once more subject to Tyrian supremacy.

Sidon Subject to Tyre

The territory of the empire was, however, restricted then by the Assyrian province created by Tiglath-pileser in 732 B.C., which, comprising several of the northern Phœnician towns, Simirra, Arka, and the district of Lebanon, had been entrusted to his son and acknowledged successor, Shalmaneser. Hiram II., then king, always paid his tribute and avoided any misunderstanding with Assyria. Metten II. must have succeeded him about the year 730 B.C. He let things go so far as a war with Assyria, but was soon brought to reason by an Assyrian army in the year 729 B.C., and had to dip deeply into his well-filled coffers in order to purchase peace.

Metten had not a long reign, and possibly his submission to Assyria led to his fall. In the year 727 B.C., that is, shortly after the death of Tiglath-pileser, Elulæus, as the account of Menander preserved by Josephus calls him, or Luli, as Sennacherib afterwards calls him, suspended the payment of tribute. Shalmaneser is said to have marched towards Tyre, but consented to conclude peace; this is equivalent to saying that Luli declared his readiness to resume payment of tribute. We then have a further, but not very clear, account by Sargon, who says briefly that "he had hauled the Yavna (Ionians) like fish out of the midst of the sea, and had thereby procured peace for Tyre and Kue, or Cilicia." This obviously refers to a repression by the Phœnicians under Assyrian leadership of the piratical attacks of the Greek Ionians, now in the heyday of their "young, light-hearted" mastery of the waves, and spreading colonies along all the shores of the Mediterranean.

Rise of Grecian Sea Power

When the West rose after the death of Sargon, Luli in Phœnicia and Hezekiah in the hinterland were the leaders round whom the insurgents rallied. But then, as usual, there was no organised resistance, and all the towns, with the exception of Tyre, surrendered to the Assyrians without more ado. Sennacherib enumerates on this occasion the kings of Phœnicia, and thus affords us a welcome insight into the existing conditions. There were Menathem of Shams-maron, an otherwise unknown and unimportant Phœnician town, Abd-le'at of Arvad, and Uru-melek of Gebal. All the towns of the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon were seized without difficulty. Sennacherib mentions Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bet-Zaiit, Sarepta, Makhalliba, Ushu, opposite the island of Tyre, Ekdippa, or Akhzib, and Akko. Tyre itself was unsuccessfully besieged, a fact about which Sennacherib naturally is silent; but we know of it from Menander, who tells us that even the Phœnician ships of Sennacherib were destroyed by the Tyrians. Luli himself fled to Cyprus, that is, to Kition, in order to wait there for a favourable opportunity of returning to Tyre, which still held out. He must, however, have died soon after, whether in Kition or after a return to Tyre, we do not know. Sennacherib is very reticent on these events. In his record of the year 700 B.C., the account of Luli's death is still missing, but occurs in the next record of 691 B.C. The most probable explanation would be that Luli came back quietly after the withdrawal of the Assyrians, and took steps to regain his lost territory.

Tyre Besieged by Assyrians

Sennacherib had meanwhile taken advantage of the enmity between Sidon and Tyre to secure his own influence. He set up Thubaal, or Ithobal II., as "King of the Sidonians" in Sidon, who received the whole maritime district of the empire of Sidon and Tyre, with the exception of the unconquered island of Tyre. This was of course tantamount to a declaration of war between the two cities or states, and Assyria secured the part of arbitrator. At first, indeed, Sennacherib was still occupied elsewhere, and he died while engaged on the task, so that he did not even chastise Jerusalem. Besides that, the advance of Tirhakah in Egypt brought a new opponent into the field, from whom Tyre and Sidon could find support.

Enmity Between Tyre and Sidon

The precise details of the events at this time are not clear. Contrary, however, to what might have been expected, we find Sidon rebelling against Assyria at the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign in 680 B.C. Abd-milkot, in all probability the successor of Ithobal II., who had been set on the throne in 701 B.C., was forced to abandon the town, and met his death two years later with his confederate Sanduarri. Sidon itself was completely destroyed. From Esarhaddon's account we gather that hitherto it had been situated on an island; this island is the part of the modern town which juts out into the sea; and thus at that time must have been separated from the mainland by a narrow strip of water. Esarhaddon ordered the town to be absolutely demolished, and a new city to be built as the capital of the newly constituted province of Sidon, according to the usual custom, in "another place"—that is, on the mainland opposite. This Assyrian town, of course, was called by the inhabitants Sidon, and became the nucleus of the later Sidon. But the destruction of the city was of grave moment for the Phœnicians, since their national sanctuary was obliterated and Sidon ceased to be the seat of the ruling religion. According to a tradition, which probably refers to this event, the gods were then carried off in safety to Tyre. Thus Tyre, from being the political centre, now became the religious centre of the Sidonians, while their old federal city was destroyed, and its name was borne by the capital of an Assyrian province, where sacrifices were offered to Ashur and not to Ashtoreth, or Eshmun. It was only under the Persian rule that Sidon, like Jerusalem, regained its independence. After that there were again kings of Sidon. But during these and later times there are proofs, both from names and in other ways, that the worship of the Assyrian gods obtained there. The new Sidon presented the same features as Samaria, a town of Babylonian "Cuthæan" inhabitants with their native cults. Just as Samaria was a rival to Jerusalem, so Sidon afterwards disputed with Tyre the precedence belonging to the highest antiquity; that is, according to the ideas of the time, it disputed which of the cities could claim the honour of sheltering the gods, to whom the land of the "Sidonians" belonged.

Sidon Falls to Assyria

After the territory of Sidon had become an Assyrian province, Phœnician history is limited to the kingdom of Tyre. The fact that such a kingdom existed, and that it still possessed territory to lose proves that in the meantime Luli, or a successor, operating from Tyre, must have recovered the territory on the mainland which belonged to the town. Whether Kition was lost in the interval or not is doubtful, for Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal mention a special king of Kartikhadasti, Dumusi. It can hardly, therefore, be assumed that the whole island had meanwhile come into the hands of Greeks, for Dumusi is not a Greek name. But all the other kings of Cyprus at this time were Greeks. Ten kings tendered their homage to Esarhaddon; besides the Semite Dumusi they are Aigisthos (in Assyrian "Ekishtusu") of Idalion, Pythagoras (Pilagura) of Chytroi, Keisos, or Kissos (Kesu), of Salamis, Etewandros (Etuandar) of Paphos, Heraios (Eresu) of Soli, Damasos (Damasu) of Kurion, Admetos (Admezu) of Tamassos, Onesagoras (Unasagusu) of Ledra, and Pytheas (Putsuzu) of Nure.

Sidon Lost to Phœnicia

At Tyre, King Ba'al, presumably Luli's successor, was at first loyal to Esarhaddon and actually accompanied him on his first Egyptian expedition. But then he allied himself with Tirhakah evidently in the hope of gaining by this the territory of Sidon. Esarhaddon, therefore, during the campaign in 673 B.C., sent a detachment of his army against Tyre; this force occupied Ushu on the

nainland, and constructed moles opposite he island, which cut off all communica-ion with the land, while the harbour was blockaded from the sea. The island of Tyre itself held out until the news of Tirhakah's expulsion. Ba'al then tendered his submission, but was allowed to retain only his island. On the news of the return of Tirhakah he rejoined him at once, so that the siege by the Assyrians was hardly interrupted. When, in 688 B.C.—now under Ashurbanipal—Tirhakah was again driven out, he submitted as before and had finally to consent to see his "kingdom" limited to his own small island. But opposite it, on the mainland in Ushu, was the seat of the Assyrian governor of the province Tyre, which comprised the territory of Tyre. Thus there was even less left of Hiram's empire than of Solomon's. There, at any rate, in addition to Jerusalem, there were two or three country towns, but here a man could walk round the whole "empire" in half an hour; in fact, it was not possible to fetch water without the sanction of the Assyrian governor. This was a state of things which must have perpetually fostered the wish for an insurrection. Just as in Jerusalem, so here there was a party, which was always urging defection, and made the king, who for good or for evil was forced to incur the odium attaching to a loyal subject of Assyria, feel his petty crown uneasy and full of thorns. The promises of Shamash-shum-ukin certainly found some response in Tyre, and in the "forties" of the seventh century B.C. a rebellion in the province actually broke out; it was, however, easily suppressed by Ashurbanipal and ended with the severe chastisement of Ushu and Akko.

The Tiny "Empire" of Tyre

Thus, the aspirations to regain the old power were not realised, so long as the power of Assyria lasted. Then came the great downfall, and with it the attempt by Necho of Egypt to build up his power out of the ruins. At Tyre advantage was taken of this opportunity to gain a footing once more on the mainland. The attempt met with little success, and when Necho was vanquished it was seen that Nebuchadnezzar was not disposed to concede favourable terms to the conquered. Another revolt followed under Ithobal III., the next king of Tyre, with whose name we are already acquainted. According to the account given by Josephus, Tyre was besieged for thirteen years, from 598 to 585 B.C., without any result. No doubt, hopes were entertained of Egyptian help, but as vainly as at Jerusalem. But even this time there was no capture of the city, although it was confidently expected; a fact to which the well-known hymn in Ezekiel xxvii. gives expression; Tyre by its position could defy the siege tactics of the Assyrians and Babylonians. It was thus once more saved from the fate of Jerusalem, and the island retained its own government. Its commerce enabled the city to pay the tribute punctually.

Island Independence Maintained

The records of the ensuing period are as follow: Ba'al II. succeeded Ithobal, reigning ten years; then came five Judges, each for a few months only, and a king, Balatorus, between them. Clearly we must assume a period of disorders, and various attempts by pretenders to usurp the power. Finally, a petition was sent to Neriglissar that Merbaal, obviously a member of the royal family, who lived, like so many other princes' sons, as a hostage at the court of Babylon, should be appointed king; the request was granted. He reigned four years; after him, at a similar request, his brother Hiram III. was nominated king, and reigned for twenty years. In the fourteenth year of his reign Babylon fell, and Tyre had a new suzerain.

Cyrus of Persia abandoned the Assyrian policy of provincial government by officials; he left to the towns and states the management of their home affairs, and made them subject only to the supreme authority of the satraps. Accordingly, in cases where a confiscation had already begun, but all possibility of the restoration of a national constitution had not disappeared, he restored the old régime. The most familiar example is Jerusalem; another is Sidon. Even Tyre must have derived a certain degree of benefit from the new policy, since it was allowed to recover its territory on the mainland.

New Life for Tyre and Sidon

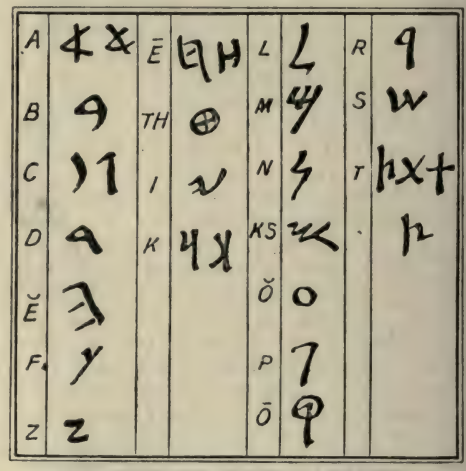
Thus there was once more the two states of Tyre and Sidon as close neighbours. The events of the intervening period had meanwhile obliterated the antagonism between "Sidonians" proper and North Phœnicians. The northern states, which had never ventured on a

revolt, had suffered less severely; Tyre and Sidon, which had been forced to pay so dear a price for their efforts at independence, were now like these, completely dependent on the Great King, although enjoying their own government. In addition to this, the differences between the component parts of the population had in the course of centuries been mitigated. Thus the similarity of their positions might well contribute toward their reappearance as a united people. Now, under the Persian rule, there existed once again the condition which we were able to assume only during a prehistoric age, one people from Arvad to Akko, which was regarded as united, and considered itself to a certain degree also as homogeneous. They are the "Phœnicians" in opposition to the old "Sidonians." The remaining history of Phœnicia occupies so brief a space that we may conveniently give it here, instead of deferring it in accordance with our chronological plan.

Phœnicia Under Persia

Now, as before, there were the four kingdoms of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as occasionally some smaller ones with which we have also already become acquainted. Gebal was less prominent. As the representative of the Northern Phœnicians, we find Arvad. This fact is supported by the otherwise not very trustworthy story about Tripolis, which was said to have been the federal metropolis of the three ruling states—Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad. Sidon and Tyre, as the nearest neighbours, and living on recollections of the past, continued their old rivalry. This opposition finds a sentimental expression in the dispute between the two as to the greater antiquity, which carried with it the honour of being the capital. Under the new conditions there is no longer any idea of a Phœnician "kingdom," even on the scale of Hiram's kingdom. The separate states were now only what it suited Persian policy to make them. Persia could have no interest in leaving them more freedom and unity than was necessary in order to gain wealthy tribute-payers. On the other hand, the efforts of the separate states were naturally directed towards the acquisition of the greatest possible degree of independence; and their self-government afforded them more opportunities of exercising an independent policy than would have been the case under the provincial administration. Still they had to coin money according to the Persian standard, with a figure of the Great King in his chariot on the coins, and often a little figure of an Egyptian king walking in humility after him—a visible reminder to the Phœnicians not to put their trust in Egypt, itself now a Persian province. The Persian supremacy, however, was not a very satisfactory guarantee that their territorial rights would be protected. They had to defend themselves against the attacks of neighbours in two ways—by warding them off with their own forces, or by gaining their cause at court. This latter procedure was costly, for intercession at court, as we know from the Tell el-Amarna time onward, entailed lavish presents even in Susa. Persian help was given in return, as Assyrian help had been given before, for the recovery of Cyprus, which was effected through the treachery of the Greek king Stasanor, in 497 B.C. A peculiar rôle, which was indistinctly conducive to their independent position, was assigned to the Phœnicians under the Persian supremacy as previously under the Assyrian. They had to furnish the fleets with which Persia enforced her oversea policy, and which the Persians themselves were as incapable as the Assyrians of constructing. Thus Phœnician ships formed a large part of the Persian armadas at Lade and Salamis.

End of Phœnician Kingdom



THE WORLD'S FIRST ALPHABET

To the Phœnician intellect is due the evolution of the first alphabet, illustrated above. Arabic equivalents are given on the left in the order of the Greek alphabet.

Sidon seems soon to have risen to its former prosperity. It made overtures to Athens and concluded treaties of amity with her. A large Sidonian colony was settled in the Piræus; some of the rare Phœnician inscriptions are known to us from this source. Sidon suffered a severe blow in the year 351 B.C., when it was chastised by Artaxerxes Ochus as a penalty for the part taken by it in the Egyptian revolt. By this event Tyre regained the ascendency. Shortly before it had been distinctly retrograding; indeed, that very Tyre which once had dominated Cyprus had actually become tributary to King Euagoras of Cyprus. We thus find Tyre, thirty years later, the only Phœnician town which offered resistance to Alexander, while Sidon, "from hatred of the Persians," gladly welcomed him.

There must have been peculiar circumstances attending this resistance of Tyre to Alexander the Great, who for the first time conquered and destroyed the city. Tyre did not imperil its existence from any loyalty to Persia. The reason is not far to seek. Sidon had from the outset gained over the new lord, and Tyre was destined to lose some of its independence. Alexander had indeed wished to offer the sacrifices in the temple of Melkarth. This request was refused; for by so doing he would have been declared king of Tyre. Was Tyre in any way deprived of its self-government, possibly in favour of Sidon? The course and the end of the siege are familiar. It left perhaps a permanent result, for the mole which Alexander ordered to be built is said to have connected Tyre for all time with the mainland, since the sea silted up more and more land on each side. From the new state of things Sidon in fact at first derived advantage. Some inscriptions of kings of Sidon, dating from the period of the early Ptolemies, inform us how at that time Tyre had taken the lead.

Alexander Destroys Tyre

With Alexander we have come to a time when ancient Nearer Asia has played out its part. After this it was subject to the dominion of Græco-Roman civilisation. The Phœnician states, at no time politically important, continued to exist on the old footing, prosecuting their commerce in the midst of petty jealousies. Their history runs precisely in the same grooves, so long as anything at all remained of the Ancient East.

The Phœnicians, or "Sidonians," were the Semitic people with whom the Greeks in their competition for the Mediterranean trade first came into close contact. They must have appropriated from them many achievements of Oriental culture. Since in their eyes the owners and the founders of towns were the same, the possessors of the sea-ports, which commanded the routes into the interior, seemed to them a people of an importance; which might flatter the conceit of the Phœnicians, it is true, but can hardly be substantiated in the light of history. We have become acquainted with Phœnicia as a narrow strip of coast, insufficient to allow a people to develop any constitutional greatness. This also excludes any possibility that a national civilisation can ever have been evolved here by the side of the civilisation of the other great states. The merchant facilitates the exchange of the productions of civilisation; in his home, as the focus of intercourse, much may also be produced which assumes a peculiar character as a result of the different forms of mental and industrial activity known there. But if a civilisation is to grow up with a natural development and is to reflect the character of people and country, it is necessary that this civilisation be indigenous, or at any rate, in harmony with racial feeling. And Phœnician culture bore no very national and characteristic impress. Its art was composed chiefly of Egyptian and Babylonian elements tastelessly mingled together; even the gods were represented as half Egyptian, half Assyrian. This art was transplanted to Cyprus, and mingled there with Greek elements, which resulted in an extraordinary mixture. Left to themselves, as at Carthage, the Punic race produced a miserable art, without character or distinction.

Culture of Phœnicia

In the case of the Phœnicians also, we must raise our often repeated lament that up to the present so little is known which can afford us any real insight into their life at the time of their true development. The mere absence of excavation may be in other instances to blame, but on Phœnician soil this prospect holds out little promise. It almost seems as if the continuously inhabited places, where Phœnician magnificence flourished, had retained less evidences of the antiquity

Phœnician Soil Unexcavated

with which we are now concerned than those of other centuries, where the piled-up heaps of débris have loyally preserved their treasures for the explorer's spade. No large building and no site of a town of the Phœnician time are known to us in their former condition; no lengthy inscription or other document speaks to us as yet in the words with which a Phœnician of the year 1000 B.C. composed it in his own language and style. The "invention"—or rather it should be called "evolution" — of alphabetic writing, which through the Greek alphabet has become the mother of all European writing, is generally regarded as the peculiar property of the Phœnician intellect. We might conceivably look in Babylonia for the home of an alphabetical writing, the phonetics and principles of which were used for a Semitic language. In fact a number of peculiarities in the alphabet show that it must have been influenced considerably by Babylonian philology. But that the alphabet is of Babylonian origin is not probable. Probably the alphabet first developed in Phœnicia, and passed thence on one side to Greece, on the other to the Aramæans and Mesopotamia. The real basis of the Phœnician alphabet would seem to be one of the many systems of linear signs that were current from early times in the Mediterranean basin; we find them in Egypt very often. It is quite conceivable that the Phœnicians had inherited some such system from their non-Semitic predecessors, and that though for a time they used the cuneiform script, at some period about 1000 B.C. the old "signary" came into general use for commercial purposes as being less cumbrous than the foreign system of wedge-writing. But naturally the use of cuneiform had its effect on the development of the alphabet. The Phœnicians were probably the inventors of alphabetic writing, just as the commercial towns of our era are the leaders of the intellectual and technical development of modern times.

Invention of the Alphabet

Purple of Phœnicia

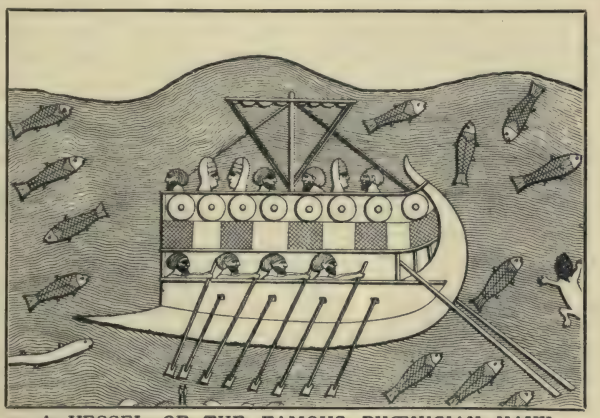
It is impossible to ascertain accurately the significance of the manufacture of purple by the Phœnicians. Tradition never differentiates between the inventor and the supplier; and it is uncertain what is the meaning of the Phœnician production of purple. We do not yet possess any notices of this valuable commodity from the times of Ancient Babylonia. The Assyrians allude to it under the same name as the Phœnicians, *argamannu* for scarlet, *takiltu* for dark purple; but whether the names and thus the idea are originally "Phœnician," must remain a moot point. A very definitely adverse verdict must be given with regard to the other invention attributed to them, that of glass; this attribution is a mere piece of later ignorance. Glass was an invention of the Egyptians, which passed from them to the Phœnicians, who probably made the glass found at Nineveh. Later on, the invention passed to Greece and Italy.

The celebrated Phœnician towns, Tyre and Sidon at the head, were indeed, according to our notions, absurdly small places. Tyre and Sidon on their islands were restricted to an incredibly narrow space, not larger than that of a good-sized public garden in the middle of our large cities. The size of the harbours in both these places of world-commerce quite confirms this view. An ordinary modern three-master would not be able to turn in them, even if it actually sailed in; the small basins with the narrow inlet were intended to receive only vessels which we should term boats. Yet these were the famous ships of Tyre, Sidon, and Tharshish, which navigated the Mediterranean in all directions.

The Tiny Navy of Phœnicia

It is satisfactorily proved that Phœnician trade nevertheless had the same importance for the civilised world of Nearer Asia as the present emporia in the west have for the commerce that includes our own world. We have demonstrated, as in Etruria from excavations, the traces of this trade in countries which it embraced. The evidences for it are based on direct observation, and therefore give us a trustworthy representation of the significance of these seaports for their civilised world. We find in Isaiah songs about Sidon—chapter xxiii., where originally Sidon was meant and only at a later period Tyre was understood by it—and in Ezekiel xxvii. one about Tyre. The sumptuous products which the trade of that time to the coasts of the Mediterranean and with Arabia are recorded to have supplied, always found a ready market; the inland dwellers of the Nearer East and the Semitic barbarian of the

hinterlands of those coasts willingly gave what they had for such marvels. We know that already in the time of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties in Egypt trade between the Nileland and Greece, as well as Phœnicia, was carried by sea in Phœnician bottoms; the Egyptians were no sailors, and the Greeks of that period seem to have been warriors rather than traders. Later on, when the "Mycenæan" culture of Greece proper, succeeding the civilisation of "Minoan" Crete, had in its turn been overthrown, and Greece returned temporarily to barbarism, the Phœnicians had taken advantage of the opening thus afforded for their commerce in the Ægean. There, however, their commercial predominance was of short duration. The Ionian Greeks began, after no long interval, to bestir themselves, and by the eighth century B.C. the Phœnicians seem already to have been ousted by the Greeks from the northern coasts of the Mediterranean.



A VESSEL OF THE FAMOUS PHŒNICIAN NAVY

Phœnicia was essentially a maritime state, and her famous navies, composed of tiny vessels we should call boats, navigated the Mediterranean in all directions and were used by Egypt and other ancient nations.

Anything else that is recorded of their valiant exploits at sea is untrustworthy. Their ships may have penetrated as far as the Cassiterides in order to bring back tin. But in the first place we can never know what part the "West Phœnicians," the Pœni, or Carthaginians, had in this; and secondly, the regular trade-communications never went far beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Many bold enterprises ascribed to them, such as the circumnavigation of Africa, starting from the Red Sea, which is said to have been undertaken at the instance of Necho, must have been carried out by Phœnician merchants. But the sphere where the Phœnicians commanded the trade was only a part of the Mediterranean, and in this connection we must always make an allowance for the share of the Carthaginians, who formed a distinct nation.

The few data that we have for our knowledge of Phœnician culture tell us but little. The country offered splendid material for magnificent buildings in the alabaster of Lebanon, which the Assyrians fetched from Nineveh. The Phœnicians, however, conforming to Egyptian architecture, employed granite and syenite. The numerous pillars found on Phœnician soil are of this material, which, it is clear, must have been laboriously procured from Egypt.

Almost all the productions of an early period—between 1500–1000 B.C.—which we have from Phœnicia, are purely Egyptian; so long then as Egypt was supreme, the Phœnicians appear merely to have adopted the technique of the ruling country. Some later products of the sculptor's art display, indeed, a "Phœnician" style; whether this, however, was a peculiarity of the Phœnicians, or whether it ought not rather to be described as Canaanite and placed on a level with the Aramæan, is one of those questions that are best left unanswered.

The dependence on Egypt during the early period, and the formation of an Egyptian style, are perhaps visible in the architecture, in the more lavish use of the pillar, which in the Euphrates country was rarely, if ever, found. The Assyrian kings after Tiglath-pileser IV. always mention that they had adorned their palaces with an edifice, which was called in the language of the Phœnicians Bit-khilani, "Khilani-house," after the model of a "Khatti-palace" (Phœnicia is included under the term Khatti, or Kheta, country). This Bit-khilani was a gateway decorated with pillars, which served as a place for all the public business of the king; it was the royal yamên, the "sublime porte." A representation of the temple of Baalat of Gebal on coins of the Roman Imperial era



"Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

THE "SUBLIME PORTE" OF PHŒNICIA

Phœnician and Syrian palaces were adorned with a gateway, called a Bit-khilani, decorated with pillars, which served as a place for the king's public business. This shows the foundations of one at Senjirli.

shows a similar gateway. The culture of the Phœnician towns, so far as it was not the inheritance of a period still withdrawn from our knowledge and subject to the supremacy of Babylon, or did not consist in an imitation of Egyptian productions, can, after all that we have proved as to its political unimportance, lay no claim to an independent evolution. The hinterland, which came into less direct contact with the two predominating civilised countries, Egypt and Babylonia, was naturally still less subject to the influence of those civilisations, however little Egyptian life may have penetrated into the Phœnician towns. This is most clearly expressed in the religion. The conceptions of the Phœnicians as a group of the "Canaanite immigration" are distinguishable in no respect from those of the other Canaanites, as we know them from the Old Testament and other scattered accounts. Here, again, anything which can be put down to the previously existing institutions of an earlier "Semitic Babylonian" population is problematical, and for the present insufficiently proved. If we compare the Babylonian cults before and after the Canaanite immigration, we find that the worship of the stars—that is, the special reverence for the sun and moon, which we observed in the valley of the Euphrates—was less general in Canaan and Phœnicia. We can at least conjecture that this was a Sumerian inheritance in Babylonia, and was therefore unknown in Palestine originally. If we find in the place-names of Canaan such as Bet-Shemesh, "House of the Sun," traces of such a cult, its origin may be looked for in the Babylonian period, or it may be of Egyptian origin; at any rate, the sidereal bodies played no part as ruling powers comparable to that of Sin and Shamash in the sphere of Babylonian civilisation.

The characteristic of the Canaanite religion is a Dualism, which distinguished the two sexes, represented by the male Baal and the female Baalat. Of these the female divinity meets us mostly under the name of Ashtoreth, or Astarte, the Babylonian Ishtar. The male divinity, originally distinct in different tribes and nations, appears under special names. Ramman, Rimmon, or Haddad, who must have been peculiar to a tribal group, which preponderated in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and, to judge by its early appearance was one of the first, is among the most celebrated. Dagon, who was much venerated on the Palestinian coast, was a foreign Philistine god, akin to the ἅλιος γέρων ("Old Man of the Sea") of the Greeks.

The chief deity of the Semitised Canaanites was "the lord" Baal, the male principle of nature. Each separate tribe retained his name for the original Baal-conception and established his worship when they seized a stronghold. The Baal of the wandering tribe thus became the lord of a settled place and country, the *genius loci*, lord of the city. Such Baalim are Melkarth in Tyre; the female principle

Ashtoreth in Sidon; the same, under the name of the female principle, Baalat, in Gebal; and all the countless Baals, which were worshipped in every stronghold if it formed a tribal centre. It lies in the nature of things that these separate Baalim, who bore different names according to their respective tribe and place, and whose importance grew or sank with that of their worshippers, developed special attributes so soon as they once assumed a personal character, and thus became separate divinities. The whole creative power of nature, which appears as the male principle, is seen in hot countries first in the fruit-bringing rain and in the storm accompanied with thunder and lightning. Ramman, therefore, was pre-eminently the storm-god. In a town without agriculture the natural side of the divine agency is neglected; in Tyre, Baal becomes a Melkart or Melek-kiryat, a "king of the town." But the evolution of the various conceptions of the divinities always recurs to the two original embodiments of the sexual principle. It is in this form that the true meaning of Semitic religious conceptions can be most clearly recognised.



CHARACTERISTIC PIECES OF PHŒNICIAN GLASS-WARE

The invention of glass was supposed to be one of the great achievements of the Phœnician civilisation, but it is now known to be due to Egypt; later it passed to Greece and Italy.

"El," meaning God, seems to be a pure abstraction of the conception of the Deity; it meets us among the Canaanite, Aramæan, and Arabian peoples. The personal character of Baal originally diverged from it; no god of a tribe, or of any larger national group ever bore this name. If it occasionally appears also as a personal divinity—in Southern Arabia and Senjirli—that is evidently a later personification of the originally abstract idea. A similar explanation is necessary when an Elat is mentioned by the side of an El; this is nothing more than the conception of the female divinity, which was added to that of El on the analogy of Baal-Baalat.

The higher civilisation, with its literary training, tried to explain in its own fashion the cults as they had been evolved from existing and introduced elements in the different tribal and local sanctuaries during the historical progress of the peoples, and to form out of the different aspects of the original fundamental thought a pantheon, the members of which, according to their various characters, were explained to be the creators and rulers of the universe.

In the different states, which were equally possessors of a revered sanctuary, these cosmologies and theologies were distinct, since, naturally, each system was anxious to make its own sanctuary the central one We have summarised what is as yet known of such matters in Babylonia. For Phœnicia a mere extract from such doctrines only is available, and that in a very garbled form, dating, too, from later times. It is the mythology of Gebal, or Byblos, which a certain Philo of Byblos composed under Nero, and, according to the custom of the time, published as a translation of the work of a very early priest, Sanchoniathon, who lived "before the Trojan War." It can, at most, furnish in isolated points explanations of the nature and growth of Phœnician religion, since in it the spurious wisdom of various centuries of culture are inextricably blended together.



THE PEOPLE OF JUDAH CARRIED AWAY INTO BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR
From the painting by E. Bendemann in the Berlin National Gallery by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

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